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**Rewriting History Through the
Performance of Tragedy
1799–1815**

by

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in French Studies**

**University of Warwick
French Studies, School of Modern Languages and Cultures**

September 2016

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Acknowledgements

As this thesis will show, writing is far from an isolated activity. First and foremost I thank my supervisor, Kate Astbury, who has tirelessly encouraged and supported me as both an undergraduate and doctoral candidate. I am also indebted to the two postdoctoral fellows on the AHRC Napoleonic project, Katherine Hambridge and Vincenzo De Santis, whose advice and help at all hours has been invaluable.

Thanks must additionally go to the Arts and Humanities Research Council for the PhD Studentship to undertake this project. I am likewise very grateful to the Erasmus scheme, the French Embassy in London, and the Entente Cordiale scholarship which allowed me to undertake extensive archival research in France. This research would have been impossible without the help of Agathe Sanjuan and her diligent team at the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française, and the patience and cooperation of these archivists with the librarians of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

I would like to thank a variety of scholars who have helped and supported me, and commented on my work. Beyond the supportive environment of French Studies at Warwick, especially the advice of my upgrade examiners Ingrid De Smet and Susannah Wilson, thanks must go amongst others to Philippe Bourdin, David Charlton, Oskar Cox Jensen, Pierre Frantz, Sarah Hibberd, Jonathan Hicks, David Lees, Mark Philp, Marielle Silhouette, Tom Stammers, David Taylor, and Cyril Triolaire. I am also grateful to the Revolutionary Researchers and Memory Studies networks, alongside the postgraduate community at Warwick and in Paris.

Finally I am likewise much obliged to my wonderful friends and family for their unwavering encouragement and assistance over the last three years. As before this thesis, my parents, Kate and Jon, have been bastions of support, enthusing their children with a love for education and France. Thanks must additionally go to my sister (*soror optima, gratias plurimas ago tibi*) and Martin Groschwald for his unfailing patience.

List of Abbreviations

AN – Archives nationales

BnF – Bibliothèque nationale de France

BMCF – Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française

Note on the Text

This thesis references much archival material which is not readily available outside of Paris. As such, I have included footnotes where possible to provide the relevant information. Spellings in French are as they appear in the original but I have included ‘[*sic*]’ where the transcription might appear as a typographical error. I have followed the MHRA Style Guide apart from where there was a conflict with the University of Warwick’s Graduate School specifications and because the majority of the plays I reference do not have line numbers, I have retained the page number in the footnote.

Declaration of Originality

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

Part of an earlier version of Chapter One feeds into the following article:

Clare Siviter, 'La réécriture tragique d'"Héraclius" de Corneille pour la France napoléonienne', *@analyses*, 11 (2016), 98–122

Another earlier section from Chapter One contributed to a forthcoming book chapter:

Clare Siviter, 'La tragédie "classique" transformée à l'époque napoléonienne', in *Fièvre et vie du théâtre sous la Révolution française et l'Empire*, ed. by Vincenzo De Santis and Thibaut Julian (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming [2017]).

Word Count:

Thesis (excluding footnotes): 78,482 words

Appendices (excluding words in tabular format and footnotes): 4,838 words

Abstract

This thesis constitutes the first extensive study of tragedy during the Napoleonic era. The new tragic productions of this period have been sidelined by French theatre history, allegedly because they were tired copies of seventeenth-century classical models, conduits for propaganda, and suffocated by censorship. I challenge this judgement by excavating this period's theatre and by applying renewed critical approaches, notably André Lefevere's notion of rewriting which posits that all productions are subject to poetics and ideology. This thesis is comprised of two principal axes. The first focuses on poetics to contend that new productions were not simply copies of classical plays. Although tragedy was based on the imitation of seventeenth-century models, which scholars refer to as *classiques*, these examples were rewritten during the eighteenth century, an activity which continued under Napoleon. Therefore, there was no stable example to imitate, rather there was a particular contemporary understanding, which I label the 'classique' model to underline its specificity. Using contemporary treatises to form a generic framework, I examine how new tragedies performed at the Comédie-Française depart from this inheritance, reconsidering the passage from theatrical Classicism to Romanticism. The second axis engages with Napoleonic cultural politics by rethinking the terms 'propaganda' and 'censorship'. Although tragedy was used for its propagandistic properties, this policy was not always successful. Moreover, the works' reception reveals that playwrights and the public appropriated tragedy's rewriting of historical narratives as a means of mediating the Revolution. Finally, I examine censorship, investigating how the State's bureaucratic and the Comédie-Française's lateral systems combined to control and tailor tragedies in performance and print for contemporary audiences. Consequently, this thesis sheds light both on the transition from Classicism to Romanticism in the theatre, and the public and the regime's use of tragedy as a means of reconstructing the French nation after the Revolution.

Introduction

‘Tragedies in hindsight look like farces.’¹

In 1873 a French literary editor designed a collection of ‘Les Cents Bons Livres’ to form a library for every family and for use in the education system. In the section dedicated to theatre, he chose to include François-Juste-Marie Raynouard’s (1761–1836) *Les Templiers* (1805) over better-known tragedies such as Pierre Corneille’s² *Horace* (1640) and Jean Racine’s (1639–1699) *Phèdre* (1677).³ Within the restriction of 100 titles, the selection of *Les Templiers* might surprise us today. This tragedy was a Napoleonic hit, but whilst the authors of *Horace* and *Phèdre* adorn the exterior walls of the Comédie-Française and are regularly still performed, what has happened to Raynouard and *Les Templiers*?⁴

Histories of French theatre and literature skip over the Napoleonic period with worrying ease. Although Napoleonic tragedy sits at the crossroads of the theatrical movements of Classicism and Romanticism, the general scholarly

¹ Julian Barnes, *The Noise of Time* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2015), p. 164. Barnes is rewriting Karl Marx’s famous declaration that ‘Hegel bemerkt irgendwo, daß alle großen weltgeschichtlichen Tatsachen und Personen sich sozusagen zweimal ereignen. Er hat vergessen, hinzuzufügen: das eine Mal als Tragödie, das andere Mal als Farce.’ Karl Marx, *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* (Stuttgart: Dietz Nachf, 1921), p. 7. Amongst other historical patterns, Marx considered Napoleon’s coup (1799) to be the tragedy, and that of his nephew Napoleon III (1808–1873) in 1851 as the farce. Marx’s use of theatrical genres to understand history and politics and Barnes rewriting of this famous quotation for a modern audience are pertinent to many of the themes of this thesis.

² Corneille will refer to Pierre Corneille unless otherwise stated.

³ François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers, tragédie en cinq actes avec Notice historique sur la mort des Templiers. Nouvelle édition publiée par Ad. Rion* (Paris: Les Libraires, 1873), p. 64. Dates following the titles of plays refer to the date of their first publication apart from Napoleonic tragedies produced for the first time between 1799 and 1815.

⁴ The Comédie-Française was known as the Théâtre-Français, but also referred to as the Comédie. This thesis will use the modern term Comédie-Française.

opinion is that Napoleonic tragedy simply imitated its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century predecessors without introducing any innovations—that it is *classique*.⁵ This judgment has certainly contributed to the neglect of Napoleonic tragedy. Scholarly dismissal has been exacerbated by the perception of Napoleonic tragedy's relationship with propaganda and censorship, regardless of the fact that theatre has been used for propagandistic purposes for centuries. So while the theatre of the Bourbons and the later *drame romantique* are lauded with critical praise, Napoleonic theatre has been overlooked. This thesis, the first sustained and detailed analysis of the period's tragic production, will reveal how Napoleonic tragedy is much more significant than hitherto believed: it is a central moment in the evolution of French theatre and it offers an insight into the fascinating interactions between the State and culture.

The bicentenary of the fall of the Napoleonic Empire, which once stretched from the Iberian Peninsula to Russia, showed that Napoleon continues

⁵ For early nineteenth-century reactions to French theatre, see Edmond Egli and Pierre Martino, *Le Débat romantique en France, 1813–1830, pamphlets, manifestes, polémiques de presse*, 2 vols (Paris: Société d'édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1933) and Pierre Frantz, 'L'Invention du classicisme aux sources de la modernité', in *Révolutions du moderne*, ed. by Daniela Galligani, Claude Leroy, André Magnan, and Baldine Saint Girons (Paris: Méditerranée, 2004), pp. 116–26. For other post-Romanticism uses of the term *classique* regarding the Napoleonic era, see Eugène Lintilhac, 'La Théorie du théâtre en France de Scaliger à Victor Hugo', *La Nouvelle Revue*, 9 (1901), pp. 3–20 (p. 6); Gustave Lanson, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la tragédie française* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920) p. 130; Louis Bertrand, *La Fin du classicisme et le retour à l'antique dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle et les premières années du XIX^e siècle en France*, 2nd edn (Paris: Arthème Fayard & Cie, 1897), pp. 326–27; Maurice Albert, *La Littérature française sous la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration* (Paris: Société française d'imprimerie et de Librairie, 1898), pp. 285–86. The official Napoleonic theatre is also seen as classical by Marvin Carlson, Marvin Carlson, *Theories of the Theatre, A Historical and Critical Survey, from the Greeks to the Present* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 197; Jean-Pierre Perchellet, *L'Héritage classique. La Tragédie de 1680 à 1814* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004); Pierre Frantz, 'Le Théâtre sous l'Empire : entre deux révolutions', in *L'Empire des muses*, ed. by Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Belin, 2004), pp. 173–97.

to attract popular and scholarly attention.⁶ Napoleon, as saviour or despot, remains an integral part of French and European cultural memory. Even in 1979, A. J. P. Taylor observed that there were more works about Napoleon (1769–1821)⁷ than any other human being, yet only a comparative handful concentrate on Napoleonic culture, let alone theatre.⁸ This dearth is even more striking given that the theatre was a key cultural institution at the time for Napoleon, for the political regime, and for post-revolutionary France.⁹ Tragedy played a central role in the exercise of Napoleonic cultural power and control, part of the ‘soft power’ used for national reconstruction after the French Revolution and for acculturation and assimilation not just in new Napoleonic lands but in France too.¹⁰ An extended study of Napoleonic theatre in general would be an Olympic, albeit necessary, task.¹¹ Admittedly, this thesis only covers one genre from 1799

⁶ Nathalie Petiteau uses surveys to show that in 1997 less than half of the French population (forty-six per cent) thought that France could be proud of the Napoleonic era and that sixty per cent believed his wars were wars of oppression rather than liberation, yet paradoxically by 2004 there was a rise in popularity of Napoleon: Natalie Petiteau, *Napoléon, de la mythologie à l’histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), p. 397 and p. 401. This popularity has arguably increased as the 1815 celebrations have shown.

⁷ The birth and death dates have been taken from the authoritative source at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (<data.bnf.fr>), where possible. Napoleon was born Napoleone di Buonaparte. He was known as Bonaparte during the Revolution and the Consulate and became ‘Napoleon’ with the start of the Empire. For terminological ease, he will be referred to as Napoleon throughout this thesis, unless it is necessary to underline his contemporary name form.

⁸ A. J. P. Taylor, ‘The Emperor Industry’, *The New York Review of Books*, 18 December 1969, available at <<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1969/12/18/the-emperor-industry/>> [accessed 27 April 2016]. On Napoleonic culture, see *L’Empire des muses*.

⁹ For Napoleon’s theatrical tastes, see Louis Henri Lecomte, *Napoléon et le monde dramatique : étude nouvelle d’après des documents inédits* (Paris: Daragon, 1912) and David Chaillou, *Napoléon et l’Opéra, la politique sur scène (1810–1815)* (Paris: Fayard, 2004).

¹⁰ On Napoleonic ‘soft power’, acculturation, and assimilation in Napoleonic Europe see Michael Broers, ‘The First Napoleonic Empire, 1799–1815’, in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015), pp. 99–134, especially p. 104.

¹¹ Léon de Lanzac de Laborie focuses on the Comédie-Française under Napoleon, Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon : le Théâtre-*

to 1815 and concentrates on Paris as the centre of tragedy, but these foci are key to excavate and understand this major genre for the Napoleonic period.¹²

I will review tragedy between 18 Brumaire when Napoleon rose to power to the termination of the First French Empire in 1815.¹³ I will investigate the position of this corpus between the movements of Classicism and Romanticism and challenge the prevailing accounts of this period's tragic productions. Theatre must be understood within its historical context: tragedies were (re)written for the public to evolve with its changing tastes, leading to digressions from the traditional generic framework. This contests the novelty of later nineteenth-century theorists and playwrights. By prioritising reception, I will shed new light on Napoleon's cultural politics and how contemporary society used culture to comprehend the present. The findings of this study will deepen our understanding of this vital period, between Classicism and Romanticism, between Revolution and Restoration.

1. The Comédie-Française Under Napoleon

This thesis moves beyond anecdotes and the traditional focus on star actors to look at a variety of Comédie-Française agents to comprehend better their impact on the period's tragedy. Tragedy was an inherent part of the Comédie-Française, or the Théâtre Français as it was known at the time. This institution was the

Français (Paris: Plon, 1911). More recently, Rüdiger Hilmer has taken a larger view of the Napoleonic theatre system in Paris but concentrates mainly on the secondary theatres, Rüdiger Hilmer, *Die Napoleonische Theatrepolitik Geschäftstheater in Paris, 1799–1815* (Cologne: Böhlh, 1999). Studies covering provincial theatre scene are rare but one work is Cyril Triolaire, *Le Théâtre en province pendant le Consulat et l'Empire* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2012). As of yet, there is no work uniting Parisian and provincial theatre.

¹² Some readers might also desire more of a reflection of the simultaneous developments of tragedy abroad in areas such as the German Lands. Although these developments are important, they are beyond the scope of this thesis which will only deal with them when they have a direct implication on the subject of this thesis, namely tragedy destined to be performed at the Comédie-Française between 1799 and 1815.

¹³ Although French months do not usually take a capital letter, 18 Brumaire is referred to as a historical event here, hence the capitalization.

guardian of French tragic heritage, and it was the only Parisian theatre allowed to perform tragedy as of 1801 (*en principe*).¹⁴ This genre played a significant role at this theatre since forty-four per cent of its first plays were tragedies.¹⁵ By studying the theatrical life of the provinces, recent scholarship has decentralised the study of Napoleonic theatre, but Cyril Triolaire states that tragedy accounted for only six to twelve per cent of provincial performances, and Philippe Bourdin maintains that these heavily favoured Voltaire (1694–1778).¹⁶ This disregard for tragedy outside of Paris echoes the statistics gathered by Rahul Markovits for European performances of French theatre during the eighteenth century.¹⁷ However, tragedy *did* travel abroad as the chosen genre of Napoleonic representation. Markovits doubts the efficacy of these foreign tragic performances, but this has been contested by Florence Filippi in her analysis of Napoleon's use of French tragedy for political gain in the German Lands.¹⁸ The

¹⁴ Letter 26 ventôse an IX (17 March 1801), Laplace to Mahérault, Paris, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahérault 2 (34) and 'Observations sur un ordre donné à la Comédie-Française', 27 ventôse an IX (18 March 1801), Paris, BMCF, 3 AG 1801-4 27.

¹⁵ See Appendices A and B.

¹⁶ Triolaire, p. 323. Triolaire's assessment is based on the eleventh theatrical arrondissement. Philippe Bourdin extends this to six to twelve percent in the provinces, Philippe Bourdin, 'Préface', in *Le Théâtre en Province*, pp. 17–26 (p. 25). Lauren Clay, has also taken a wider geographical approach for her recent study of eighteenth-century theatre, Lauren Clay, *Stagestruck. The Business of Theater in Eighteenth-Century France and Its Colonies* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Rahul Markovits, *Civiliser l'Europe. Politiques du théâtre français au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2014). See for example his annexes, 'Auteurs les plus joués' and 'Pièces les plus jouées', pp. 377–79.

¹⁸ Using selective sources, Markovits maintains that Napoleon's use of tragedy abroad was unsuccessful, Rahul Markovits, 'Sociopolitique des genres : la Comédie-Française à Erfurt, ou du mauvais usage de la tragédie (1808)', *Revue Parlement(s)*, 8 (2012–13), 67–80. Florence Filippi, 'Détournement du mythe sur la scène impériale : Napoléon et la tragédie classique', in *Teatro do Mundo. A reescrita de mitos no teatro, Centro de Estudos Teatrais da Universidade do Porto, Centro de Literaturas e Culturas Lusofonas e Europeias* (Porto: Tipografia Fonseca, Lda, 2012), pp. 135–50. Since the planned expedition of actors for the Egypt campaign in 1799, Napoleon had understood the importance of travelling performers. For example, letter Laplace to Mahérault, 'le Gouvernement désire de faire passer en Egypte, une troupe complete de

special relationship between Napoleon and tragedy can be demonstrated by the programming at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, where tragedy was rarely performed apart from when either Napoleon or his star actor François-Joseph Talma (1763–1826) were present.¹⁹ The Comédie-Française’s actors were sent around France and then the French Empire, notably to Lyon (1802), Mainz (1804), Brussels (1803, 1811), Erfurt (1808), Holland (1811), and Dresden (1813) at considerable personal cost to Napoleon.²⁰ Similarly, one of the principal actresses of the Comédie-Française, Mademoiselle Raucourt (1756–1815), formed her own troupe for the Italian provinces.²¹

Both abroad and at court the Emperor was fond of theatre and of tragedy in particular. Napoleon restored the practice of court performances, using the artists of the Comédie-Française, the Opéra, and the Opéra-Comique amongst others. The 1806 court entertainment budget of 75,000 francs had doubled by 1811.²² Indeed, sometimes Napoleon desired the presence of the actors to such an extent that the Comédie-Française was unable to perform for the public that evening.²³

comédiens’, 30 brumaire an VIII (21 November 1799) Paris, BMCF, ARAD 1/1 and ‘Rapport confidentiel présenté par M sur le projet de troupe en Egypte’, 13 nivôse an IX (3 January 1801), Paris, BMCF, ARAD 1/2, 22. There is also a whole dossier on the expedition in BMCF, ARAD 1/11.

¹⁹ On the tragedies performed by Talma and those for Napoleon’s visit to Brussels in 1803, see Henri Liebrecht, *Comédiens Français d’autrefois à Bruxelles* (Paris; Brussels: Maison du livre français; Labour, 1932), pp. 218–24. *Les Templiers* was performed in 1811, coinciding with a journey to Holland. ‘Théâtre de la Monnaie, Agenda journalier des recettes et dépenses, mois de mars 1811’, Brussels, Archives générales du royaume, T019, 69.

²⁰ The performances at Erfurt cost 71,274 francs and 12 sols and the actors were paid a gratification totalling 113,500 francs for the performances at Dresden, the musicians were paid 13,182 francs and the return cost for the troupe cost 42,800 francs, Lecomte, p. 238 and pp. 264–65.

²¹ Paris, AN, F/7/8961, Markovits, *Civiliser l’Europe*, pp. 284–88. Mademoiselle Raucourt’s full name is Françoise Marie Antoinette Josèphe Saucerotte.

²² Paris, AN, O/2/36 and O/2/39.

²³ For example, for the thirty-three days between 9 September and 11 October 1804 there were twenty ‘rélâches’, Paris, BMCF, R 328. On the 10 October, the ‘registre des feux’ records that this is principally because of the trip to Mainz. Another case in point is 12 March 1812, the ‘registre des feux’ Paris, BMCF, R 335 notes that:

Napoleon's fondness for the theatre, both personally and politically, led to his increased involvement with and significant regulation of the Comédie-Française's running and the larger theatrical landscape, as scholarship has recognised.²⁴ Before 18 Brumaire, the Comédie-Française had reunited its two revolutionary troupes at the 'salle de la rue de Richelieu', where the Comédie-Française remains today. The troupe of the Théâtre de la République—'les rouges'—including Talma who left the Comédie-Française in 1791—and 'les noirs'—those who remained in the newly baptised Théâtre de la Nation during the Revolution before its closure in September 1793—came together in May 1799 under the Ministre de l'Intérieur, the playwright Nicolas François de Neufchâteau (1750–1828). The Directory had tightly controlled theatre, and this surveillance continued, in recognition of the theatre's role as a key site of sociability, its weight in the public sphere, and its function in the exercise of power.

Napoleon famously reinstated the *privilège* of the Comédie-Française: it regained the monopoly of tragedy and high comedy as early as 17 March 1801.²⁵ By 1802, the Comédie-Française received 100,000 francs annually from the government,²⁶ and Napoleon signed the papers outlining its definitive

Ce Relache a été occasionné par le service de la cour. On devait donner Britannicus et le Mercure galant. A Midy on reçut l'ordre d'aller jouer Andromaque aux Thuilleries. Cet ordre inattendu déranga tellement les dispositions du Répertoire qu'il fut impossible de trouver un spectacle convenable a substituer a celui annoncé et on fut obligé de mettre des Bandeaux sur les affiches sur les quels etaient ecrits les mots. Relache Pour le Service de la Cour.

²⁴ Works on Comédie-Française under Napoleon include Eugène Laugier, *Documents historiques sur la Comédie-Française pendant le règne de Napoléon* (Paris: Firmin-Didot frères, 1853); Frédéric Loliée, *La Comédie-Française, histoire de la maison de Molière de 1658–1907* (Paris: Lucien Laveur, 1907); and Sylvie Chevalley, 'La Comédie-Française et l'avènement de l'Empire', *Europe*, 480–81 (1969), 263–70.

²⁵ Letter 26 ventôse an IX (17 March 1801), Laplace to Mahéault, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 2 (34) and 'Observations sur un ordre donné à la Comédie-Française', 27 ventôse an IX (18 March 1801), BMCF, 3 AG 1801-4 27. Nevertheless, other theatres continued to perform tragedies.

²⁶ Laugier, p. 62.

organisation on 18 January 1803, leading to its ‘acte de société’ on 17 April 1804.²⁷ The ‘acte de société’ reaffirmed roles, such as that of Jean-François-René Mahéroult (1764–1833) as ‘commissaire du gouvernement’, a position he had occupied since 1799, and Auguste-Laurent de Rémusat (1762–1823) as the ‘Préfet du palais’ and ‘Surintendant des spectacles’ in post since 1802,²⁸ whilst clarifying the practical and economic administration of the theatre, the rights of the actors (reinstating their hierarchy according to their ‘ancienneté’), the logistics surrounding the reception of new plays, and the formation of the repertoire. Mahéroult then swore allegiance to the government on behalf of the Comédie-Française, making it a *de facto* State institution. Consequently, as of 3 July 1804, the actors were renamed ‘les comédiens ordinaires de l’Empereur’.²⁹ The theatre decrees of 1806 and 1807, which have generated scholarly interest,³⁰ did not fundamentally change the organisation or takings of the Comédie-Française as they would other theatres—conversely, they actually weakened the average takings³¹—but it is important to note that they did transform the theatrical landscape, quashing potential rivals such as the adjacent Théâtre Montansier in the Palais-Royal and increasing the powers of Rémusat, and thus the government.³² The next major administrative development was the Moscow

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 28–31.

²⁸ Frederick Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760–1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 104. This is confirmed by the *Journal des débats*, 26 October 1802 (the order came into force on 27 November 1802 according to Hemmings).

²⁹ Laugier, p. 75. The *Journal des débats* lists them thus on 4 July 1804, *Journal des débats*, 4 July 1804.

³⁰ Louis Véron proposes a useful comparative analysis of the theatre decrees of 1806, 1807, and 1860, Louis Véron, *Paris en 1860. Les Théâtres de Paris depuis 1806 jusqu’en 1860* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle; A. Bourdilliat et Cie., 1860). Likewise theatre regulations form the core of Jean-Claude Yon’s examination of theatrical privilege from 1807 to 1864, Jean-Claude Yon, ‘Les Théâtres parisiens à l’ère du privilège (1807–1864)’, in *Production de l’immatériel : théories, représentations, et pratiques de la culture au XIX^e siècle* (Saint-Étienne: Presses universitaires de Saint-Étienne, 2007), pp. 61–74.

³¹ The analysis of the daily takings shows that the decrees did little to affect the position of the Comédie-Française, whose health was really restored in 1802 and 1803. See Appendix B.

³² Lanzac de Laborie, p. 19; Laugier, p. 73.

decree of 1812—a decree which continues to regulate the Comédie-Française today. Although in many ways this decree was merely a solidification of all the developments since 1802,³³ the particular moment that the Moscow decree appeared reveals the contemporary importance of the Comédie-Française to Napoleon: most likely drafted in 1813, rather than the official date of October 1812, the decree was a statement of Napoleon’s control of the cultural sphere amid military crisis, emphasising the centrality of theatre for the Emperor.³⁴

A theatre is more than a machine subject to legislation or repertoire, of course: it is clear that the Comédie-Française was as much defined by its troupe, whose actors became some of the first celebrities.³⁵ Despite performing together, the relations between the Comédie-Française’s actors were notoriously tense, and the cabals of the audience and partisan publications added fuel to the fire.³⁶

³³ The continued pertinence of the Napoleonic decrees in the twentieth-century is demonstrated by Hippolyte Buffenoir and Maurice Haquette, *Le Décret de Moscou et la Comédie-Française, historique et texte intégral avec une reproduction du manuscrit original portant la signature de Napoléon I^{er}* (Paris: Maurice Haquette, 1902) and Simon Siaud, *La Comédie-Française, son histoire-son statut* (Paris: Libraire Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1936). In terms of the Moscow decree as the culmination of the other orders since 1802, see Laugier, p. 86.

³⁴ Tony Sauvel suggests that this decree dates from 1813 rather than the decree’s official date of October 1812, Tony Sauvel cited in Jean Tulard, *Napoléon: ou le mythe du sauveur* (Paris: Fayard, 1977), p. 407. The archives record a change in the theatre’s administration which corroborates this proposition: the new theatre commissioner, Nicolas Bernard (17?–18?), took the reigns in 1813, not 1812 and there was a fresh administrative register, for example, the register containing the ‘procès-verbaux des séances du comité’, which had lasted over a decade, was changed to a new ‘Registre du comité d’administration du Théâtre Français de S. M. Empereur et Roi’, in 1813, BMCF, R 415 and R 416.

³⁵ Antoine Lilti has a section of his work on the rise of the modern celebrity which is dedicated to Talma. Antoine Lilti, *Figures publiques, l’invention de la célébrité 1750–1850* (Paris: Fayard, 2014), pp. 60–73.

³⁶ On the topic of partisan publications, for just the rivalry between Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois and George, see J. Bouilault, *La Conjuraison de Mlle. Duchesnois, contre Mlle. George Weymer, pour lui ravir la couronne ; avec les pièces justificatives* (Paris: Pillot; Martinet, 1803); the fanaticism of Mademoiselle Duchesnois’s supporters was denounced in *La Semaine*, 8 May 1803; *L’Observateur français* states ‘De Mlle Duchesnois, de M. Geoffroy, de Mlle George, de Roxane, d’Eriphile, d’Iphigénie’, in *L’Observateur français*, 23

Talma was rivalled by Lafon (1773–1846),³⁷ as Mara Fazio notes in her excellent work using untapped archives from the Comédie-Française,³⁸ and Lafon had a pro-Talma cabal unleashed against him.³⁹ The most notorious example of the period is the intense rivalry between Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois (1777–1835) and George (1787–1867).⁴⁰ The cabals interrupted performances to praise an actress or to reject her.⁴¹ Crowds flocked to see Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois and George perform together in Racine’s *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1675) or with Mademoiselle Volnais (1786–1837).⁴² The Comédie-Française’s Comité of actors and the government ordered that the young actresses share the role ‘des reines et premiers rôles, avec la faculté de jouer deux fois de suite le même rôle

June 1803; an éloge to Mademoiselle Duchesnois and a selection of songs praising her can be found in *L’Opinion du parterre*, 1 (1803); see the prints ‘La Couronne Théâtrale disputée par les Demoiselles Duchesnois [et] George Weimer’ (Paris: Martinet, [n.d.]) and ‘Le Goût du jour, no. 86. La fin du procès. Malgré George, Geoffroy, Raucour et sa cohorte La voix publique parle et Duchesnois l’emporte’ (Paris: Martinet, [n.d.]).

³⁷ Full name: Pierre Rapenouille.

³⁸ Mara Fazio, *François-Joseph Talma, le théâtre et l’histoire de la Révolution à la Restauration*, trans. by Jérôme Nicolas (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2011), p. 130.

³⁹ Lanzac de Laborie, p. 53.

⁴⁰ There was another struggle between Mademoiselle Volnais (1786–1837) [full name: Claudine-Placide Croizet-Ferreire] and Mademoiselle Bourgoïn, Edmond-Denis de Manne, *Galerie historique des comédiens de la troupe de Talma : notices sur les principaux sociétaires de la Comédie française depuis 1789 jusqu’aux trente premières années de ce siècle* (Lyon: Scheuring, 1866), p. 255. Mademoiselle Duchesnois’s full name was Catherine-Joséphine Raufin and Mademoiselle George’s was Marguerite Josephine Weimer.

⁴¹ In terms of audience behaviour, George was verbally attacked during a performance of *Cinna* when the parterre wanted to see Mademoiselle Duchesnois, *Journal des débats*, 28 April 1803; the audience made a lot of noise when Mademoiselle Duchesnois appeared in *Esther*, *Journal des débats*, 4 June 1803. *L’Opinion du parterre* also notes how Mademoiselle Raucourt gave 400 free tickets for George’s performance so that her student would have the support she needed, Pierre-David Lemaugier *L’Opinion du parterre*, 1 (1803), 143.

⁴² Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois and George performed together, *Journal des débats*, 17 May 1803, and Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois, George and Volnais performed together in *Iphigénie*, *Journal des débats*, 21 June 1803.

chacune à son tour', in an attempt to calm the fury.⁴³ Nonetheless, the cabals remained.⁴⁴ Theatre critics mediated the discourse surrounding actors, their lives, and their performances, sometimes with such spite that in revenge Talma physically attacked the conservative critic Julien-Louis Geoffroy (1743–1814).⁴⁵ The Comédie-Française under Napoleon was a very animated environment, and this had a direct effect on tragedy, its government regulation, and its reception by the public.⁴⁶

Concentrating on the actors also draws attention to the varied nature of Comédie-Française performances, despite its portrayal as an institution which prided itself on purity. In terms of the Napoleonic period as a transfer from Classicism to Romanticism, it is crucial to remember that the elder actors had been trained under the *ancien régime* in the wake of Henri-Louis Lekain (1729–1778) who first performed Voltaire's tragedies and reconceptualised seventeenth-century roles. There was a definite changing of the guard marked by

⁴³ Lanza de Laborie, p. 95, quoting BMCF registers, 23 fructidor an XI (10 September 1803).

⁴⁴ The *Journal des débats* records huge applause when Mademoiselle Duchesnois came on-stage in act II of *Iphigénie*, *Journal des débats*, 21 June 1803. The battle between Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois and George was settled when Mademoiselle George fled the Comédie-Française in 1808 (before returning in 1813).

⁴⁵ Fazio, p. 162. This discourse continues in their afterlives: Filippi speaks of the 'myth' of Talma Florence Filippi, 'François-Joseph Talma, ou le paradoxe d'un comédien entre avant-garde et tradition', in *Teatro do Mundo, Tradição e vanguardas : cenas de uma conversa inacabada*, ed. by Cristina Marinho and Nuno Pinto Ribeiro (Porto: SerSilito, 2009), pp. 47–62. Mademoiselle George has been the subject of recent biographies, but these works prefer to focus upon the actress's lovers rather than her dramatic endeavours. For biographies of Mademoiselle George, see A. Augustin-Thierry, *Mademoiselle George, maîtresse d'empereurs* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1936) and Hélène Tierchant, *Mademoiselle George, la trédienne de Napoléon* (Paris: Aubéron, 2008). This image has also been conserved in literature; see for example Leo Tolstoy, *War and Peace* (London: Penguin Classics, 2007). Indeed, even in modern popular culture she is still relegated to her role as lover, see Robert Hudson and Marie Phillips, *Warhorses of Letters* (London: Unbound, 2012) p. 75 where she is referred to—in jest—as 'Napoleon's other mistress' and 'a bit more of a slapper'.

⁴⁶ For more detail on the troupe under Napoleon, see Manne, *Galerie historique des comédiens*.

a series of deaths during the Consulate, such as Mademoiselle Clairon (1723–1803) amongst others.⁴⁷ A cohort of actors remained, like Talma, and debutants renewed the troupe. These actors either came from the provinces, such as Mademoiselle George,⁴⁸ the Conservatoire, or were the protégés of members of the theatrical and political world, such as Mademoiselle Duchesnois.⁴⁹ If the Comédie-Française and the government were satisfied with their performances, the new actors were admitted to the troupe. Many of these younger Napoleonic actors would later incarnate some of the iconic roles of the *drame romantique*: Victor Hugo (1802–1885) was inspired by Talma to write *Cromwell* (1828), Mademoiselle George created the role of Lucrece Borgia (1833),⁵⁰ Firmin (1784–1859)⁵¹ that of Hernani, and Joanny (1775–1849) that of Don Ruy Gomez de Silva in *Hernani* (1830).

It was not just the actors' crossover of generations which was occurring under Napoleon, but also a crossover of genres, despite the division between tragic and comic roles. For example, in Alexandre Duval's (1767–1842)

⁴⁷ Other examples include François-René Molé (1734–1802), Marie-Françoise Dumesnil (1713–1803), Bellemont (1728–1803), and Madame Vestris (1743–1804). This information has been taken from the Comédie-Française La Grange database, available at <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-recherche-simple.php?id=550>> [accessed 15 June 2016].

⁴⁸ Other examples of Comédie-Française actors with provincial origins include: Lafon and Joanny (1775–1849). The dates have been taken from the Comédie-Française La Grange database, available at <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-recherche-simple.php?id=550>> [accessed 15 June 2016].

⁴⁹ Mademoiselle Duchesnois was supported by the tragic playwright Gabriel Legouvé and recommended by Napoleon's wife and the future Empress, Joséphine de Beauharnais, Fiche biographique, Paris, BMCF, dossier Mademoiselle Duchesnois. Marie-Thérèse-Étiennette Bourgoin (1781–1833) was supported by Mademoiselle Dumesnil and Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1756–1832), the then Ministre de l'Intérieur. Bourgoin's dates have been taken from the Comédie-Française records, available at <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-autorite.php?id=554&aut=00008112&ref=BIB00024404&p=1>> [accessed 21 March 2016].

⁵⁰ Although I would like to refer to women by their surnames as men are, in this thesis I refer to both the Comte and Comtesse de Rémusat so for clarity's sake I have kept the traditional feminine title when referring to women.

⁵¹ Full name: François Bercquerelle.

Guillaume le Conquérant (1804), a *drame historique*, the tragic actor Baptiste aîné (1761–1835),⁵² performed the main role Guillaume, Talma that of Harold, Mademoiselle George that of Mathilde, and Mademoiselle Bourgoïn (1781–1833) was the comic ‘petite paysanne’.⁵³ Here, all the tragic actors were performing alongside their comic counterparts, in a different genre, and in prose.⁵⁴ In Duval’s *drame*, *Édouard en Écosse* (1802), the tragic actor Étienne Meynier Saint-Fal (1752–1835) appeared with the comic star who had famously performed the role of Figaro, Dazincourt (1747–1809).⁵⁵ This mixture of acting styles and experience continued in Népomucène-Louis Lemerrier’s (1771–1840) ‘comédies historiques’ *Pinto, ou la journée d’une conspiration* (1801) and *Christophe Colomb* (1809). Indeed, several tragic actors also performed comedy⁵⁶ and the comic celebrity Mademoiselle Mars (1779–1847)⁵⁷ cross-dressed for the tragedy *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte* (1806).

To be sure, the Comédie-Française actors have been studied before, but the focus has been on the star actors and the evidence often anecdotal. In this thesis, the actors will be integrated into a wider consideration of agency within the theatre, as a means of integrating a history of genre into a history of actors and institutions.

2. Generic Boundaries: Defining ‘Tragédie’

Delineating a project by genre necessitates a reflection on this categorisation of artistic production. Modern theatre critics often use Germanic scholars to theorise genre, especially the ‘tragic’ as an experience or world-view,⁵⁸ but there

⁵² Full name: Nicolas-Eustache Anselme.

⁵³ *Journal des débats*, 6 February 1804.

⁵⁴ *Journal des débats*, 6 February 1804 and Paris, BMCF, R 327.

⁵⁵ Full name: Joseph-Jean-Baptiste Albouy.

⁵⁶ For instance, Talma performed in Duval’s comedy *Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l’étude* (1804), BMCF, R 327 and all the troupe were supposed to attend the ceremonies for Molière’s *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670).

⁵⁷ Full name: Anne Françoise Hippolyte Boutet de Monvel.

⁵⁸ See for example Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama, with an Introduction by George Steiner*, trans. by John Osborne (London; New York: Verso, 1994) or more recently Hans-Thies Lehmann who maintains the primacy

is a distinct French tradition of placing emphasis on ‘tragédie’ as a genre that emerges from the strict seventeenth-century division between ‘tragédie’ and ‘comédie’ in high spoken drama. As Mark Ledbury observes, genre was central to the French cultural world but it was taken as read, and consequently little commented on.⁵⁹ In 1798, the fifth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* defined tragedy as ‘Poème dramatique, Pièce de théâtre, dans laquelle on représente une action importante entre des personnes illustres, qui est propre à exciter la terreur ou la pitié, et qui finit d’ordinaire par un événement funeste’.⁶⁰ This definition relies heavily on the poetics developed by seventeenth-century theorists in their understanding of Aristotle (384–322 BC). The draft for the ‘Nouvelle organisation des théâtres après les principes établis par le décret du 8 juin 1806’ likewise uses the seventeenth century as a reference point, noting that ‘tragédie’ and ‘comédie’ are ‘clairement désigné[s] par les pièces qu’ont données les grands maîtres de la scène française: Corneille, Racine, Molière et Regnard.’⁶¹ The seventeenth-century model had by the nineteenth century become widely codified: in 1808 Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740–1814) denounced modern poets and playwrights as ‘ces malheureux qui bénissent leurs chaînes’.⁶² Appreciated or not, tragedy as a genre in early nineteenth-century France was thus very much linked to its seventeenth-century roots.

Napoleonic accounts such as the above ratify the modern scholar André Lefevere’s argument that all literary production is subjected to poetological and ideological constraints.⁶³ Ideologically, the funding sources of the selective

of tragic experience over the formal structure of tragedy, Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Tragödie und Dramatisches Theater* (Berlin: Alexander Verlag, 2013).

⁵⁹ Mark Ledbury, *Sedaine, Greuze and the Boundaries of Genre* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), p. 18.

⁶⁰ *Dictionnaires d’autrefois*, available at <<http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdicollook.pl?strippedhw=tragédie>> [accessed 20 January 2016].

⁶¹ Paris, AN, F/21/953.

⁶² Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Satyres contre Racine et Boileau, dédiées à A. W. Schlegel, Auteur de ‘Comparaison entre la Phèdre de Racine et celle d’Euripide’* (Paris: Hénée; Tourneisen, 1808), p. 5.

⁶³ André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Frame* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 7. The term ‘poetological’ is

Comédie-Française (the government and Napoleon personally) and its position as a State theatre impacted on new creations. Poetologically, the Comédie-Française controlled genre through reception since a playwright might compose a play in a certain genre, but it is the reception of this play which affirmed its generic label. As Chapters Three and Four will demonstrate, new ‘tragédies’ could be reclassified as *dramas* before their performance or were rejected because they did not correspond to the generic model. Garin Dowd has rightly argued that genre is a system of classification, the imposition of order linked to Michel Foucault’s disciplinary power enforced by the administrative and social systems which the Napoleonic era helped to consolidate.⁶⁴ Here, the power of the Comédie-Française regulated genre. This institution’s role is accentuated by the fact that although tragedies were performed in other theatres during the Consulate, when the Institut de France published its report for the *prix décennaux* in 1809, only tragedies which were ‘représentées sur le Théâtre français’ over the last decade could be entered, unveiling the increasing poetological and ideological constraints to which ‘tragédie’ was subjected.⁶⁵

The audience also poetologically regulated the genre in reception, and manifested its displeasure at a ‘tragédie’ which eluded their ‘horizon of expectation’.⁶⁶ For instance, the turmoil following Antoine Vincent Arnault’s (1766–1834) *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur* (1802) or Lemercier’s *Isule et Orovèse* (1802) exhibits how the ‘generic contract’ had been broken.⁶⁷ genre

taken from Lefevere. Although Lefevere is known for his work on translation, here he is focusing on literary creation.

⁶⁴ Garin Dowd, ‘Introduction: Genre Matters in Theory and Criticism’, in *Genre Matters: Essays in Theory and Criticism*, ed. by Garin Dowd, Lesley Stevenson, and Jeremy Strong (Bristol: Intellect Books, 2006), pp. 11–27 (p. 11). Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la Prison* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), p. 165.

⁶⁵ *Rapport du jury institué par sa Majesté l’Empereur et Roi, pour le jugement des prix décennaux* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1810), p. 61.

⁶⁶ This term is taken from Hans Robert Jauss, *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. by Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester, 1982).

⁶⁷ The term ‘generic contract’ is attributed to Pierre Kohler in his two essays, ‘Contribution à une philosophie des genres’, *Hélicon, revue internationale des problèmes de la littérature*, 1 (1938), 233–44 and *Hélicon, revue internationale des problèmes de la littérature*, 2 (1939), 135–42. For a review of how the term

must be understood within its sociological context. Nonetheless, genre is also historical. The preeminent tragic theorist Péter Szondi has advocated a ‘historical poetics of tragedy’;⁶⁸ ‘tragédie’ is not static. Likewise, as Tzvetan Todorov argues, genre is a system in a constant state of evolution.⁶⁹ For example, *Les Templiers*, which was judged worthy of the prize for ‘tragédie’ in 1809, was vastly different from a ‘tragédie’ in 1709: notably the characters, sentiment, and subject matter of ‘tragédie’ had developed. The evolution of tragedy echoes the idea, used by Napoleonic critics and modern theorists alike, that a ‘genre’ contains multiple ‘espèces’.⁷⁰ This distinction is especially applicable to tragedies created during the early nineteenth century: the *Archives littéraires de l’Europe* described *Les Templiers* as belonging ‘sinon à un nouveau genre de tragédie, du moins à un genre depuis longtemps négligé’.⁷¹ Similarly, tragedy could have sites of transferral with other genres: The *Journal des débats* argued that ‘[o]n sait qu’un mélodrame est une tragédie de boulevard, dont les personnages entrent et sortent de musique’.⁷² The repeated attempts for genre to be regulated through the theatrical decrees reveal the state of theatrical flux in early nineteenth-century Paris, but the simultaneous desire for classification and order.

From this sociological and historical approach to genre it is evident that the defining elements of ‘tragédie’ were structural. The emotions of the tragedy

has been used more recently, see Ralph Cohen, ‘History and Genre’, in *The Lyric Theory Reader: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Virginia Jackson and Yopie Prins (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2014), pp. 53–63.

⁶⁸ Peter Szondi, *An Essay on the Tragic*, trans. by Paul Fleming (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 1.

⁶⁹ Tzvetan Todorov, ‘The Origin of Genres’, in Tzvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 13–26 (p. 15).

⁷⁰ For a brief overview of the history of genre and species, see David Duff, ‘Introduction’, in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. by David Duff (Harlow: Pearson, 2000), pp. 3–24 (p. 4). Duff highlights how both genre and evolutionary theory used similar vocabulary. For the Napoleonic era, see Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Cours analytique de littérature générale : tel qu’il a été professé à l’Athénée de Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: Nepveu, 1817), I, 16.

⁷¹ Ch. Vg., ‘Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard’, *Archives littéraires de l’Europe*, VII (1805), 105–20 (p. 106).

⁷² *Journal des débats*, 7 January 1803.

may vary, but the audience expected it to adhere to a certain model. To be as faithful as possible to this contemporary understanding, I will consider plays given the generic qualifier ‘tragédie’ at the time. ‘Tragédie’ was not a label limited to new productions during the Napoleonic era: new creations had an inherent relationship with their generic precursors, many of which were still being performed more often than new tragedies. This is crucial because these earlier examples of tragedy formed the background against which new tragedies were received and judged. Therefore, the primary focus of this research is any ‘tragédie’ destined to be performed at the Comédie-Française during the Napoleonic regime, be it rewritten for or prevented from reaching the public. Consequently, it is necessary to concentrate on the performance and contemporary comprehension of seventeenth-century tragedy which formed the basis of the generic model, notably plays by Corneille and Racine, and its relationship with the new productions. Reception is key to this generic understanding, and thus in this thesis it will be vital also to venture into the worlds of publishing and education to grasp Napoleonic tragedy as globally as possible.

a. New Napoleonic Tragedies

New Napoleonic tragedies fall into three major groups. The first is composed of those based on classical myth and history; the second is those tragedies belonging to the *tragédie nationale* vein; and the third is those concentrating on ‘modern’ history outside of France. There are a few tragedies which elude this tripartite classification: *Tippo-Saëb* (1813) focuses on a French soldier in the Anglo-French proxy war in India (therefore, crossing over the divide between French and non-French history); the Bible was the principle source of inspiration for *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte* (1806); and *Phædor et Waldamir* (1801) was a Russian-themed tragedy with fantastical nature.

Classical Myth or History	Modern French History (tragédie nationale)	Modern Non-French History	Miscellaneous
<i>Thésée</i> (1800)	<i>Tippo-Saëb</i> (1813)		<i>Phædor et Waldamir</i> (1801)
<i>Polixène</i> (1804)	<i>Montmorenci</i> (1800)	<i>Alhamar</i> (1801)	<i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte</i> (1806)
<i>Cyrus</i> (1804)	<i>Isule et Orovèse</i> (1802)	<i>Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur</i> (1802)	
<i>Astyanax</i> (1805)	<i>Les Templiers</i> (1805)	<i>Pierre-le-Grand</i> (1804)	
<i>Antiochus Épiphanes</i> (1806)	<i>La Mort de Henri IV</i> (1806)	<i>Mahomet II</i> (1811)	
<i>Octavie</i> (1806)	<i>Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis</i> (1810)	<i>Jeanne Gray</i> (1815) [First Restoration]	
<i>Pyrrhus, ou Les Æacides</i> (1807)	<i>Les États de Blois</i> (1810/1814) ⁷³		
<i>Artaxerce</i> (1808)			
<i>Hector</i> (1809)			
<i>Vitellie</i> (1809)			
<i>Annibal</i> (1811)			
<i>Ninus II</i> (1813)			
<i>Ulysse</i> (1814) [First Restoration]			

Table 1. Table of the major groups of new Napoleonic tragedies.

⁷³ *Les États de Blois* is dated as 1810/1814 because it was performed before Napoleon in 1810, then censored and publicly performed in 1814. Both of these dates are important to this thesis, hence the dual date.

New Napoleonic tragedies were not homogenous; neither were their authors' careers. These men—for men they were—worked within the larger literary and political fields, demonstrating the same generic mixedness as the Comédie-Française's actors. Lemerrier, who wrote novel historical comedies performed at both the Comédie-Française and its sister theatre, the Théâtre de l'Odéon, also composed poetry, and gave lectures on drama, as Gabriel Vautier, Maurice Souriau, and Vincenzo De Santis have shown.⁷⁴ Raynouard became a specialist in Provençal languages;⁷⁵ Arnault was also a politician and an administrator, as Raymond Trousson has detailed; Marie-Joseph Chénier (1764–1811) donned many political caps over the years; Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian (1770–1854) famously translated *Jérusalem délivrée* (1796) and *Ossian* (1800) which would inspire a whole generation of Romantics.⁷⁶ Michel Faul has described how Étienne de Jouy (1764–1846), like other playwrights, had a career in the army and spent time abroad, before turning to theatre, particularly opera (such as *La Vestale* (1807) and *Les Bayadères* (1810)) and vaudeville.⁷⁷ The

⁷⁴ Gabriel Vautier, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Népomucène Lemerrier* (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1886), Maurice Souriau, *Népomucène Lemerrier et ses correspondants* (Paris: Vuibert et Nony Éditeurs, 1908) and Vincenzo De Santis, 'Le Dramaturge dissident. Le Théâtre de Louis Lemerrier entre Lumières et Romantisme' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2013), which has now been published as *Le Théâtre de Louis Lemerrier entre Lumières et Romantisme* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015).

⁷⁵ André Jaubert, *Just-François-Marie Raynouard (1761–1836) : un provençal illustre : essai sur sa vie et son œuvre* (Toulon: Société Nouvelle des Imprimeries Toulonnaises, 1936), p. 26. On Rayouard, see also Jules David, *Raynouard : sa vie et ses œuvres* (Caen: Le Blanc-Hardel, 1865). There is also another work on Raynouard which is only available in Strasbourg: André Guiraud, *F. M. J. Raynouard 1761–1836. 1^{ère} partie, sa vie* (Bonn: Imprimerie de l'Université, 1913).

⁷⁶ Maurice Gallagher, *Baour-Lormian, Life and Works, 1770–1854* (Paris: Perrin, 1938); Eugène Hangar, *Baour-Lormian (de l'Académie française) esquisses historiques sur la littérature de l'empire et de la restauration* (Toulouse: imprimerie de Bonnal et Gibrac, 1865); and Jean-Noël Pascal, ed., *Baour-Lormian, un poète toulousain à l'aurore du romantisme, Cahiers Roucher-André Chénier, études sur la poésie du XVIII^e siècle*, 31 (2011).

⁷⁷ Michel Faul, *Les Aventures militaires, littéraires et autres de Étienne de Jouy de l'Académie française, préface de Jean Tulard* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2009) and

authors who wrote new tragedies, then, were infused with multiple national and international influences.

Trauma was also an intrinsic part of the tragedians' life. Like the actors of the Comédie-Française who were imprisoned during the Terror,⁷⁸ several playwrights had also personally endured trauma during the Revolutionary period. To mention but a few cases Jouy was in exile, imprisoned, then sentenced to death;⁷⁹ Raynouard was incarcerated in 1794;⁸⁰ Chénier's brother, the poet André Chénier (1762–1794), was guillotined; Arnault witnessed Marie-Antoinette (1755–1793), in whose service he had been employed, being taken to the scaffold.⁸¹ Then there was the collective traumatic experience of the French Revolution and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars which killed more than the guillotine.⁸² The effect of trauma on tragedy was real: the tragic actor Saint Prix (1758–1834) could not perform for a long period after the death of his son whilst on campaign in 1812 and he repeatedly pleaded for permission to retire.⁸³ Tragedy was both on the stage and an integral part of contemporary life and we must be aware of these circumstances, for the playwrights, the actors, and the public, when analysing new Napoleonic tragedies.

3. The Case for Disregard: *Classique*, Propaganda, and Censorship

Paul Theodore Comeau, 'Étienne de Jouy: His Life and His Paris Essays' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Princeton University 1968).

⁷⁸ 'Arrêté du Comité du Salut Public, 2 September 1793' reproduced in Noëlle Guibert and Jacqueline Razgonnikoff, *Le Journal de la Comédie-Française 1787–1799. La Comédie aux Trois Couleurs* ([n.p.]: Sides, 1989), p. 231.

⁷⁹ Faul, pp. 38–39.

⁸⁰ Jaubert, p. 13.

⁸¹ Raymond Trousson, *Antoine-Vincent Arnault (1766–1834). Un homme de lettres entre classicisme et romantisme* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), p. 71.

⁸² William Doyle, 'Already by 1802 a million French citizens lay dead; a million more would perish under Napoleon, and untold more abroad.' William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 425.

⁸³ 'Note biographique'; 'lettre annonçant la mort du fils de Saint Prix' 31 July 1812; letter from the Théâtre-Français to Saint Prix, 27 September 1812, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Saint Prix.

Three words have condemned Napoleonic tragedy: ‘*classique*’, ‘propaganda’, and ‘censorship’. By reviewing these terms within wider theatre history, it is possible to contest their pejorative application to the Napoleonic period. Firstly, we must tackle the hydra that is the label *classique*. Through this label, scholars have denied the dynamism of this era’s tragic production, describing it as a field which was damningly ‘vide’.⁸⁴ The history of this term in relation to tragedy will be handled in Chapter Two; for the moment it suffices to say that when scholars describe Napoleonic tragedy as *classique*, it is not to evoke this tragedy’s standing as part of the cultural patrimoine. Napoleonic tragedy is not ‘classic’ like that of Racine, but generic, overly-formulaic, and resting on an out-of-date formula.⁸⁵ In reaction to post-war scholars who often used *classique* as a means to unify French mid-seventeenth-century theatre into a homogenous entity, Alain Viala argues that this aesthetic qualifier has ‘pris une acceptation de plus en plus restreinte qui soulève de nombreux problèmes’.⁸⁶ Whilst recent works on seventeenth-century *tragédie classique* have attempted to emphasise the heterogeneity of the movement or extend the *classique* period,⁸⁷ *classique* as a

⁸⁴ Lanson, pp. 130–31.

⁸⁵ Stéphane Zékian has recently investigated the construction of the ‘Siècle de Louis XIV’ in the early nineteenth century, which he aptly names ‘l’invention des classiques’. *Classique*, for Zékian, is based in a work’s reception(s), its place within the literary and national patrimoine. This argument is certainly valid, but his work is not specific to theatre and is based in the early nineteenth century, whereas this thesis considers the historiographical afterlife of Napoleonic tragedy and the generically specific term of *tragédie classique*. Stéphane Zékian, *L’Invention des classiques, le ‘siècle de Louis XIV’ existe-t-il ?* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2012)

⁸⁶ Alain Viala, ‘Qu’est ce qu’un classique ?’, *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, 1 (1992), available at < <http://bbf.enssib.fr/consulter/bbf-1992-01-0006-001> > [accessed 7 April 2016] (para. 10). For instance, René Bray reduced seventeenth-century theatre to the structural ‘doctrine classique’, René Bray, *La Formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1961). Jacques Scherer also adopted a similar approach, Jacques Scherer, *La Dramaturgie classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1962).

⁸⁷ For examples of works which underline the evolution of tragedy, see Georges Forestier and Jean-Pierre Néraudau, eds, *Un classicisme ou des classicismes ? : actes du colloque, université de Reims, 5, 6, 7 juin 1991 / organisé par le Centre de recherches sur les classicismes anciens et modernes* (Pau: Publications de l’université de Pau, 1995); Jean Dagen and Philippe Roger, eds, *Un siècle de*

term is still imbued with a sense of belonging to the seventeenth century. Its use by theatre historians thus negates the evolution of Napoleonic tragedy. Pierre Frantz has shown that the French cherish conflicts of theatrical evolution such as *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* and the transition from Classicism to Romanticism during the Napoleonic era was no different.⁸⁸ Ironically, although the portrayal of a schism between Romanticism and Classicism was initially a device of the former's critics, this divide became part of the self-mythologising of the new movement and allowed the Romantic generation to rewrite theatre history, emphasising their novelty compared to pre-existing theatre.⁸⁹ What is more, this debate became even more ideologically imbued against the Empire and its theatre: Hugo became a Republican icon and the *drame romantique* was taken up after the horrors of the Second World War by Jean Vilar (1912–1971) as a means of connecting with the nation and the population.⁹⁰ To situate Napoleonic tragedy within its own context and to take account of the theatrical evolution between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, I shall not use the term *classique* to refer to Napoleonic tragedy but 'classique' to distinguish how contemporaries understood specific version of the past models to be imitated.

'Propaganda' is another term which theatre historians use as an excuse to disregard Napoleonic tragedy.⁹¹ Sheryl Tuttle Ross has been instrumental in reconsidering propaganda by attempting to move away from its negative connotations, which are largely twentieth-century characteristics intensified by

deux cents ans? Les XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles : continuités et discontinuités (Paris: Desjonquères, 2004); Perchellet; Georges Forestier, *La Tragédie française: passions tragiques et règles classiques* (Paris: A. Colin, 2010). Maurizio Melai even extends *tragédie classique* up until 1854, Maurizio Melai, *Les Derniers Feux de la tragédie classique au temps du romantisme* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015).

⁸⁸ Frantz, pp. 116–26 (p. 116) and Frantz, pp. 173–97.

⁸⁹ Egli, p. 12; Viala, para. 6.

⁹⁰ Florence Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique en France. Histoire, écriture, mise en scène* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), pp. 298–99. On Vilar and the *drame romantique* in his project for his théâtre the Théâtre National Populaire, see Anne Ubersfeld, 'Vilar et le théâtre de l'histoire', *Romantisme*, 28 (1998), 17–25.

⁹¹ Patrick Berthier, *Le Théâtre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), pp. 30–31.

the World and Cold Wars.⁹² Instead of merely reducing propaganda to a top-down effect, where propaganda is directed from the government to its citizens,⁹³ Ross has reconceptualised the model: ‘not only does propaganda involve persuading, but also the one persuading (Sender) is doing so intentionally, and moreover there is a target for such persuasion (Receiver) and a means of reaching that target (Message).’⁹⁴ Ross’s understanding of propaganda being ‘sent on behalf of a political organisation or cause’, expands the term’s application beyond the government, where the ‘Sender’ could be an individual whose ideas are in line with the government or a political cause, and the target must be ‘a socially significant group of people’, for example a readership or an audience.⁹⁵ The intention to persuade is primary and given the theatrical maxim ‘plaire et instruire’, can theatre be anything other than propaganda? If we take propaganda as State sanctioned works, Racine’s *Esther* (1689) was a ‘pièce de commande’,⁹⁶ read in a political light at the time: Louis XIV (1638–1715) was the just King Assuérus and Madame de Maintenon (1635–1719) was the altruistic Esther, who became Assuérus’s second wife after the fall of his first, Vasthi, or Louis’s ‘maîtresse-en-titre’, Madame de Montespan (1640–1707).⁹⁷ If we take propaganda to be the desire to persuade on behalf of a political regime without explicit State direction, we must note that many tragedies drew useful parallels with seventeenth-century France: Corneille’s *Horace*, for example, showed once amicable families at war, like the Austrian and French royal

⁹² Sheryl Tuttle Ross, ‘Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art’, *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 36 (2002), 16–30 (p. 17).

⁹³ For example, the definition of Hans Speier, where propaganda is the ‘activities and communications from a government to its own citizens, other governmental personnel, or foreign audiences in general,’ Speier, quoted in Ross, pp. 16–30 (p. 18).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19 and p. 20.

⁹⁶ Jean Racine, ‘Préface’ to *Esther*, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Georges Forestier*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1999) I, 945–48.

⁹⁷ Madame Lafayette, *Mémoires de la Cour de France pour les années 1688 et 1689* cited by Georges Forestier, ‘Esther: Notice’, in Racine, *Œuvres*, I, 1673–90 (pp. 1683–84).

families, not to mention the civil tensions under Louis XIII (1601–1643);⁹⁸ *Cinna* (1643) reflected numerous seventeenth-century revolts and their harsh repression.⁹⁹ In the eighteenth century, *tragédie nationale* developed in the context of the Seven Years War and Voltaire's tragedies in particular were used as vehicles for the ideas of the *philosophes*.¹⁰⁰ But whereas the labels of 'théâtre politique' and 'théâtre historique' exempt these politically persuasive tragedies from the qualifier of 'propaganda', Napoleonic tragedy remains condemned.

Like his predecessors, Napoleon used theatre for propaganda purposes on both the national and international stage. Annie Jourdan has even suggested that Napoleon's dissemination of his own image in the cultural sphere was intentionally directed towards the creation of his own legend,¹⁰¹ while Napoleon has been described as the founding father of modern propaganda by Robert Holtman.¹⁰² Yet Frank Healey remains the only scholar to address literary propaganda thoroughly. Through his analysis of memoirs, correspondence, and contemporary policy, Healey demonstrates Napoleon's literary cultivation of

⁹⁸ Georges Couton, 'Horace: Notice', in Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres complètes, textes établis, présentés et annotés par Georges Couton*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1980–87), I (1980), 1533–52 (pp. 1543–44).

⁹⁹ Couton, 'Cinna: Notice', in Corneille, *Œuvres*, I, 1573–96 (pp. 1582–83).

¹⁰⁰ Ronald S. Ridgway, *La Propagande philosophique dans les tragédies de Voltaire* (Geneva: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1961).

¹⁰¹ Annie Jourdan, *Napoléon : héros, imperator, mécène* (Paris: Aubier, 1998). Amongst others, the Napoleonic Legend has been the focus of Albert Guérard, *Reflections on the Napoleonic Legend* (London: T. Fisher Urwin, 1924); Kathleen O'Flaherty, 'The Genesis of the Napoleonic Legend', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 58 (1969), 256–66; Jean Tulard, *L'Anti-Napoléon, la légende noire de l'Empereur* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973); Petiteau, *Napoléon, de la mythologie à l'histoire*; Philip Dwyer, 'Napoleon Bonaparte as Hero and Saviour: Image, Rhetoric and Behaviour in the Construction of a Legend', *French History*, 18 (2004), 379–403; Sudhir Hazareesingh, *The Legend of Napoleon* (London: Granta, 2004); and Sudhir Hazareesingh, *La Saint-Napoléon. Quand le 14 juillet se fêtait le 15 août* (Paris: Tallandier, 2007). Louis-Henri Lecomte and Maurice Descotes have taken a more literary approach in examining Napoleon's changing image among French writers, see Lecomte and Maurice Descotes, *La Légende de Napoléon et les écrivains français du XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Lettres modernes, Minard, 1967).

¹⁰² Robert Holtman, *Napoleonic Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 246.

glory.¹⁰³ Whilst Healey does assess theatre, a deeper and more sustained analysis remains indispensable. This thesis will thus consider how Napoleonic tragedies rewrite their hypotexts to interact with society at the time, tailoring such representations to public expectations and incorporating contemporary political signifiers.

My last term, censorship, has occasioned a disregard of Napoleonic tragedy on similarly untenable grounds. Maurizio Melai, whose own tragic scholarship was subject to the Restoration's system of censorship, dismissed tragedy of the previous period because of censorship.¹⁰⁴ However, no one questions the genius of Molière's (1622–1673) *Tartuffe* (1664–69) which endured five years of suppression and multiple rewritings in order to be performed,¹⁰⁵ nor the great 'models' of theatre written after the 1641 ruling which forbade the representation of 'actions malhonnêtes', 'paroles lascives ou à double entente qui puissent blesser l'honnêteté publique'.¹⁰⁶ Even after the Revolution's Loi Le Chapelier in 1791, supposedly granting freedom to the theatres, censorship did not cease and was never wholly abolished.¹⁰⁷ Censorship would continue throughout the nineteenth century until 1906, and arguably still

¹⁰³ Frank George Healey, *The Literary Culture of Napoleon* (Geneva: Droz, 1959).

¹⁰⁴ Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Georges Forestier, 'Tartuffe: Notice' Molière, *Œuvres complètes, édition dirigée par Georges Forestier*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 2010), II, 1354–89 (pp. 1355–65).

¹⁰⁶ 'Déclaration sur la profession des comédiens, qui leur défend les paroles lascives et deshonnêtes', 16 April 1641, in *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*, ed. by Athanase-Jean-Léger Jourdan and others, 29 vols (Paris: Belin-Leprieur, 1829–33) XVI (1829), 536–37 (p. 537). An English translation can also be found in *French Theatre in the Neo-Classical Era 1550–1789*, ed. by William D. Howarth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 104–05.

¹⁰⁷ Mark Darlow and Yann Robert, 'Introduction', in Jean-Louis Laya, *L'Ami des Lois, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Mark Darlow et Yann Robert* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2011), pp. 7–127 (p. 43) and Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution, Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 119–24.

endures in France today.¹⁰⁸ Censorship is thus no reason to disregard Napoleonic tragedy—not if we are to demand consistency, that is.

The dismissal of Napoleonic tragedy on the grounds of its censorship has also been remarkably insensitive to the different realms of written and performed text, as Victor Hallays-Dabot has stressed.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, the most subtle approach to censorship in the Napoleonic era remains Henri Welschinger's 1887 investigation. Concentrating on both pre-existing and new plays, Welschinger demonstrates the complexity of Napoleonic censorship, showing how the government influenced, surveyed, and repressed theatre. Welschinger's meticulous research uncovers the incoherencies of the system owing to individual tastes and personal connections.¹¹⁰ Over time, the conception of 'censorship' in relation to Napoleonic theatre has become more restrictive, as Odile Krakovitch's works on the documents of Archives nationales testify.¹¹¹ However, unlike Welschinger, Krakovitch studies a larger temporal period and often disregards Napoleonic tragedy, because of the supposed lack of sources, so she primarily concentrates on other genres or later periods. Recently, however,

¹⁰⁸ Krakovitch has shown that although censorship was supposedly abolished from 1830 to 1835, theatre was not mentioned in the constitution and although the relative liberty allowed some *drame romantique* plays to be performed, censorship was still exercised, Odile Krakovitch, 'Les Romantiques et la censure au théâtre', *Romantisme*, 12 (1982), 33–46 (pp. 34–35). With regard to today, one example is how Dieudonné (1966–)'s performances were banned in 2014, see 'Le Spectacle de Dieudonné est interdit dans plusieurs villes', *Le Monde*, 7 January 2015 available at:

<http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2014/01/07/dieudonne-en-passe-d-etre-interdit-a-tours-hollande-appelle-a-la-vigilance_4344084_3224.html> [accessed 15 January 2016]. Another case in point is a street theatre collective, available at: <<http://www.lefourneau.com/les-souffleurs-interdits-de-spectacle-a-paris-les-cnar-s-interpellent-president.html>> [accessed 15 January 2016].

¹⁰⁹ Victor Hallays-Dabot, *Historie de la censure théâtrale en France* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862).

¹¹⁰ Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire, avec documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1887).

¹¹¹ Odile Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure (1800–1830) : inventaire des manuscrits des pièces (F¹⁸ 581 à 668 et des procès-verbaux des censeurs (F²¹ 966 à 995)* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1982); Odile Krakovitch, 'La Censure théâtrale sous le Premier Empire', *Institut d'études napoléoniennes*, 158–59 (1992), 9–105.

the censorship of eighteenth-century theatre has been subject to innovative studies by scholars including Robert Darnton and Gregory Brown;¹¹² I aim to extend these cultural historical approaches to censorship to early nineteenth-century tragedy where ‘censurer’ meant far more than ‘to censor’.

In addition to their older history in the ancient world, propaganda and censorship have always been present in early- and late-modern countries in their various guises. Yet, owing to the political developments of the twentieth century, notably Nazism and the Cold War for scholars in Western Europe, they have been tainted with negative, ideological connotations. In the words of Foucault: ‘[i]l faut cesser de toujours décrire les effets de pouvoir en termes négatifs : il “exclut”, il “réprime”, il “refoule”, il “censure”, il “abstrait”, il “masque”, il “cache”’.¹¹³ By freeing up the terms from their twentieth-century baggage and by contesting twentieth-century methods which have valorised the *drame romantique*, it is high time to investigate the interactions between tragedy and the Napoleonic regime in order to understand better contemporary theatre, as well as to expand our knowledge of the relationship between the Napoleonic State and culture.

4. Methodology

a. Performing Rewriting/Rewriting Performance

Napoleonic tragedy is a site of rewriting: contemporary playwrights and critics not only rewrote the narratives of both global and theatrical history, but, for twenty-first century scholars, Napoleonic tragedy is a site where we can challenge the dominant narratives of theatre history. Writing any history is necessarily a subjective and selective process, but in an attempt to address the historic neglect of Napoleonic theatre, I propose to approach my topic from the

¹¹² Most recently for Robert Darnton see *Censors at Work: How States Shaped Literature* (London: British Library, 2014); Gregory S. Brown, ‘Reconsidering the Censorship of Writers in Eighteenth-Century France: Civility, State Power, and the Public Theater in the Enlightenment’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 75 (2003), 235–68.

¹¹³ Foucault, p. 227.

particular lenses of performance and rewriting to illuminate the complexities of Napoleonic theatre.¹¹⁴

‘Performance’ is an ambiguous term but its interdisciplinary approach and its foundation in Aristotle’s *Poetics* make it a useful tool to excavate Napoleonic tragedy.¹¹⁵ Performance-based analyses of tragedy in the French tradition are relatively recent.¹¹⁶ In departing from tragic productions as text then, performance allows tragedy to encompass the theatrical event, connecting different elements such as the actors, playwrights, audience, costume, set, gesture, articulation, the physical space of the stage, and the theatre, not to mention the administrative, political, and normative forces that frame the space of the performance (sometimes even prohibiting tragedy from reaching the stage). By attending to performances of tragedy, the presence of pre-existing works on the Napoleonic stage comes to the fore; too many French theatre histories focus on new productions to the exclusion of the surrounding performances among which the public situated their reception. This response is fundamental to the contemporary understanding of theatre, and thus our appreciation of how tragedy was used in the reconstruction of the French nation

¹¹⁴ For a review of the performative turn in history see Peter Burke, ‘Performing History: The Importance of Occasions’, *Rethinking History*, 9 (2005), 32–52. As Burke highlights on p. 39, this approach has also been adopted by Robert Darnton in his seminal work on cultural history *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Darnton’s methodology has influenced the study of Revolutionary culture. With particular relevance to this thesis, it has been used by Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution*.

¹¹⁵ For more on performance and the archive, see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Renaud Bret-Vitoz, *L’Espace et la scène : dramaturgie de la tragédie française, 1691–1759* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008); Sabine Chaouche, *La Mise en scène du répertoire à la Comédie-Française (1680–1815)*, 2 vols (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2013); Sabine Chaouche, ‘Du texte à la représentation : dire les vers au XVIII^e siècle’, in *Teatro do mundo. Da Pagina à cena, Da cena à pagina*, ed. by Cristina Marinho (Porto: Centro de estudos teatrais da universidade do Porto, 2013), pp. 51–62.

after the Revolution to offer a common source of language and culture.¹¹⁷

Theatre was an integral part of the public sphere, and as Christopher Balme has shown, performance was a form which bypassed rational debate; it was accordingly available to a far larger section of the public.¹¹⁸ Consequently, the Napoleonic State employed tragedy for political, educational, and social means. As Diana Taylor explains, the performance of live, reported, or printed theatre conveys and embodies models of knowledge and behaviour which are enacted within their reception even if they are refused.¹¹⁹ Therefore, performance had a direct impact on contemporary society, but following Taylor's approach which emphasises the reported and printed media as much as the live spectacle, the term 'performance' additionally offers an understanding of the treatment that Napoleonic tragedy has received in posterity. Performance as a methodological framework both accentuates the aesthetic, sociological, and political impact of theatre within its contemporary context and permits the mediation of the past within the present.

¹¹⁷ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France, Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 3–21, quote p. 21. The construction of a nation is no easy topic, and although Eric Hobsbawm has critiqued the creation of a nationhood through elements such as language and culture, arguing the process cannot be defined he has also realised that such elements can form an 'invented tradition' used in the project of nationalism. Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 5 and Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14 (p. 7). More recently, Lauren Clay has used Benedict Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' to argue that theatre was a key medium for nationalism in eighteenth-century France, Clay, *Stagestruck*, p. 7 and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London; New York: Verso, 2015).

¹¹⁸ See Christopher Balme, *The Theatrical Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), especially p. 22 and p. 26. Balme accepts that rational debate characterises the Habermasian public sphere but his extensive analyses show how theatre bypassed this critical elite and reached a greater portion of the public.

¹¹⁹ Diana Taylor, '[c]ivic obedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity, for example, are rehearsed and performed daily in the public sphere.' Taylor, p. 3.

Performance and rewriting should not be seen as separate practices: Gérard Genette and Lefevere have argued that the rewriting process occurs in performance, whether a premiere or a revival.¹²⁰ Performance alters the image of the source text, a metamorphosis recorded in accounts of new productions at the time. For instance, *Le Courrier français* documented that the reprise of *Hamlet* (1769) by Jean-François Ducis (1733–1816) was ‘sans doute une nouveauté pour la scène tragique’ with Talma and Mademoiselle Duchesnois in the main roles.¹²¹ New compositions also rewrote their hypotexts: the same periodical notes that at Chénier’s *Cyrus* in 1804 ‘[le public] a cru voir dans Astiages, Cyrus et Mandane, trop de ressemblance de situation avec Poliphonte, Egiste et Mérope.’¹²² For the public, Chénier had stayed too close to the plot of Voltaire’s *Mérope* (1743) and simply copied his characters. Chénier’s methods show how Genette’s notion of hypertextuality is particularly fitting to post-Revolutionary tragedy; contemporaries attempted to situate new productions within the French tradition, epitomised by the seventeenth century. Hypertextuality, Genette argues, is ‘toute relation unissant un texte B (que j’appellerai *hypertexte*) à un texte antérieur A (que j’appellerai, bien sûr, *hypotexte*) sur lequel il se greffe’.¹²³ Crucially, Genette indicates that imitation is one of the transformations contained in hypertextuality.¹²⁴ This is vital because Napoleonic society received a heritage of tragedy based upon the imitation of the seventeenth-century playwrights, notably Corneille and Racine, along with Voltaire for the eighteenth century. What is more, for Genette the hypertextuality of imitation has a key role in the development of generic traditions along with the audience’s horizon of expectation.¹²⁵

In performance, tragedies not only exist in connection to each other, but also in relation to particular performances, an association better defined by

¹²⁰ Lefevere, p. 6 and Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 405.

¹²¹ *Le Courrier français*, 25 May 1807.

¹²² *Le Courrier français*, 10 December 1804.

¹²³ Genette, *Palimpsestes*, p. 13.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 287. Genette, like many other genre theorists, is referring to Jauss’s term in *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception*. See also Todorov, pp. 13–26 (p. 18).

intertheatricality, a concept Jacky Bratton has developed with regard to 1830s theatre in Britain. Bratton argues that:

[Intertheatricality] seeks to articulate the mesh of connections between all kinds of theatre texts, and between texts and their users. It posits that all entertainments, including the dramas, that are performed within a single theatrical tradition are more or less interdependent. They are uttered in a language, shared by successive generations, which includes not only speech and the systems of the stage—scenery, costume, lighting and so forth—but also genres, conventions and, very importantly, memory. The fabric of that memory, shared by audience and players, is made up of dances, spectacles, plays and songs, experienced as particular performances—a different selection, of course, for each individual—woven upon knowledge of the performers’ other current and previous roles, and their personae on and off the stage.¹²⁶

Contemporary reports corroborate this phenomenon during the Napoleonic era. It was not only Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire who loomed large over the tragic landscape in Paris, but also the Comédie-Française’s previous actors such as Lekain, and their interpretations of tragedies were reference points for the theatrical tradition.

The concept of intertheatricality also elucidates the political interpretation of theatre at the time. Accounts of theatrical performances regularly record *applications*. For example, the *Journal de Paris* noted in 1805 that *Nicomède* (1651) was full of *applications* to the Revolution when it was revived that year.¹²⁷ In terms of new tragedies, the *Almanach des Spectacles* chronicled how the first three acts of *Les États de Blois* abounded in allusions in 1814—allusions which had been prevented from coming to the fore with the tragedy’s censorship

¹²⁶ Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 37–38.

¹²⁷ *Journal de Paris*, 7 January 1805, p. 751:

Peut-on lire sans en faire l’application à nos émigrés français, si indignement trahis par leurs hôtes, cette réponse d’Attale désabusé :

A voir quelle froideur à tant d’amour succède,
Rome ne m’aime plus, ELLE HAIT NICOMÈDE ;
Et, lorsqu’a mes projets elle feint d’applaudir,
Elle a voulu le perdre & non pas m’agrandir... ?

in 1810.¹²⁸ From this and similar accounts, it is evident not only that political references were part of intertheatricality but that the political intertheatrical relationship was engrained in the public's reception.

New tragedies were dependent on hypertextuality and intertheatricality. Lefevere uses Foucauldian notions of disciplinary power to show how writing is subjected to 'the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be—its poetics—and of what society should (be allowed to) be—ideology.'¹²⁹ (Re)writing is dependent upon patronage, both people and institutions. In accepting patronage, the (re)writer is subject to ideological, economic, and status constraints which allow the patron to exert a controlling force over the works produced.¹³⁰ This is particularly relevant to the present study since the Comédie-Française was a State institution financed by Napoleon—both by his regime and his household. These definitions of poetics, ideology, and patronage, are at the basis of my approach to rewriting.

The poetics and ideology of rewriting, as Lefevere defines them, are inherently intertwined during the Napoleonic era. The Comédie-Française was the only institution where tragedy could be performed for the majority of the period. It had been founded on the models of Corneille and Racine, playwrights cherished by Napoleon who was determined to restore the lustre of the seventeenth century. But the public could also exert pressure on tragic productions. Contemporary audiences wanted tragedy to evolve, at least slightly, for its entertainment: poetological pressure came from both above and below. Similarly, French theatre historians would have us believe that the Napoleonic regime exerted ideological control over the theatre so that only tragedies favourable to it were produced. Yet sometimes the adaptation of history was used by playwrights or by members of the public to subvert and thus rework the official Message, as in the case of *Les Templiers*, as Chapter Three will demonstrate.¹³¹ Importantly, this shows how the ideology shaping rewriting, like its poetics, did not belong solely to Napoleon. The influence of these different

¹²⁸ *Almanach des spectacles* (Paris: Duchesne, 1815), p. 165.

¹²⁹ Lefevere, p. 14.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–16.

¹³¹ Throughout this thesis, the capitalised form 'Message' refers to Ross's conception of propaganda.

agents is revealed by the rewritings of the palimpsest manuscript, the various printed editions, and their handwritten annotations. Therefore, in terms of rewriting's poetics and ideology, we are not dealing with an authoritarian exercise of power alone: tragedy was continually rewritten in an attempt to meet these differing expectations.

In short then, the rewriting of performance and the performance of rewriting relate not just to the transformation from text to stage, but additionally to the themes of contemporary tragedies, and how they interacted with the State and the public and the time, allowing us to contest the neglect to which Napoleonic tragedy has been subjected. Through using these terms and returning to the archives to excavate this era's tragic production, I aim to capture the historical specificity of Napoleonic tragedy, to rediscover its political ambivalence, and its poetic position.

b. Excavating Napoleonic Tragedy

Existing analyses of Napoleonic tragedy are primarily textual. The richest work on the topic is that of Gustave Merlet (1878) with six short chapters on tragedy.¹³² Merlet maintains that the period from 1800 to 1815 must be re-examined in the context of the end of the eighteenth century as well as the beginning of the nineteenth, a transition period necessary to fully appreciate later nineteenth-century developments. Subsequent scholarship on theatre from 1789 to 1830 highlights generic disintegration and the theatrical evolution rather than revolution, although several late nineteenth-century scholars declare the death of theatre under Napoleon.¹³³ There has been little relevant scholarship during the

¹³² Gustave Merlet, *Tableau de la littérature française, 1800–1815* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1878).

¹³³ Hippolyte Lucas, *Histoire philosophique et littéraire du théâtre français depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Jung-Treuttel, 1882); Paul Albert, *La Littérature française au XIX^e siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Hachette & Cie, 1884–85); Louis Petit de Julleville, *Le Théâtre en France, histoire de la littérature dramatique, depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: A. Colin, 1894); and Albert, *La Littérature française sous la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration*.

twentieth century, barring a few unperceptive pages in Marvin Carlson,¹³⁴ and a fleeting analysis in Patrick Berthier's *Théâtre au XIX^e siècle* where he concludes that '[l]e seul trait original d'une partie d'entre [les tragédies napoléoniennes] est le choix d'un sujet emprunté, non à l'Antiquité ou aux pays lointains, mais à l'histoire nationale', a conclusion he advocates again in 2008 and 2014.¹³⁵ Michèle Jones similarly adopts such a view in her investigation of theatre's use of national history from 1800 to 1830.¹³⁶ A better, if brief, analysis by Gérard Gengembre rejects the idea that contemporary society saw tragedy as dead, and underlines the inter-generic influence tragedy exerted, especially on the *drame*.¹³⁷ The prevalence of analysis of printed material is perhaps natural given the survival of the printed play text, relatively accessible compared to archival documents. Works concentrating on playwrights and actors have contained some literary analysis,¹³⁸ and there has been a handful of publications on Napoleonic

¹³⁴ Marvin Carlson, *The French Stage in the Nineteenth-Century* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1972), pp. 12–25.

¹³⁵ Berthier, *Le Théâtre au XIX^e siècle*, p. 31 and Patrick Berthier, *Le Théâtre en France de 1791 à 1828. Le Sourd et la muette* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2014), p. 219. As for 2008 and 2014, in 2008 Patrick Berthier and Sylvian Ledda cover tragedy from 1806 to 1815 in two pages, making fundamental errors, such as presenting *Guillaume le Conquérant* as a tragedy ordered by Napoleon which failed, Patrick Berthier and Sylvian Ledda, 'Persistence des genres classiques', in *Le Théâtre français du XIX^e siècle. Histoire – Textes Choisis – Mises en Scène*, ed. by Hélène Laplace-Claverie, Sylvian Ledda and Florence Naugrette (Paris: L'Avant-scène théâtre, 2008), pp. 45–54 (p. 47–48). It was in fact a 'drame historique' and was censored: 'La Comédie a Reçu ce soir à huit heures l'ordre de supprimer les Rep.ons de Guillaume le Conquerant. L'ordre etait signé de Mr. Remusat Préfet du palais', 5 February 1804, BMCF, R 327.

¹³⁶ Michèle Jones, *Le Théâtre national en France de 1800 à 1830* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), p. 22.

¹³⁷ Gérard Gengembre, *Le Théâtre français au XIX^e siècle, 1789–1900* (Paris: A. Colin, 1999), pp. 169–72.

¹³⁸ Recent examples include Bruno Villien, *Talma, l'acteur favori de Napoléon I^{er}* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2001) and Fazio, 2011. For playwrights, see Marie-Pierre Le Hir, *Le Romantisme aux enchères : Ducange, Pixérécourt, Hugo* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992) or more recently Joyce Johnston, *Women Dramatists, Humor and The French Stage, 1802–1855* (New York; Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

theatre by genre.¹³⁹ In terms of tragedy, François Jacob's article on *Hector* reads the play within the political context of its composition, supposedly in 1808, but archival evidence in the Comédie-Française contradicts his conclusions.¹⁴⁰ These

¹³⁹ For example, Tanguy Logé, 'Le Théâtre comique sous le Consulat et l'Empire : pour ou contre le rire ?', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 43 (1991), 313–30; Jean-Marie Thomasseau has dedicated a number of works to melodrama such as Jean-Marie Thomasseau, 'Le Mélodrame et la censure sous le Premier Empire et la Restauration', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 162 (1976), 171–82 and Jean-Marie Thomasseau, *Le Mélodrame* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984). An opera analysis can be found in Chaillou, *Napoléon et l'Opéra* and vaudeville has been treated by Stéphanie Fournier in her thesis, from which she will publish 'Le Passage d'un siècle à l'autre au théâtre ou l'inscription de l'actualité dans la temporalité théâtrale', and 'Le Vaudeville ou l'art de s'adapter aux circonstances', in *Fièvre et vie du théâtre sous la Révolution française et l'Empire*, ed. by Vincenzo De Santis and Thibaut Julian (Paris: Classiques Garnier, forthcoming [2017]). Johanna Danciu focused her doctoral thesis on vaudeville, and has recently published 'Le Vaudeville joue et se joue : allégorie, métathéâtralité et politisation à la fin du XVIII^e siècle et au début du XIX^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire du théâtre*, 265 (2015), 77–94. Roxane Martin has focused on the *féerie*, Roxane Martin, *La Féerie romantique sur les scènes parisiennes, 1791–1864* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007) and Maxime Margolle has worked on the Opéra-Comique 'Aspects de l'opéra-comique sous la Révolution : l'évolution du goût et du comique aux théâtres Favart et Feydeau entre "Medée" (1797 et "L'Irato" (1801)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Poitiers, 2013). Recent critical editions have also covered comedy, see Vincenzo De Santis, 'Le Dramaturge dissident', and Népomucène Louis Lemercier, *Christophe Colomb, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Vincenzo De Santis* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015) and Roxane Martin is directing a complete works of Pixérécourt: René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt, *Mélodrames, sous la direction de Roxane Martin*, 2 vols (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013). Current doctoral theses include: Annelies Andries (Yale University) on opera 1799–1815; Thibaut Julian (Université Paris Sorbonne (Paris-IV)) on eighteenth- early-nineteenth-century historical theatre; Jonathan Huff (King's College London) on Opéra-Comique to 1800; Marie-Cécile Schang (Université Paris Sorbonne (Paris-IV)) on 'comédie mêlées d'ariettes' from 1759 to 1810; Devon Cox (University of Warwick) on the theatre of the French prisoners of war.

¹⁴⁰ François Jacob, 'Fin de la tragédie et tragédie de la fin : à propos de l'"Hector" de Luc de Lancival', in *Regards sur la tragédie 1736–1815*, ed. by Karine Bénac-Giroux and Jean-Noël Pascal (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2010), pp. 159–73 (p. 166). *La Mort d'Hector* by Luce de Lancival was

studies demonstrate the need to return to the archives to fully reinvestigate Napoleonic tragedy's position in its contemporary world and in theatre history.

To correct the record it has been necessary to excavate Napoleonic theatre. Although the history we write is unavoidably attached to our present circumstances, Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks have proposed a theatre archaeology, to reconstitute a '**stratigraphy** of layers: of text, physical action, music and/or soundtrack, scenography and/or architecture'.¹⁴¹ Even if they are not directly influenced by Pearson and Shanks, this approach has recently been adopted by a number of theatre historians, such as Sabine Chaouche in *La Mise en scène du répertoire à la Comédie-Française (1680–1815)*. Chaouche divides sources between those publically accessible and those held in private. Whilst the public documents—publications including treatises on declamation or memoirs—have been used as sources in theatre history, there is a huge neglect of private documents, such as archival manuscripts and correspondence, since they are harder to access.¹⁴² Chaouche returns to the archives in order to release theatre from its textual constraints and to study multifaceted performance for a period which is traditionally understood as being devoid of 'mise en scène'. Her findings are not complete, and they concentrate mainly on the Comédie-Française prior to 1793 and more on comedy than tragedy.¹⁴³ Her analysis is also often devoid of historical or political context. Nevertheless, by using oft-overlooked archival material Chaouche has been able to release pre-1815 theatre from its textual frame and reconstruct elements of the theatrical event, from rehearsals to performance.

Archival research is a key element of many works which touch on Napoleonic theatre, notably those of Triolaire and Krakovitch. Chaouche's specificity is to analyse performance rather than theatrical life, a larger field of study used by Triolaire which incorporates sociological and political aspects

received unanimously by the Comédie-Française's reading committee on 4 June 1807 thus over a year before the Congress of Erfurt, Paris, BMCF, R 450.

¹⁴¹ Mike Pearson and Michael Shanks, *Theatre/Archaeology* (London; New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 11 and p. 24. The emphasis is found in the original.

¹⁴² Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, I, pp. 14–15.

¹⁴³ This generic focus is confirmed by her recent publications, Sabine Chaouche, *Relevés de mise en scène (1686–1823) : 'L'Homme à bonne fortune', 'Le Joueur', 'Le Distrain'* (Comédie-Française) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015).

amongst others.¹⁴⁴ Triolaire's and Krakovitch's works rightly hold theatre to be a cultural practice, indeed, a form of cultural policy. The archives, especially administrative documents and correspondence, reveal how the theatrical performance was subject to power. The Comédie-Française required financing by the State and by the revenues of performances. It thus entered into a relationship of dependency where power was held by the regime, but also by the public.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, given theatre's ability to educate and to instruct, both on and offstage, the State is reliant upon the theatre, especially in post-revolutionary France which continued to be positive about theatre's didactic purposes. We have seen that scholarship assumes that Napoleonic tragedy was too close to authority to have any aesthetic worth, but the corresponding archival research has not been undertaken. Therefore, I will continue the established archival approach, but instead of separating the theatrical event in an ahistorical setting and theatrical life imbedded in contemporary politics, I will join these two strands to examine tragedy of the Napoleonic era.

However, it is important to recall the limits of archival research. Arlette Farge has eloquently recounted this experience, highlighting how the archive simultaneously exposes life of another époque and blurs it. 'L'archive ne dit peut-être pas la vérité, mais elle dit *de la vérité*',¹⁴⁶ a series of truths we have to mediate and understand. From the moment of the document's conception there is an absence: what the person did not wish to say, what the scribe did not note.¹⁴⁷ Then there is the choice of what people, even in government, chose to preserve, and—especially relevant for the Napoleonic era—what they chose to destroy. Napoleon's head of Police, Joseph Fouché (1759–1820), famously stole and burned many of his own Ministry's papers,¹⁴⁸ and Krakovitch has lamented the

¹⁴⁴ Martine de Rougemont defines 'la vie théâtrale' as 'les aspects économiques, sociologiques et politiques de l'histoire du théâtre [et] la littérature dramatique, l'esthétique théâtrale et les arts de la représentation' Martine de Rougemont, *La Vie théâtrale en France au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Champion-Slaktine, 1988), p. 9.

¹⁴⁵ On the relationship between the theatre, public, and the State see Clay, *Stagestruck*.

¹⁴⁶ Arlette Farge, *Le Goût de l'archive* (Paris: Seuil, 1989), p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁴⁸ Emmanuel de Waresquiel and Alexandre Demidoff, 'Fouché, la pieuvre enfin domptée', *Le Temps*, 4 November 2015, available at

disappearance of many of the Napoleonic police files, including the eight boxes relating to Napoleonic censorship which burned in the Hôtel de Ville during 1871.¹⁴⁹ As researchers, furthermore, we must make a subjective decision of what to study.¹⁵⁰ The archive is thus far from complete, but without it we cannot sufficiently understand the topic at hand.

To examine Napoleonic tragedy, its reception, its interactions with the State, and its position within the evolution from Classicism to Romanticism, this thesis is heavily archival. The Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française contains a wealth of sources, such as the administrative archives from registers of the Comité's deliberations to the invoices for printing the daily playbills, from the pay of the orchestra to the orders on behalf of Napoleon himself; internal and external correspondence between the State, administrators, actors, playwrights, and the public; manuscript versions of the plays, censored copies, and the 'manuscripts du souffleur',¹⁵¹ as well as numerous printed editions. The Archives nationales are another rich source for information regarding the surveillance of the Comédie-Française, from censorship reports and manuscripts, to correspondence between the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, or between Napoleon's household and the theatre. The digitalisations of Gallica render some publications much more accessible, but extensive research in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Richelieu, Richelieu-Louvois, Arsenal, and François-Mitterrand) and the Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris has been indispensable for access to contemporary periodicals, editions of theatrical and critical texts, and their handwritten annotations, not to mention manuscripts which have come into their possession. Published correspondence remains useful, as do contemporary publications on travel in France. Although the travellers sometimes bear perceivable prejudices, they remark much more on the theatrical experience than the average French account because of its difference to their habitual experiences. It is also important to recognise that, like Napoleonic

<<http://www.letemps.ch/culture/2015/11/04/fouche-pieuvre-enfin-domptee>> [accessed 21 January 2016].

¹⁴⁹ Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure (1800–1830)*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁰ Farge, p. 87.

¹⁵¹ The term 'prompt book' shall be used to refer to the French 'manuscrit du souffleur'.

theatre, artefacts travel: subsequently, this thesis uses research undertaken outside of Paris and France, notably in Great Britain, Belgium, and Germany, alongside global digitalisations.

Where possible, rather than using later editions which are often more readily available digitally, the sources quoted are contemporary editions, to consult the texts as they were made available to the Napoleonic public, to see their original form whence stemmed the debates and reception of tragedy at the time. Of course, all writers have an agenda, some more obvious than others; noticeable examples would be the relative standpoints of periodicals such as the *Journal des débats*, later the *Journal de l'Empire*, which was far more theatrically conservative than *La Décade*. Likewise, police reports were written with the view to serving the State, to help classify, survey, and control society. Nonetheless, preference has been given to contemporary sources over anecdotes and memoirs written and published after the period concerned. These later sources can distort the picture, especially with the changing of the political and ideological tides. To be as faithful as possible to the topic in hand, this thesis turns away from the anecdotal and returns to the archives.

c. Chronicling Performances

One consequence of the neglect of Napoleonic theatre is the absence of a complete calendar of performances at the Comédie-Française under Napoleon.¹⁵² This task has been attempted previously, with varying degrees of thoroughness: Charles Wicks has selectively recorded the new productions from 1800 to

¹⁵² This approach has been successfully employed by scholars working on the Revolutionary period: André Tissier, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution: répertoire analytique, chronologique et bibliographique : de la réunion des États généraux à la chute de la royauté 1789–1792*, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1992–2002); Emmet Kennedy, Marie-Laurence Netter, and James P. McGregor, *Theatre, Opera and Audience in Revolutionary Paris: Analysis and Repertory* (London: Greenwood Press, 1996) and Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution*.

1815;¹⁵³ the list of new Napoleonic tragedies offered by Jean Rigotard is incomplete,¹⁵⁴ and although A. Joannides enumerates the performances of plays over the years 1680 to 1900, there are considerable inaccuracies and no distinction between the first and second play of the evening's programme.¹⁵⁵ My calendar in Appendix A has been established from the 'registres des feux' at the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française. These registers record the plays performed, the combination of plays per evening, the cast, and contain annotations relating to contemporary life at the Comédie-Française and its interactions with the government. Because the 'registres des feux', were prepared before the evening's performance, they have been fruitful in tracing the changes to the programme and the reasons for such modifications. These registers also list court performances, those which were 'par ordre', gratis, benefit performances, and 'relâches'. The 'registres des recettes', completed after the performance, have been used as the source of the daily takings data and for entries where the 'registres de feux' were unclear.

From this calendar we can ascertain the importance of tragedy in Paris. Forty-four per cent of first plays, the 'grandes pièces' which would be followed by a shorter comedy, were tragedies. On average, evenings where tragedy was the 'grande pièce' produced 700 more francs per performance than comedies.¹⁵⁶ Fifty per cent of these tragedies date from the seventeenth century, thirty-eight from the eighteenth century, and twelve from the Napoleonic era. This calendar also reveals the growth in tragic production, as well as the retention of older repertoire: among the seventeenth-century tragedies performed, there were only six playwrights and twenty-three plays; for the eighteenth-century tragedies there were seventeen playwrights and forty-seven tragedies; while for the nineteenth-century productions there were twenty-two playwrights and twenty-seven new tragedies (six more than the new first-play comedies written by sixteen

¹⁵³ Charles Beaumont Wicks, *The Parisian Stage: An Alphabetical Index of Plays and Authors*, 5 vols (Birmingham: University of Alabama Press, 1950–79), I (1950).

¹⁵⁴ Jean Rigotard, 'La Vie théâtrale sous le Consulat et l'Empire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris Diderot – Paris VII, 2000), p. 477.

¹⁵⁵ A. Joannides, *La Comédie-Française de 1680 à 1900. Dictionnaire général des pièces et des auteurs* (Geneva: Slaktine Reprints, 1970).

¹⁵⁶ For statistics from the calendar of performances please see Appendix B.

playwrights).¹⁵⁷ The tragedies of the Grand Siècle evidently occupied a privileged position in the performed repertoire, constituting an exclusive canon, centred around Corneille (443 performances) and Racine (652 performances), and Voltaire for the eighteenth century (463 performances). These were also the three most profitable playwrights: Racine alone generated nearly half a million more francs over the period than any other author. There were of course other famous seventeenth-century plays in Napoleonic France, notably *Manlius Capitolinus* (1698) by Antoine de la Fosse (1653–1708) as revived by Talma in 1806, but the holy Trinity of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire formed the crux of the canon, both in performance and in the reception of the tragic heritage. They not only influenced Napoleonic playwrights but shaped the reception of their new tragedies.

The calendar of performances also reveals that tragedy was performed more often during the period 1800 to 1807, and in the years 1811 and 1813, periods when the performance of comedy waned and the *drame* almost disappeared.¹⁵⁸ Whereas eighteenth-century tragedy had dominated the Consulate, it quickly fell into decline during the Empire, and the performances of seventeenth-century tragedy increased, reinforcing the (re-)establishment of the canon and its importance in post-Revolutionary France. As in all genres, the total number of Napoleonic performances of tragedies was dependent upon successful runs. Most of the tragedies performed (rather than written) under Napoleon were well-known and already part of the canon. Whilst Corneille and Racine continue to arouse scholarly interest, the twenty-seven new tragedies performed between 18 Brumaire 1799 and July 1815 (two of which were performed during the First Restoration) have not joined them.

Theatre history tends to talk of ‘succès’ and ‘chutes’, but some tragic ‘failures’ are just as revealing. It is clear, for example, that some plays were doomed for ideological and political reasons concerning the author rather than the content or form of the plays themselves; likewise that counting performances

¹⁵⁷ There were a further forty second-play comedies. It is worth noting here that Raynouard was a considerable financial success: although his plays were only performed for two thirds of the period he is in the top ten most profitable authors.

¹⁵⁸ Several *dramas* such as *Le Philosophe sans le savoir* (1765) were generically listed as ‘comédie’ and thus this is not a completely faithful picture.

is an inadequate way of measuring impact. Performance figures, for example, would suggest that plays such as *Les Templiers* with fifty-six performances, or *Artaxerce* and *Hector* with forty performances alike, were the most successful. However, as the ‘Rapport du Jury’ for the *Prix décennaux* noted in 1810, tragedies like *Pyhrrus*, which was only performed seven times, also had an important impact despite its run being affected by external factors.¹⁵⁹ These external factors could be varied: Mademoiselle George fled the Comédie-Française whilst in the main female role for *Artaxerce*, for example, interrupting the performance run. Likewise, as Sophie Marchand has recently shown, ‘succès’ is not counted simply in terms of financial gain or the symbolic gesture of having one’s play admitted to the repertoire.¹⁶⁰ A play can also be a ‘succès’ depending on the impact a performance has or who attends: Napoleon, for instance, graced several new tragedies with his presence, such as *Cyrus* for his coronation in 1804. Regardless of how many times they were performed, these Napoleonic tragedies and their rewritings offer a key insight into the production and reception of tragedy at the time.

5. Research Aims

Napoleonic tragedy has been subject to multi-faceted neglect. When these productions have been studied, more attention has been paid to the events surrounding their performance than the tragedies themselves, on the account of the long-standing association of Napoleonic theatre with propaganda and censorship. Aesthetically new works have been disregarded through the adjective *classique*. However, history changes: Revolutionary theatre—which was once equally overlooked—has been restored after the bicentenary celebrations of the 1789, the end of the Cold War, and the fragmentation of Marxist Revolutionary historiography. Perhaps now, after the bicentenary of Waterloo, a commemoration which emphasised the luck of the day rather than a pre-destined fate, and the studies revealing the ideological stances of Napoleonic

¹⁵⁹ *Rapport du Jury*, p. 66.

¹⁶⁰ Sophie Marchand, ‘Réflexions sur le succès scénique’, conference paper at ‘Remettre en jeu le passé. Métamorphoses du corpus des Registres de la Comédie-Française’, Paris, 15 December 2015.

historiography will allow the distrust cast by Napoleon over France and Europe to subside and open up the field to new investigations.

The purpose of this thesis is to use the lens of performance and rewriting to situate early nineteenth-century tragedy, both new and pre-existing compositions, in the transition from Classicism to Romanticism and to consider the role of tragedy within the Napoleonic regime and contemporary society. In doing so, it will examine how the performance of rewriting, in the hypertextuality of the tragic tradition and the poetological and ideological rewriting of the dominant narratives of French history via tragedy, interacted with post-revolutionary society. This will also shed light on the performance of power during the Napoleonic era. It will consequently contest today's narratives of theatrical and cultural history.

The first chapter will examine how Napoleonic society received and understood French tragedy dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the modern notion of 'Classicism' developed. I will commence by discussing how tragedy was used in print in the worlds of publishing, education, and criticism as part of the project to reconstruct the French nation after the Revolution: an attempt to impose an order that had been overturned. This will subsequently lead to an investigation of how tragedy was transmitted—arguably translated—to the post-revolutionary generation at a moment when the first critical literary histories were developing. In doing so, I will reveal how there was a very different understanding of tragic 'Classicism' during the Napoleonic era than that which we hold today. On the one hand, this is because the Napoleonic era inherited a rewritten tragic inheritance; the pre-existing tragedies arrived in a modified form and whilst some would be restored to their original state, others would be further rewritten. On the other hand, this different understanding is a result of how seventeenth-century tragedy was used by Napoleon as a source of propaganda at home and abroad, relying on their hypertextual and intertheatrical links to reinforce his position. By showing the malleable history of *tragédie classique*, this chapter will challenge French theatre history's dominant narratives of the tragic genre, and consider the extent to which Napoleon and his regime relied on tragedy in an attempt to reconstruct the French nation after the Revolution.

The debates and discussions surrounding the developing notion of Classicism are explored in Chapter Two, where I expose the extent to which Napoleonic playwrights were subjected to the imitation of a previous model. ‘Tragédie’ had clear formal identifiers, such as the unities, but not only was this inherited model evolving over time, but it was contested by the geographical and theoretical periphery, the romantic avant-gardes such as Germaine de Staël (1766–1817), Benjamin Constant (1767–1830), and their Germanic companion, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845).¹⁶¹ Bernard Franco has uncovered the greater reciprocal transferral of tragic theories between France and the German Lands in the years 1797 to 1814 than before the Directory, but the relationship between these theories and the practice of tragedy has not yet been studied.¹⁶² This underscores the need to readdress the denunciation of Napoleonic tragedy as *classique*. To assess the rightful position of Napoleonic tragedy between the two contemporary schools of thought, it will be necessary to establish a historically specific generic framework. This framework will be founded on Napoleonic tragic theory and its view of the tragic heritage, underlining the distinctive conception held by early nineteenth-century literati. To emphasise the specificity of this model, the normal adjective *classique* will be used to denote seventeenth-century theatre but replaced with ‘classique’ to refer to nineteenth-century tragedy. With this approach it will be possible to examine the extent to which new Napoleonic tragedies can be considered to belong to a specifically nineteenth-century concept of the tragic tradition, as well as how or if they innovated or responded to ‘romantique’ thinking. Accordingly, this chapter will unveil how certain new Napoleonic tragedies pushed the established

¹⁶¹ Schlegel’s dates are taken from the Deutschen Nationalbibliothek, available at: <http://www.dnb.de/EN/Kataloge/kataloge_node.html> [accessed 25 January 2016].

¹⁶² Bernard Franco, “‘Phèdre’ sous l’Empire : enjeux d’un modèle national”, in *Littératures classiques, jeux et enjeux des théâtres classiques (XIX^e–XX^e siècles), actes du colloque tenu en Sorbonne les 2 et 3 mars 2001*, ed. by Mariane Bury and Georges Forestier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), pp. 85–95; Bernard Franco, “‘Wallenstein’ et le romantisme français”, *Revue germanique internationale*, 22 (2004), 160–73; and Bernard Franco, *Le Despotisme du goût. Débats sur le modèle tragique allemand en France, 1797–1814*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006).

aesthetic and poetic boundaries, paving the way for the later movement of Romanticism, showing the way Romantic theatre drew on developments under Napoleon.

In Chapter Three I turn to one of the key sites of contestation of the ‘classique’ model: the use of history. Scholars working on later nineteenth-century theatre maintain that the understanding of the present through the history portrayed on-stage is a later nineteenth-century novelty.¹⁶³ I will argue that this is not the case but that, as other periods had done, Napoleonic tragedies rewrote history to comprehend the present. The rewriting of the ancient world and modern French history served to mediate the Revolution and to allow social catharsis, supporting the nation’s reconstruction. I will consider how this tragedy was used as propaganda by problematising the term and resituating it within the historical context of the tragedies.

The final chapter will look at the performance of Napoleon’s power in the domain of censorship, both in relation to theatrical performances and as printed text. Enlarging the definition of censorship, this chapter will demonstrate how multiple institutions and bodies—including the public—came together to exert poetological and ideological constraints. Beginning by examining how censorship was implemented by the official system following the regime’s bureaucracy, notably in the Ministère de l’Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, and how these ministries interacted with the Comédie-Française, I will continue by considering the ‘lateral censorship’ of the Comédie-Française and the rewriting of tragedies to comply with audience expectations and control. Next, I will analyse Napoleon’s use of court performances as a means of personal surveillance and regulation. In order to contest the general opinion that such censorship was specific to the Napoleonic era, I will compare this period’s censorship with that of its predecessor and successor, thus interrogating the view of modern scholars that the extent and nature of censorship was in any way particular to this time period.

This thesis thus uses extensive archival and primary source-based research to interrogate and subsequently counter the dominant narratives that

¹⁶³ For example, Melai, *Les Derniers Feux* and Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique*.

have reduced Napoleonic tragedy to its current state of neglect. The case for this disregard relies on the three accusatory condemnations of '*classique*', 'propaganda', and 'censorship'. By presenting the evidence of the libraries and archives, by expanding the terms and liberating them from their twentieth-century baggage, and by comparing their status under other historical circumstances, I dispute the judgement to which Napoleonic tragedy is currently subjected, bringing essential new findings to the fields of theatre and literary history, political, and cultural history.

Chapter 1

Rewriting French ‘Classical Tragedy’: The Case of the Napoleonic ‘Classique’

Introduction

Over the centuries, what are now termed French ‘classical tragedies’,¹ namely the works of Pierre Corneille, Jean Racine, and Voltaire amongst others, have come to be regarded as relatively stable and each text has been unified through critical editions and educational curricula. However, immediately after the Revolution it was a very different state of affairs. Firstly, ‘Classicism’ as a notion relating to seventeenth-century works was introduced *a posteriori*, as Christian Delmas argues.² It was implemented in large part in reaction to the Germanic invasions of 1814 and 1815, both those of the military and of theory (notably August Wilhelm Schlegel’s *Cours de littérature dramatique* and Madame de Staël’s *De l’Allemagne* in 1814), and then by the Romantics who defined themselves through their opposition to an antedated ‘Classicism’.³ Before this noun became common, *classique* had existed in the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française* since 1694 where it was endowed with the sense of authority, uniquely

¹ The French tend to use the term ‘tragédie classique’ to refer to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French tragedy whereas the Anglophone world prefers ‘neo-classical French tragedies’. Since ‘neo-classical’ can also be employed by the French to refer to other periods, this thesis will use the term ‘classical tragedy’ as adopted from the French.

² Christian Delmas, *La Tragédie de l’âge classique, 1553–1770* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), p. 18. An earlier example is Pierre Moreau, *Le Classicisme des romantiques* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1932), pp. 7–8.

³ Edmond Egli and Pierre Martino, *Le Débat romantique en France, 1813–1830, pamphlets, manifestes, polémiques de presse*, 2 vols (Paris: Société d’édition ‘Les Belles Lettres’, 1933), I, 247 and Alain Viala, ‘Qu’est ce qu’un classique ?’, *Bulletin des bibliothèques de France*, 1 (1992), available at <<http://bbf.enssib.fr/consulter/bbf-1992-01-0006-001>> [accessed 7 April 2016] (para. 6). Stendhal uses the term ‘classicisme’ in his 1823 version of *Racine et Shakespeare* (Paris: Bossange, 1823), p. 12 and p. 43.

relating to authors of the ancient world.⁴ This term evolved to reference seventeenth-century authors: Voltaire spoke of ‘ces bons livres classiques, qui honorent le siècle de Louis XIV & qui font la bibliothèque des nations’⁵ and the *Encyclopédie* used *classique* to denote linguistic quality.⁶ By 1798 *classique* had additionally acquired an educational tone to denote what was read in the classes of the *collèges*.⁷ However, in the 1835 edition of the *Dictionnaire*, *classique* had developed to signify ‘les Arts d’imitation, [...] De ce qui est conforme aux règles strictes de l’art’.⁸ This 1835 definition implying models and rules is still used in modern scholarship,⁹ but as its evolution from 1798 shows, the Napoleonic era

⁴ ‘Classique. adj. N’est en usage qu’en cette phrase. *Auteur classique*, C’est à dire, Un Auteur ancien fort approuvé, & qui fait autorité dans la matiere qu’il traite. *Aristote, Platon, Tite-Live &c. sont Auteurs classiques.*’ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 1694, available at: <<http://artflsrv01.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdicollook.pl?strippedhw=classique>> [accessed 20 January 2014].

⁵ Voltaire, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*, 2 vols (Berlin: Henning, 1751), II, 266.

⁶ ‘On peut dans ce dernier sens donner le nom d’auteurs *classiques François* aux bons auteurs du siècle de Louis XIV. & de celui - ci; mais on doit plus particulièrement appliquer le nom de *classiques* aux auteurs qui ont écrit tout à la fois élégamment & correctement, tels que Despréaux, Racine, &c. Il seroit à souhaiter, comme le remarque M. de Voltaire, que l’académie Française donnât une édition correcte des auteurs *classiques* avec des remarques de Grammaire’, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, etc.*, ed. by Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d’Alembert. University of Chicago: ARTFL Encyclopédie Project (Spring 2013 Edition), ed. by Robert Morrissey, available at: <<http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/philologic/getobject.pl?c.2:1118.encyclopedie0513.5250206>> [accessed 22 March 2016].

⁷ ‘Classique, se dit aussi quelquefois De ce qui a rapport aux classes des Collèges. *Devoir classique. Exercice classique.*’ *Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 1798, available at: <<http://artflsrv02.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/dicos/pubdicollook.pl?strippedhw=classique>> [accessed 22 March 2016].

⁸ Ibid. Words enter dictionary only once they have been established and so we can see that usage of these meanings of *classique* date from somewhere between 1798 and 1835.

⁹ Georges Forestier, *La Tragédie française: passions tragiques et règles classiques* (Paris: A. Colin, 2010), p. 70; René Bray, *La Formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1961), pp. i–v and p. 307; and Jacques Truchet, *La Tragédie classique en France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975), p. 20 and p. 46. Truchet additionally develops the notion of ‘conventions’, p. 13. The very instability of the term has led Georges Forestier

was a key moment in the development of this idea and its relationship to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theatre (rather than authors alone). From 1680 to 1814, Jean-Pierre Perchellet argues, tragedy was endowed with an ‘héritage classique’ whereby new creations followed a previous example and a model.¹⁰ Yet very few scholars have investigated how pre-existing tragedies changed over time, or how they were understood and rewritten for another era. This history is necessary to understand the later term ‘Classicism’ and how new works interact with this heritage.

Rewriting classical tragedies was far from heretical in post-revolutionary France. I will investigate how the tragedies were rewritten during the *ancien régime* and the Revolution to adapt to changing poetological and ideological situations. Then, I will demonstrate how the Napoleonic era transformed this tragic past. These rewritings can be understood as ‘translations’ in the broadest sense for the younger generation and its horizon of expectation. My investigation will use documents which have never before been analysed to challenge the temporal fixity that ‘Classicism’ often denotes in modern scholarship, and demonstrate how it must be understood within a specific historical context. This chapter will adopt the term ‘classique’ when referring to the traditions and models transmitted from the seventeenth century to underline the specificity of the tragic models inherited by Napoleonic society, how they were understood, and how this tradition was continued.

Tragedy has long been associated with the State. Tragedies written for the Bourbon courts in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France were inherently linked to the development of centralised power, the purification of the French language, and thus to France’s (assumed) cultural hegemony over other

and Jean-Pierre Néraudau to talk of ‘des classicismes’, an important notion to understand the variety of the movement and its afterlife, see Georges Forestier and Jean-Pierre Néraudau, eds, *Un classicisme ou des classicismes ? : actes du colloque, université de Reims, 5, 6, 7 juin 1991 / organisé par le Centre de recherches sur les classicismes anciens et modernes* (Pau: Publications de l’université de Pau, 1995).

¹⁰ Jean-Pierre Perchellet, *L’Héritage classique. La Tragédie entre 1680 et 1814* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004).

European countries.¹¹ Such culture additionally carried the memory of France's former glory, as both contemporaries and modern scholars have recognised. David Bell has argued that nationalism, the construction of a nation, started in France with the Revolution. Crucial to the ability to forge a political community of peoples, Bell contends, was its collective culture 'whether language, customs, beliefs, traditions, or some combination of these'.¹² Contemporary critics believed that the national diffusion of classical tragedy and its importance in the culture and education of the Napoleonic elite, who were to run France, would aid the reconstruction of the country after the Revolution and reform the basis of French society.¹³

In first section of this chapter I will examine the tragic inheritance from the seventeenth and eighteen centuries, highlighting the changes to which it had been subjected. In the second section I will focus on the Napoleonic period, and analyse the continuing evolution of these tragedies in the light of changes in aesthetic taste as well as a new developing project of nationhood. One of the clear legacies of the Revolution was the way in which theatre could be used

¹¹ See Rahul Markovits, *Civiliser l'Europe. Politiques du théâtre français au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2014), pp. 10–21. More generally see Thomas Docherty, 'Tragedy and the Nationalist Condition of Criticism', *Textual Practice*, 10 (1996), 479–505.

¹² David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France, Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), pp. 3–21, quote p. 21; Lauren Clay, *Stagestruck. The Business of Theater in Eighteenth-Century France and Its Colonies* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 7; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London; New York: Verso, 2015).

¹³ La Harpe maintained that the masterpieces needed to be brought back to educate the people, this would mean no more Revolution, and Geoffroy reiterated the need to impose an order both in politics and in literature. Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes de Jean Racine avec le commentaire de M. de la Harpe et augmentées de plusieurs morceaux inédits ou peu connus*, 7 vols (Paris: Agasse, 1807), I, 3 and Jean Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine avec des commentaires par J.L. Geoffroy*, 7 vols (Paris: Le Normant, 1808), I, p. vii. As Eric Hobsbawm has shown, the formation of a nation on linguistic grounds was reserved for the literate and the elite, who in turn enforced these criteria throughout the State, Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780, Programme, Myth, Reality*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 56 and p. 62.

overtly for propaganda purposes. Consequently, I will also consider theatrical performance and the manipulation of pre-existing tragedy as part of Napoleon's propaganda. Finally, I will investigate the legacy of Napoleonic rewritings. In sum, my chapter will demonstrate the specificity of the Napoleonic 'classique' conception of tragedy, reminding us that the view of the theatrical past is specific to a particular moment.

1. The 'Classique' Tragic Inheritance

Tragedy played a role in the reconstruction of post-revolutionary France with the re-foundation of the canon of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. These were the most performed playwrights, but this canon was extended beyond the theatre walls and to a variety of audiences through publications. Only a few scholars have properly investigated how these tragedies metamorphosed over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Antonio Sergi has worked on *Phèdre* (1677) during the Revolution;¹⁴ Sabine Chaouche has a number of publications on the revision of pre-existing plays;¹⁵ Pierre Frantz has demonstrated the varying eighteenth-century versions of *Athalie* (1691);¹⁶ Sophie Marchand has treated Jean-François Marmontel's (1723–1799) reworking of *Venceslas* (1648);¹⁷ Eric Eigenmann has analysed François Tronchin's (1704–1798) rewriting of Corneille inspired by Voltaire's *Commentaires sur Corneille*

¹⁴ Antonio Sergi, "'Phèdre" corrigée sous la Révolution', *Dix-huitième siècle*, 6 (1974), 153–65.

¹⁵ Sabine Chaouche, 'Enjeux des reprises à la Comédie-Française : les palimpsestes du texte théâtral au XVIII^e siècle', *Studi Francesi*, 168 (2012), 465–76; Sabine Chaouche, *La Mise en scène du répertoire à la Comédie-Française : 1680–1815*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 2013); Sabine Chaouche, *Relevés de mise en scène (1686–1823) : 'L'Homme à bonne fortune', 'Le Joueur', 'Le Distrain'* (Comédie-Française) (Paris: Champion, 2015).

¹⁶ Pierre Frantz 'Les Dénouements en action au XVIII^e siècle', in *La Fabrique du théâtre avant la mise en scène (1650–1880)*, ed. by Mara Fazio and Pierre Frantz (Paris: Desjonquères, 2010), pp. 332–42.

¹⁷ Sophie Marchand, 'La Mise en scène est-elle nécessaire ? L'Éclairage anecdotique (XVIII^e siècle)', in *La Fabrique du théâtre*, ed. by Mara Fazio and Pierre Frantz, pp. 40–50.

(1764);¹⁸ Catrin Francis that of Voltaire's *Brutus* (1731) and Antoine-Marin Lemierre's (1733–1793) *Guillaume Tell* (1767) during the Revolution, alongside a brief mention of the former's *La Mort de César* (1735);¹⁹ and Stéphane Zékian has examined some early nineteenth-century rewritings of the 'classics'.²⁰ As I will show, there was no stable text in the eighteenth century, to the extent that the celebrity actors of the time, Henri-Louis Lekain and Mademoiselle Clairon, were working from different versions of the text.²¹ Indeed, playwrights rewrote their own plays, and posthumous editions rearranged and deleted roles.²² From the analysis of the pre-existing rewritings of tragedy, we can establish how Napoleonic society received a reworked heritage which had a direct effect not only on how it carried out its own rewritings, but how the era understood the tragic model and its tradition. This in turn impacted the composition and reception of new Napoleonic tragedies.

a. The Eighteenth Century

From Napoleonic sources it is clear that several of these tragic rewritings dated from the eighteenth century, fundamentally altering the tragic past for

¹⁸ Eric Eigenmann, 'Cinna sans clémence ? La Tragédie de Corneille "remise au théâtre" par Voltaire et Tronchin', *Dix-septième siècle*, 225 (2004), 747–55.

¹⁹ Catrin Mair Francis, 'The Politics of Appropriation in French Revolutionary Theatre' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Exeter, 2012), pp. 86–156.

²⁰ Stéphane Zékian, *L'Invention des classiques, le 'siècle de Louis XIV' existe-t-il ?* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2012), pp. 150–73.

²¹ Marchand, pp. 40–50 (p. 41).

²² See Voltaire, *Amélie ou le Duc de Foix, tragédie en cinq actes*, 1752 in *Théâtre de Voltaire : édition stéréotype, d'après le procédé de Firmin Didot*, 12 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1801), VII. The published edition is a rewriting of Voltaire's original *Adélaïde Du Guesclin* so the publisher has marked with an asterisk the lines which have been rewritten by Voltaire, p. 79, note 1. *Adélaïde Du Guesclin* was also rewritten by LeKain in Voltaire's lifetime for its new production in 1765, see Voltaire, *Adélaïde Du Guesclin, tragédie, représentée pour la première fois, le 18 janvier 1734, et remise au théâtre le 9 septembre 1765, donnée au public par M. Le Kain, comédien ordinaire du roi* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1766), pp. iv–v. Jean-François de La Harpe, *Lycée, ou cours de littérature ancienne et moderne*, 16 vols (Paris: H. Agasse, an VII–an XIII [1799–1804]), IX (1799), p. 49.

Napoleonic society. In 1799, the great critic Jean-François de La Harpe (1739–1803) explained that Corneille was ‘le pere de la tragédie’ and *Le Cid* (1637) was the first French tragedy, discounting previous works by the likes of Jean Mairet (1604–1686), or the fact that *Le Cid* was originally a tragicomedy.²³ La Harpe continued to telescope Corneille when he explained that the latter’s tragic production commenced with *Le Cid* and *Cinna* (1643), although in reality Corneille had already composed at least eight plays and another tragedy, *Médée* (performed 1634–35, published 1639) before 1636–37.²⁴ This distorted view of the tragic past is additionally testified to by La Harpe’s claim that from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ‘[n]ous avons vingt auteurs dont il est resté des ouvrages au théâtre,’ and that ‘Corneille, en quarante ans de travaux, a laissé au théâtre à peu près le même nombre de pieces [*sic*] que Racine en dix.’²⁵ Tragedy’s past history had been rewritten.

Le Cid, the first ‘tragédie’ according to Napoleonic critics, had a long history of rewriting. It was published as a tragicomedy in 1637, republished as a tragedy in 1648 with new paratexts, and then again in 1660 with significant changes, especially in the first and last acts, where Chimène and Rodrigue separate rather than marry as they had done in 1637.²⁶ However, others also reworked *Le Cid*. La Harpe explained that the role of the Infante ‘fut retranché lorsque Rousseau le lyrique arrangea le *Cid* de la manière dont on le joue maintenant’.²⁷ So the version performed during the Napoleonic era was a rewriting by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (1670–1741) from 1734. Rousseau justified

²³ La Harpe, *Lycée*, IV (1799), p. 219. Mairet authored a ‘tragédie’, *La Sophonisbe*, published in 1635.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 67. Prior to *Le Cid*, the Pléiade edition of Corneille cites *Mélite ou les fausses lettres* (1633), *Clitandre ou l’innocence délivrée* (1632), *La Veuve ou le traître trahi* (1634), *La Galerie du palais ou l’amie rivale* (1637), *La Suivante* (1637), *La Place royale ou l’amoureux* (1637) *Médée* (written 1634–35, published 1639), and *L’Illusion comique* (written 1635–36, performed 1639). Georges Couton, ‘Chronologie du théâtre de Pierre Corneille’, in Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres complètes, textes établis, présentés et annotés par Georges Couton*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1980–87), I (1980), pp. lxix–lxxiii.

²⁵ La Harpe, *Lycée*, I, 77 and v, 249.

²⁶ See George Couton, ‘Le Cid: Notice’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 1449–77 (pp. 1466–71).

²⁷ La Harpe, *Lycée*, IV, 224.

his suppressions because ‘la longueur et l’inutilité’ of the Infante encumbered the action, thus her removal rids the play of any non-essential action.²⁸ Ironically, Rousseau legitimised his changes through what the theatrical rules had become. Although La Harpe did not mention it, Rousseau also deleted the characters of Léonor and the Page. In 1682, the last edition of *Le Cid* published during Corneille’s lifetime, the Infante had 227.17 lines, Léonor 61.83 lines, and the Page 2.5 lines.²⁹ By removing these characters half of the female roles and nearly sixteen per cent of the text disappeared.

Turning to another Napoleonic source, the 1801 edition of *Œuvres de P. Corneille* which contains Voltaire’s *Commentaires sur Corneille*, it seems Rousseau’s version of Corneille was rewritten again for performance. At I. 6 Voltaire notes: ‘Aujourd’hui, quand les comédiens représentent le Cid, ils commencent par cette scène.’³⁰ This cut is not in the 1734 edition but it obviously occurred in the ‘rewriting’ of the tragedy between the printed text and the stage. *Le Cid* is not the only case: the role of the Empress Livie was cut in *Cinna* because it was deemed futile and only weakened the merit of Auguste’s clemency, which in the original version was activated by Livie herself.³¹ These inherited cuts were still in place during the Napoleonic era and influenced the reception of the ‘classique’ model.

At the turn of the century, as La Harpe and the 1801 version of Voltaire have demonstrated, the public was aware of the ability to rewrite classical tragedy, something many modern scholars overlook in their works on

²⁸ Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, *Pièces dramatiques choisies et restituées par Monsieur **** (Amsterdam: Changuion, 1734), p. v.

²⁹ ‘Nombre de vers par acte dans le texte, Le Cid (1682) de Corneille, Pierre’, available at <http://www.theatre-classique.fr/pages/programmes/vers.php?t=../documents/CORNEILLEP_CID.xml> [accessed 22 April 2015].

³⁰ Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres de P. Corneille, avec le commentaire de Voltaire sur les pièces de théâtre, et des observations critiques sur ce commentaire par le citoyen Palissot*, 12 vols (Paris: Didot aîné, 1801), III, 131. Voltaire says that this cut is inherited from Rousseau but upon consultation of his 1734 this rewriting cannot be found. The 1801 edition of the text and its scene divisions can be distinctly different to modern editions.

³¹ Eigenmann, pp. 747–55. This cut is confirmed by the cast lists in the ‘registres des feux’ at the Comédie-Française.

‘Classicism’. The fact that La Harpe’s *Lycée, ou cours de littérature ancienne et moderne* (1799–1804) remained in use until 1850 extended the life span of these changes, highlighting the flexibility of these ‘classical tragedies’ for the future generations.³² Certainly, Corneille’s own rewritings of *Le Cid* mean that it was not the most stable of all tragedies, but it is imperative to recognise that the version performed for over 150 years, during which ‘Classicism’ was invented and contested, was not the version of Corneille himself, nor the version that has been the basis for much modern scholarship. The recognition of this inherited rewriting then seriously questions the dominant narratives of *tragédie classique* and its evolution.

1801 saw another eighteenth-century account of tragic adaptation in the first publication of *Mémoires de Henri Louis Lekain*, the great eighteenth-century actor. This text had the simultaneous result of increasing the intertheatrical effect between Napoleonic and *ancien régime* performances, with all the latter’s great memories.³³ In his memoirs, Lekain recounts how he was inspired by Voltaire’s *Commentaires* to revise *Le Cid*. The Comédie-Française had been in the practice of omitting the first scene where Chimène describes her love for Rodrigue and IV. 1 between the two lovers.³⁴ Lekain wished to restore I. 1 since its absence made it harder for the spectators to understand the ensuing quarrel between the two families because they could not sufficiently appreciate the passion of the young lovers.³⁵ Lekain’s opinion is exactly that which Julien Louis Geoffroy espoused in 1805 when I. 1 was still not included.³⁶ This at once shows how the rewriting before Lekain, which removed I. 1, lasted over the decades and that Lekain’s vision of *Le Cid* starting at I. 1 still dominated its early nineteenth-century reception even if his amendment was not adopted. Lekain additionally proposed ‘Réflexions grammaticales’ for *Le Cid*, for instance ‘à lire’ should become ‘en lisant’.³⁷ What is most striking though is that Lekain distinguished

³² Hunwick, pp. 282–90 (p. 282).

³³ Henri Louis Lekain, *Mémoires de Henri Louis Lekain, publiés par son fils aîné, suivis d’une correspondance (inédite) de Voltaire, Garrick, Colardeau, Lebrun, etc.* (Paris: Colnet, 1801).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Journal des débats*, 24 January 1805.

³⁷ Lekain, p. 64.

what, in his mind, was ‘French’ and what was ‘Corneille’. He rejected one line stating ‘[c]ette phrase n’est assurément pas française’³⁸ and then ‘il faut quelquefois deviner Corneille, et que l’imagination supplée à ce qu’il a voulu dire.’³⁹ Lekain’s reworking underlines the agency of subsequent actors, readers, and spectators of Corneille who were invited to invent an imagined ‘Corneille’.⁴⁰ Furthermore, given the role of this invention, ‘Corneille’ had to be constantly adapted to its contemporary context. Far from having a universal standard, therefore, pre-existing tragedies were continually updated.

The archival documents of the Comédie-Française show that Lekain was instrumental in shaping the tragic heritage passed on to the Napoleonic era. The Comédie-Française noted that for Voltaire’s *Adélaïde du Guesclin* (1756), which Lekain had helped Voltaire to revise, ‘[l]a bonne édition est celle qui porte le nom de LeKain’.⁴¹ Likewise, for Voltaire’s *Œdipe* (1718) ‘[l]a bonne édition est celle de Duchesne 1763’ and ‘[l]es vers ci dessous n’y sont point. Le confident doit s’appeler Araspe et non Hydaspe’.⁴² Right from the text, the basis of the performance, there was no steady inheritance for the post-revolutionary theatrical world. The instability caused by the mid-eighteenth-century rewritings directly modified the Napoleonic tragic inheritance.

b. The Revolution

With the outbreak of the Revolution, many pre-existing tragedies were viewed as potentially subversive. Corneille’s *Horace* (1640) was adapted: murder was brought on-stage and the fifth act was removed to avoid the representation of a king, reducing the tragedy to the bizarre format of four acts.⁴³ Whereas the

³⁸ Ibid., p. 68.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 68–69.

⁴⁰ Centuries after Lekain, Zékian advances this idea of the difference between ‘l’écrivain (Corneille)’ and the ‘signe culturel (“Corneille”)', see Zékian, p. 170.

⁴¹ Paris, BMCF, Ms Rés 048, ‘Corrections, coupures et variantes faites par la Comédie Française sur les pièces de son répertoire’, p. 83.

⁴² Ibid., p. 90.

⁴³ These rewritings are recorded in a letter from the *Censeur dramatique*, cited by Chaouche. Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, II, 656–57. Perchellet notes that the four-act format was a Revolutionary novelty, Perchellet, p. 161.

rewriting of *Le Cid* and *Cinna* had been justified by ‘les règles’, here one of the most famous examples of classical tragedy violated these rules as set out by the likes of the Abbé d’Aubignac (1604–1676).⁴⁴ This version continued to be performed during 1800 and 1801.⁴⁵ *Horace* was restored to five acts on 24 July 1802 when Paris was swamped by British tourists, including the guest of honour that evening, the British actor John Philip Kemble (1757–1823), who, along with his sister Sarah Siddons (1755–1831), was arguably one of the best Shakespearian actors of the age.⁴⁶ *Horace* was returned to its seventeenth-century format in response to a perceived British threat from Shakespeare, a playwright French critics still treated with distrust. The play thus increased its status as part of the French ‘national’ identity.⁴⁷ This echoes Edmond Eggli’s findings which show that *classique* would become an established term relating to French theatrical traditions in the face of Germanic invasion in 1814 and 1815.⁴⁸

Another Revolutionary example that has caught the attention of Chaouche and Sergi is that of *Phèdre*. Both scholars are interested in the 1789 copy which contains the cuts for Mademoiselle Raucourt, but Sergi extends his analysis of the modifications later into the Revolution.⁴⁹ References to the

⁴⁴ For instance, d’Aubignac states a tragedy must have five acts, Abbé d’Aubignac, *La Pratique du théâtre* (Paris: de Sommaville, 1657), p. 277.

⁴⁵ *Horace* is restored to five acts on 24 July 1802, Paris, BMCF, Registre des feux R 326.

⁴⁶ Kemble was described as the ‘premier acteur tragique de l’Angleterre’ in the *Journal des débats*, 2 February 1803. A contemporary critic underlines that French taste cannot adapt to accept Shakespeare, D. P. d. N., ‘Sur le goût dans la littérature et dans les arts, lu à la classe des sciences morales et politiques de l’Institut national, le 7 fructidor an 7’, in *Archives littéraires de l’Europe*, X (1806), 3–13. Likewise, *Le Courrier français* records Geoffroy’s reactionary stance to Shakespeare, 26 May 1807.

⁴⁷ The national stakes of French ‘classical’ tragedy in 1805 have been observed by Bernard Franco, Bernard Franco, “‘Phèdre’ sous l’Empire : enjeux d’un modèle national”, in *Littératures classiques, jeux et enjeux des théâtres classiques (XIX^e–XX^e siècles), actes du colloque tenu en Sorbonne les 2 et 3 mars 2001* ed. by Mariane Bury and Georges Forestier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), pp. 85–95.

⁴⁸ Eggli and Martino.

⁴⁹ Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, I, 381–83 and Sergi, pp. 153–65.

monarchy were replaced, ‘la reine’ became ‘Phèdre’,⁵⁰ ‘maître’ was changed to ‘chef’, and lines relating to ruling were taken out such as ‘Moi, régner ! Moi, ranger un état sous ma loi !’ or ‘Qu’il mette sur son front le sacré diadème’.⁵¹ The last ten lines of the play were cut, the crucial moment when Thésée pityingly adopts his dead son’s lover and his former enemy, Aricie. Whereas the play originally ended on a faint note of hope, this version of *Phèdre* was much more devastatingly tragic. Within the context of the Revolution, where families were torn apart but where children embodied the future hope as Lynn Hunt has highlighted,⁵² and at a time when the genre of tragedy was contested by the increasing economic competition of secondary genres, tragedy was rendered more tragic; the final hope had gone.⁵³

With the radicalisation of the Revolution, theatre was ‘sans-culottisé’, as Charles-Guillaume Étienne (1777–1845) and Alphonse Martainville (1776–1830) recalled in 1802.⁵⁴ *Phèdre* was not the only play where references to the monarchy were deleted, and noble titles were replaced by ‘citoyen’, ‘sans s’inquiéter si ce changement violait la rime, ou rompaient la mesure du vers’. Such modifications seriously destabilised the alexandrine and thus the tragic heritage received by the Napoleonic era.⁵⁵ By 1793, poetics were replaced with politics: Phèdre declared her love to Hippolyte wearing a cockade,⁵⁶ and lines were eradicated from Voltaire’s *Mahomet* (1741) because of their reference to absolute power.⁵⁷ Following these cuts alluding to *ancien régime* authority, one

⁵⁰ Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, I, 382.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 383.

⁵² Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 21 and p. 153.

⁵³ Melodrama in particular was an aesthetic and economic rival of the Comédie-Française and tragedy, see Maurice Descotes, *Le Public de théâtre et son histoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), especially pp. 219–22.

⁵⁴ Charles-Guillaume Étienne et Alphonse Martainville, *Histoire du théâtre Français depuis le commencement de la Révolution jusqu’à la réunion générale*, 4 vols (Paris: Barba, 1802), III, 143.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

⁵⁷ ‘Exterminez, grands dieux! de la terre où nous sommes | Quiconque avec du plaisir répand le sang des hommes.’ Ibid., p. 143. Voltaire, *Les Œuvres complètes de Voltaire*, 143 vols (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1968–2016), 20B

could suggest that those in authority during the Revolution, such as the Ministre de la Justice, Louis-Jérôme Gohier (1746–1830), wished to control the violence of its newly born citizens in their often-bloody quest for the Republic.

Indeed, whilst in office, Gohier rewrote Voltaire's *La Mort de César* entirely changing the last half of the final act in 1793.⁵⁸ This version was performed at the Théâtre de la République in Paris a few days after Marie-Antoinette's death,⁵⁹ before being rewritten again for a Lyon performance in 1794 after the city's revolt against the National Convention and the ensuing siege.⁶⁰ The most notable change between 1793 and 1794 was the discourse that surrounds kings. *La Mort de César* is certainly not a monarchist play: after conquering vast swathes of land, César crowns himself king and refuses to free Rome, which entails his assassination by Brutus, whom Voltaire reveals to be César's son. However, the imagery surrounding the monarchy was maligned by Gohier's rewriting. The diadem brands one's head 'souillé',⁶¹ and the mere mention of the 'roi' makes one's blood boil.⁶² The rewriting also metamorphoses with the events of the Revolution. In the earlier Parisian script, both priests and

(2002): 'Le Fanatisme ou Mahomet le prophète, tragédie, critical edition by Christopher Todd', pp. 1–326 (III. 8. 237–38, p. 243). The spelling is transcribed from Étienne and Martainville.

⁵⁸ Voltaire, *La Mort de César, tragédie en trois actes, de Voltaire, avec les changemens fait par le Citoyen Gohier, Ministre de la Justice* (Commune Affranchie [Lyon]: Cutty, an II [1793]). Gohier apparently also rewrote *Mahomet*, *Le Cid*, and *Britannicus*, see *Le Glaneur littéraire ou Journal des sciences, de la littérature et des arts*, 21 February 1807.

⁵⁹ Francis, p. 7.

⁶⁰ The changes for the 1794 performance in Lyon have been handwritten at the end of the BnF copy; Paris, BnF, Z BEUCHOT- 582. This is also available through Gallica, <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k86441r/f1.image>> [accessed 22 April 2015]. Gohier writes that the 1794 rewriting was performed in the 'Commune affranchie (Lyon), l'an second de la republique [*sic*]', p. 50. The Archives municipales de Lyon state that this name was used from August 1793 to August 1794, less than a month after Robespierre's death, available at: <http://www.archives-lyon.fr/archives/sections/fr/histoire_de_lyon/les_evenements/evenements/lyon_1793_-_1794/?&view_zoom=1> [accessed 5 April 2016]. Gohier was Ministre de la Justice until 20 April 1794.

⁶¹ *La Mort de César*, III. 8, p. 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, III. 7, p. 32.

kings were targeted in this line: ‘Et ne portons le joug des prêtres ni des rois’⁶³ but later in 1794 it is the king alone: ‘Prouvons que les romains n’ont pas besoin de rois’.⁶⁴ Gohier adapted his text with the events of the Terror, using the final scenes to underline how revolution is a process: ‘Que de périls encore ils nous faudra braver’.⁶⁵ The contrasting assonance of the ‘e’ in the first hemistich and the ‘a’ in the second reflect the process that ‘revolution’ actually is. This sense of continued duration is reiterated by ‘Et de la liberté réparons les ruines.’⁶⁶ Given this line does not appear in the Parisian script of 1793, Gohier’s rewriting for Lyon in 1794 indicates how for him the Revolution had gone too far. ‘Réparons’, the imperative starting the second hemistich shows that society needs a healing process. In both versions, Gohier retained Voltaire’s caution when Cassius asks if the people understand that Antoine will defend César because he was brought up under him: like some Frenchmen, he knows no other way.⁶⁷ However, whereas Voltaire’s tragedy ends on a potentially forgiving note—César’s supporters Dolabella and Antoine are still alive—in 1794 they are not only murdered for their continued support of César, but this murder was brought on-stage as *bienséance* relaxed.⁶⁸ Although this was undoubtedly violent, in revolutionary terms it was required for catharsis: with the old order dead, a new society could be reconstructed. Should this remain unclear to the audience, Gohier’s rewriting concludes with Brutus appearing on-stage at the feet of a statue of Liberty personified, an action mirrored by all the other members of the crowded stage, forming a didactic tableau for the final line where they all shout ‘VIVE LA LIBERTÉ! VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE!’.⁶⁹ During the Revolution, tragedy was rewritten for didactic and cathartic purposes, with the aim of uniting the people.

The Revolutionary rewritings are significant for the Napoleonic tragic heritage on two levels. Firstly, they altered tragedy’s poetics: the plot became more tragic, the number of acts was reduced, *bienséance* was destroyed, and the

⁶³ Ibid., III. 8, p. 36.

⁶⁴ Ibid., III. 8, p. 49.

⁶⁵ Ibid., III. 8, p. 48.

⁶⁶ Ibid., III. 8, p. 48.

⁶⁷ Ibid., III. 7, p. 33 and p. 40.

⁶⁸ Ibid., III. 8, p. 44.

⁶⁹ Ibid., III. 9, p. 37 and p. 50.

alexandrine obliterated. Alongside this, there was a transformation in the notions of hierarchy which had been at the basis of tragedy's understanding. Secondly, these tragedies had served to support monarchical France, but their full potential to be a vehicle of propaganda was not revealed until the Revolution. Through ideological changes, pre-existing tragedy was clearly able to act as propaganda for Revolutionary, and later Napoleonic, France. However, the earlier eighteenth-century reworkings prove that this rewriting was not simply effected with the changing of the political tide but that updating tragedy to the poetological and ideological forces of the time was an inherent part of maintaining French classical tragedy's position in the theatrical and literary imaginary. The Napoleonic tragic inheritance was in a rewritten form, a specific 'classique' state that we must excavate to properly understand the intertheatrical relationships in the cultural use of tragedy at the time.

2. Napoleonic Rewritings of Tragedy

Just as Napoleonic society received a 'classique' heritage transformed during the eighteenth century, so it continued this tradition. The target for all these rewritings was, as ever, the public. At the Comédie-Française the audience contained multiple layers of society, from Napoleon himself at times, governing officials, and socialites, to the political opposition, cabals who entered with free tickets, and students of the *lycées* and Imperial University. The readership of published tragedy ranged from highbrow literati to provincial pupils. A significant section of Napoleonic society, therefore, had contact with tragedy, especially the canonical works. By offering these various strata a source of common culture, by rekindling national education, and by purifying the French language, tragedy was a key site of national reconstruction.⁷⁰ As such, I will commence by looking at how pre-existing tragedies were rewritten to respond to the revolutionised public's horizon of expectation and how these performances

⁷⁰ As Frantz maintains, '[c]ette perspective nationale ou nationaliste ne saurait être sous-estimée si l'on veut comprendre la politique théâtrale de l'Empire.' Pierre Frantz, 'Le Théâtre sous l'Empire : entre deux Révolutions', in *L'Empire des muses, Napoléon, les arts et les lettres*, ed. by Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Belin, 2004), pp. 173–97, p. 175.

and publications interacted with the reconstruction of the French nation. I will then consider how these tragedies were re-appropriated for propaganda, or censored by multiple agents, shedding light on the role of ‘classique’ tragedy in Napoleonic culture.

a. Published Rewritings

Early nineteenth-century printed tragedies contain two principal paradoxes. Firstly, the modernisation of these texts invoked a return to the past; secondly, the canon was re-formalised but its works were open to fluctuation since at this time there was no conventional editorial process. The highbrow publications established a solid text and rectified the language after the eighteenth-century ‘corruptions’ of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire. Simultaneously, the adaptations of these tragedies made the *ancien régime* relevant to the revolutionised public. Both activities helped circulate the tragic texts, bolstering the canon by increasing the position of this tragedy within the common culture of post-revolutionary France.

There was a notable flurry of scholarly editions from 1799. During the Revolution Firmin Didot advanced the printing process to produce the first stereotype editions in 1797. Here, instead of using moveable letters, a metal plate was created for each page, cementing the text.⁷¹ This also entailed the greater circulation of a stabilised text which could be reprinted internationally, as seen in the 1811 St Petersburg stereotype edition of Racine.⁷² The turn of the century also saw important new editions: Didot published the theatrical works of Corneille, Molière, Racine, and Voltaire in quick succession.⁷³ These new

⁷¹ Frédéric Barbier, ‘Les Innovations technologiques’, in *Histoire de l’édition française*, ed. by Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, 4 vols (Paris: Promodis, 1983–86), II: *Le Livre triomphant 1660–1830* (1984), pp. 545–51 (p. 547).

⁷² Jean Racine, *Théâtre complet et œuvres diverses en vers de J. Racine. Nouvelle édition, conforme à celle imprimée chez Didot*, 2 vols (Paris; Saint-Petersbourg: Pluchart et Cie, 1811).

⁷³ Jean Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine*, 5 vols (Paris: Didot aîné, 1798–99) and Jean Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine*, 3 vols (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1801); Molière, *Œuvres de J.-B. Poquelin de Molière*, 8 vols (Paris: Didot aîné, 1799);

editions were rapidly associated with the rise of Napoleon and the nationalist project: the glorious 1801 edition of *Œuvres de Jean Racine* with one engraving per act was dedicated ‘Au Général Bonaparte, Premier Consul de la République française’, a dedication which also graced Didot’s *Œuvres de P. Corneille*; both were quickly established as ‘national’ editions.⁷⁴

Printed tragedies aided the purification of the French language.⁷⁵ According to the *Œuvres* of Racine edited by Claude-Bernard Petitot (1772–1825), La Harpe in 1807, and Geoffroy in 1808, the Racinian text had been corrupted through previous editions and illegal reprints.⁷⁶ The principal edition they reference is that of 1768 by Pierre-Joseph Luneau de Boisjermain (1732–1801) where, La Harpe claims, Racine’s ‘pièces ont été considérablement tronquées et défigurées.’⁷⁷ However, Geoffroy attacked both La Harpe and Boisjermain for re-establishing lines that Racine himself had erased;⁷⁸ even in the canonising editions the seventeenth-century text was not stable. The editors of these new stereotype publications were keen to demonstrate their purification of both the text and the surrounding commentary. La Harpe purposefully asterisked any new addition to underline his novel approach.⁷⁹ Likewise, Geoffroy seized the opportunity to adorn each tragedy with an explanatory preface, and his ‘Jugement sur [e.g. Phèdre] et sur les auteurs qui ont traité le même sujet’,⁸⁰ exploiting the tragedy’s hypertextuality and its place within French memory. Through these paratextual additions, Geoffroy was able to direct his readers and offer them a steady perception of one of the nation’s

Corneille, *Œuvres de P. Corneille* (1801); and Voltaire, *Théâtre de Voltaire*, 12 vols (Paris: Didot aîné, 1801).

⁷⁴ Racine, *Œuvres*, I, p. i; Corneille, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, I, 2.

⁷⁵ On linguistic purification and nationalism, see Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Jean Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine avec les variantes et les imitations des auteurs grecs et latins, publiées par M. Petitot, éditeur du ‘Répertoire du Théâtre français’*, 5 vols (Paris: Stéréotype d’Herhan, 1807), I, p. v; *Œuvres* ed. by La Harpe, I, p. iv; and Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine avec des commentaires par J.L. Geoffroy*, I, 2.

⁷⁷ *Œuvres*, ed. by La Harpe, I, pp. iv–v.

⁷⁸ *Œuvres*, ed. by Geoffroy, I, 2.

⁷⁹ *Œuvres*, ed. by La Harpe, I, 9.

⁸⁰ *Œuvres*, ed. by Geoffroy, IV, 585–631.

greatest playwrights. Such canonising editions increased the comprehensibility of theatrical works which could appear archaic and mutilated. In combination with the formalisation of the text, the paratexts could be seen to offer a temporal translation of the tragic inheritance to Napoleonic society, a heritage it could now share to a greater extent in the common culture required for the reconstruction of the French nation.

These elaborate editions were not within the reach of all of society, but cheaper editions were also produced.⁸¹ Zékian illustrates that publishers were conscious of the need for their new stable works to be reached by rich and poor alike. Consequently, in 1812 Didot started to produce a ‘Collection des meilleurs ouvrages de la langue française’ on three different qualities of paper to lower the price.⁸² There was a demand for the dissemination of tragedy’s stable text.

The canonisation process of classical tragedy was furthered by the Napoleonic educational reforms, rendering it part of the French State’s classified system that has been the subject of Michel Foucault’s analysis of knowledge and power. The ‘Loi générale sur l’instruction publique’ of 1 May 1802 on the *lycées* led to a ‘liste nationale et obligatoire d’auteurs français’, a ‘liste chronologique et officielle des Ouvrages d’enseignement supérieur et secondaire’, and finally the Commission des livres classiques of 1803.⁸³ Multiple publications followed such as *Leçons de littérature et morale* (1804), the second volume of which contained extracts from *Le Cid*, *Cinna*, *Phèdre*, *Mithridate* (1673), and *Mérope* (1744) to highlight the key moments of each tragedy, such as Hippolyte’s death.⁸⁴ A

⁸¹ Zékian notes cheaper editions which were sold between one and five francs. Zékian, p. 15.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ ‘Loi générale sur l’instruction publique, 11 floréal an X (1^{er} mai 1802)’, in *Recueil des lois et règlements sur l’enseignement supérieur : comprenant les décisions de la jurisprudence et les avis des conseils de l’Instruction publique et du Conseil d’État*, ed. by Arthur Marais de Beauchamp, 7 vols (Paris: Delalain frères, 1880–1915), I (1880), 81–87; Daniel Milo, ‘Les Classiques scolaires’, in *Lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92), II: *La Nation* (1986), pp. 517–56 (pp. 529–30).

⁸⁴ François-Joseph-Michel Noël and Fr. Delaplace, *Leçons de littérature et de morale, ou recueil, en prose et en vers, des plus beaux morceaux de notre langue, dans la littérature des deux derniers siècles; ouvrages classiques adopté par le Gouvernement pour les Lycées et les écoles secondaires; et à l’usage de*

similar format can be found in *Chefs d'œuvre de poésie française* (1806) and whole plays were reproduced for *Théâtre classique* (1807) with commentary provided by the accompanying footnotes.⁸⁵ Their publication in a 'recueil' is also important because these government works offered a guided reading of the collective culture that was helping to rebuild France and train the future civil servants of the Napoleonic regime, where the study of 'lettres' had become 'indispensable'.⁸⁶

On the level of the nation, tragedy was also used as a tool of education and a source of common culture. Just as texts circulate, education does not remain fixed within the school limits. The advantage of printed educational material is that it could be acquired by those outside of the school system whose education had been neglected by the Revolution. The *Chefs-d'œuvre* in 1806 confirms this practice: 'ce Recueil, quoique particulièrement destiné à la jeunesse, ne sera point inutile à ceux qui, dans un âge plus avancé, conservent encore le goût de bonnes études, et des lectures également instructives et

tous les autres établissements d'instruction, publics et particuliers, de l'un et de l'autre sexe, 2 vols (Paris: Le Normant, 1804), II.

⁸⁵ *Chefs-d'œuvre de poésie française, tirés des Œuvres de Racine, Molière, Boileau et Voltaire, adoptés par le Gouvernement, pour la classe des belles-lettres, dans les Lycées et écoles secondaires. Publiés avec une notice sur ces grands-hommes par un ancien Professeur de l'Université de Paris* (Paris: Oubrè, 1806) and *Théâtre classique, ou 'Esther', 'Athalie', 'Polyeucte' et 'Le Misanthrope' commentés; Ouvrage prescrit et adopté par la commission des livres classiques pour l'enseignement des lycées et des écoles secondaires*, publié par F. Roger (Paris: Migneret, 1807).

⁸⁶ Jacques-Olivier Bourdon, 'Napoléon organisateur de l'université', *Revue du souvenir napoléonien*, 464 (2006) available at http://www.napoleon.org/fr/salle_lecture/articles/files/universite_Boudon_RSN_464_mai2006.asp [accessed 22 April 2015]. This also echoes the argument advanced by Foucault that 'l'examen permet au maître, tout en transmettant son savoir, d'établir sur ses élèves tout un champ de connaissances. [...] l'examen à l'école est un véritable et constant échangeur de savoirs : il garantit le passage des connaissances du maître à l'élève, mais il prélève sur l'élève un savoir destiné et réservé au maître.' This allows pedagogy to become like science creating a huge tactical knowledge of which the Napoleonic wars were emblematic. Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), p. 219.

amusantes.⁸⁷ The publication of theatre ‘sert aussi à donner un vernis d’instruction et de politesse aux personnes dont l’éducation a été négligée.’⁸⁸ Moreover, the advantage with education through print is that it is not simply limited to its geographical circulation, it is also subject to temporal transmission: the 1804 *Leçons* was reprinted multiple times and was in use until the Second Empire⁸⁹ and physical copies of the *Théâtre classique* show it was still used under the Restoration.⁹⁰ This is vital because, as has been demonstrated, these works offer a guided national interpretation of these tragedies. Consequently, the reconstruction project outlived the Napoleonic regime.

Education through tragedy in publication continued further. Firstly, on 23 January 1803 the Institut was reorganised by Napoleon, rendering it closer to its pre-revolutionary form.⁹¹ The Classe de la langue et de la littérature’s frequent competitions, such as for the best ‘Éloge de Corneille’ in 1808, were an opportunity to retell theatre history, licensing the simultaneous recollection of Louis XIV, bolstering Napoleon’s own image, and drawing a parallel between the post-Fronde and the post-Revolution. This relationship was furthered by the publication of the Institut’s *Éloges*, reports, and tableaux of new works.⁹²

⁸⁷ *Chefs-d’œuvre*, 1806, p. ii.

⁸⁸ *Répertoire du théâtre français, ou recueil des tragédies et comédies restées au théâtre depuis Rotrou, pour faire suite aux éditions in-8°, de Corneille, Molière, Racine, Regnard, Crébillon, et au théâtre de Voltaire, avec des notices sur chaque auteur et l’examen de chaque pièce, par M. Petitot*, 23 vols (Paris: Didot aîné, 1803–04), I (1803), 3–4.

⁸⁹ Norbert Savariau, *Louis de Fontanes : belles-lettres et enseignement de la fin de l’Ancien Régime à l’Empire* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002), p. 307.

⁹⁰ The Bibliothèque nationale de France has a copy of *Théâtre classique* with an inside note that this copy was given as a prize for mathematics in 1816 from the Collège communal d’Orléans, Paris, BnF, 8- RF-1731.

⁹¹ Catriona Seth, ‘L’Institut et les prix littéraires’, in *L’Empire des Muses*, pp. 111–31 (pp. 112–13). The Institut was reorganised into four classes: that of the ‘des sciences physiques et des mathématiques’, ‘de la langue et de la littérature’, ‘d’histoire et de littérature ancienne’, and ‘des beaux-arts’.

⁹² See for example, M^{re}.-J.-J. Victorin Fabre, *Éloge de Pierre Corneille, Discours qui a remporté le prix d’éloquence décerné par la Classe de la langue et de la littérature françaises de l’Institut, dans sa séance du 6 avril 1808* (Paris: Baudouin, 1808); [Jules Porthmann], *Éloge de P. Corneille par un jeune Français* (Paris: Martinet; Le Normant; Porthmann, 1808); L. S. Auger, *Éloge de P. Corneille, Discours qui a obtenu l’Accessit, au jugement de la Classe de la*

Similarly, high-profile lectures were given at the Athénée by the likes of Marie-Joseph Chénier and Népomucène-Louis Lemercier. The reach of these lectures was extended both geographically and temporally through reviews in periodicals, and later by their publication.⁹³ Lemercier's lectures were likewise important for their sheer verbal and printed diffusion of classical tragedy: in his *Cours* on tragedy, Lemercier cited 138.5 lines of Boileau, 359 lines of Corneille, 641.25 lines of Racine, and 145 lines of Voltaire. This produces the double effect of both educating and inspiring new literature through the illustration and encouraged imitation of great masterpieces.

Although literary criticism had existed before, the publication of La Harpe's *Lycée* from 1799 to 1804 was a turning point. 'La Harpe was the first to teach literature systematically and with a chronological approach', according to Andrew Hunwick.⁹⁴ The *Lycée*, like the printed educational works, helped to overcome the disturbance that the Revolution had caused by offering the possibility for the public to gain a similar level of knowledge through the printed medium. Criticism was furthered by the publication of many theatrical reference works such as the *Annales dramatiques* and the *Almanach des spectacles*, which

Langue et de la Littérature françaises (Paris: Xhrouet, 1808), M. A. Jay, *Éloge de Pierre Corneille* (Paris: L. L. Collin, 1808) and a reaction from J. de Rochelines, *Le 'Journal de l'Empire', L'Institut et L'Éloge de Corneille traités tous trois comme ils le méritent, 1^{re} lettre au public impartial* (Paris: Brasseur aîné, 1808). In terms of literature, see Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Discours présenté à Sa Majesté impériale en son conseil d'état le 27 février 1808, au nom de la classe de la langue et de la littérature française* (Paris: Didot Jeune, 1808).

⁹³ Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Discours prononcé à l'Athénée de Paris, le 15 décembre 1806* (Paris: Dabin, 1806); Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Fragments du cours de littérature, fait à l'Athénée de Paris, en 1806 et 1807* (Paris: Maradan, 1818); and Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Cours analytique de littérature générale, tel qu'il a été professé à l'Athénée de Paris*, (Paris: Nepveu, 1817). These were often reported, for example, Jean-Joseph Dussault, 'Introduction au Cours de littérature française', *Journal de l'Empire*, 25 December 1806 and further articles on 22 January, 16 February and 16 March 1807 and L[***], 'Athénée de Paris – "Des Conditions de la Tragédie", par M. Lemercier', in *Spectateur français au XIX^e siècle*, VIII (1810), 386–91.

⁹⁴ Hunwick also states that La Harpe was the first to give 'critical history of literature' focusing on the works within an author's œuvre and their afterlives. Andrew Hunwick, 'La Harpe: The Forgotten Critic', *The Modern Language Review*, 67 (1972), 282–90 (p. 283 and p. 289).

offered quick analytical guides to plays and theatrical rules so that people could understand them better.⁹⁵ Likewise, the *Opinion du parterre* or *Almanach des muses* kept one up to date with the theatre, a key knowledge base in order to make one's way in the respectable world.⁹⁶

On a larger scale, Geoffroy also sustained the public's theatrical education through his reviews in the *Journal des débats*, later the *Journal de l'Empire*. These articles were more like miniature lessons, which often followed a formula: how the play was received when it was first performed, what other critics, especially Voltaire, have had to say about it, Geoffroy's interpretation, and then a few lines on that particular performance. Most journalistic criticism repeated some of the tragedy's key verses and their reception that particular evening; sometimes they even transcribed tirades, thus increasing the public's exposure to tragedy, and extending the ephemeral performance into circulating, physical print. Since the *Journal des débats* had a readership of 32,000, with critics claiming that Geoffroy's feuilleton was so popular it was read through circulation by 100,000 people, this was education through criticism and on a mass scale. This instruction was extended further when these articles were published posthumously as the *Cours de littérature dramatique, ou recueil par ordre de matières des feuilletons de Geoffroy* (1819–20).⁹⁷ During his lifetime,

⁹⁵ *Annales dramatiques, ou dictionnaire général des théâtres*, 9 vols (Paris: Babault, 1808–12); *Almanach des spectacles de Paris, ou calendrier historique et chronologique des théâtres*, XLV (Paris: Duchesne, 1800), see particularly p. 3; *Almanach des spectacles de Paris, ou calendrier historique et chronologique des théâtres*, 46 vols, (Paris: Duchesne, 1752–1815), XLVI (1815).

⁹⁶ Pierre-David Lemaugier, *L'Opinion du parterre, ou censure des acteurs, auteurs et spectateurs du Théâtre français*, 1803–13 (by Fabien Pillet in 1812–13 according to the BnF, see

<<http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/biblio?idNoeud=1&ID=32829253&SN1=0&SN2=0&host=catalogue>> [accessed 22 April 2015]).

⁹⁷ Jean Follain estimates 32,000, see Jean Follain, 'Le "Journal des débats" et ses démêlés avec l'Empire', *Europe*, 480–81 (1969), 77–79 (p. 78) whilst Gérard Gengembre extends this estimate to 100,000 readers, see Gérard Gengembre, *Le Théâtre français au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1999), p. 80. Geoffroy's reviews were published as Julien-Louis Geoffroy, *Cours de littérature dramatique, ou recueil par ordre de matières des feuilletons de Geoffroy, précédé d'une notice historique sur sa vie et ses ouvrages*, 5 vols (Paris: P. Blanchard, 1819–20).

Geoffroy was not only confined to his feuilleton since his opinions were often included in other reviews, illustrating how his articles affected other criticism and nourished the theatrical debate.⁹⁸ Indeed, Geoffroy's directed readings were even sold at the theatre where spectators could buy the *Journal de l'Empire* along with the play text.⁹⁹ Although the same play might not have been performed that evening, the public was being trained to accept a reading within the theatre, the very space of subjective reception. Here rewriting was not simply about restoring the classical text, but about reshaping French theatre history, and its implications and understanding in the present.

The canonised tragedies were also spread further through cheaper editions. Whereas the 'Collection des meilleurs ouvrages de la langue française' cost between 22.50 and 75 francs for the works of Racine, Zékian notes that less expensive editions of plays ranged between 1 and 5 francs.¹⁰⁰ However, the *Bibliographie de l'Empire* recorded that even more accessible editions were for sale: Voltaire's *Zaïre* (1733) cost 0.4 francs in 1812, less than a quarter of the

⁹⁸ For example, a review of *Rodogune* cites what Geoffroy has to say about the play, see *Journal des mœurs publiques, des beaux-arts, de la littérature, du commerce et de bibliographie par P. Gallet*, 23 Décembre 1803, p. 136. The articles are likewise incorporated into the reviews of others, see 'La Mort d'Henri IV' *Le Courrier français*, 8 July 1806, pp. 2–4 (p. 3). As in *Le Courrier français*, Geoffroy is often ridiculed, for an article where Geoffroy is portrayed as a fanatic see *La Semaine. Journal dramatique et littéraire*, 8 May 1803, p. 4 or even the publication *La Revue des feuilletons du 'Journal de l'Empire', ou critique des critiques de M. Geoffroy* (Paris: Dabin, 1807). He was taken more seriously in 1810, when *Le Spectateur français* reprinted his review of *La Mort de Henri IV* from the *Journal de l'Empire* on 27 June 1806 and puts it into their edition, *Spectateur français au XIX^e siècle*, VII (1810), 324–30.

⁹⁹ K. G. de Berkheim, *Lettres sur Paris ou Correspondance de M*** dans les années 1806 et 1807* (Heidelberg; Paris: Mohr et Zimmer and Marchand des Nouveautés, 1809), p. 134. In terms of new Napoleonic tragedies, it is striking that the delay between a first and second performance of a new tragedy and between the premiere and Geoffroy's review was often two days, so that the public could read the critic's response and thus Geoffroy's review could shape the play's immediate reception.

¹⁰⁰ Zékian, p. 15.

cheapest ticket for the Comédie-Française, and had a print run of 1000 copies.¹⁰¹ Moreover, such print runs were not uncommon: in 1811 1000 copies of both Corneille's *Horace* and *Cinna* were printed within the space of two weeks.¹⁰² There was thus a ready availability of these texts. Yet, outside the centralised powerhouses producing stereotype, the tragic text was open to much more fluctuation. The publishing house Fages offered inexpensive editions of the text without any commentary or preface. However, its Parisian edition of *Le Cid* did not contain the characters of the Infante, Léonor, or the Page and opened at the line 'Enfin, vous l'emportez, et la faveur du roi' which is actually I. 6 in 1801.¹⁰³ The Infante is also absent in a 1802 Fages edition printed in Toulouse but this edition starts with the line 'Elvire, m'as tu fait un rapport bien sincère?'¹⁰⁴ This alternative beginning was incorporated into a Parisian version, as a Duchesne copy from 1810 'conforme à la représentation' attests.¹⁰⁵

Thus far we have seen the attempt to stabilise tragedy through publishing and the education system, but it is clear that the tragic text was still rewritten or in a modified format, especially in cheaper editions. Some publications contained greater rewritings than others, but all these tragedies attempted to offer an accepted version of the text. However, there were more concerted efforts to actively rewrite pre-existing tragedy. An example of this is the volume *Corneille, Six tragédies retouchées pour le théâtre*, published in 1802.¹⁰⁶ The aim of the

¹⁰¹ *Bibliographie de l'Empire*, 26 June 1812 (Paris: Bossagne, 1812). The cheapest ticket in the Comédie-Française was the Deuxième Galerie at 1 franc 80, Paris, BMCF, R 239–R 247.

¹⁰² *Bibliographie de l'Empire*, 22 November (Paris: Bossagne, 1811) and *Bibliographie de l'Empire*, 6 December 1811 (Paris: Bossagne, 1811).

¹⁰³ Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid* (Paris: Fages, 1802).

¹⁰⁴ Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid* (Toulouse: Fages, an XI [1802]) I. 1, p. 3. Fages was based in Paris and so this edition might be a counterfeit copy, showing how the counterfeit trade could corrupt the text. The 1801 edition of Voltaire's *Commentaires* offers an explanation for the latter's first line by signalling that this is Corneille's own rewriting from 1664, Corneille, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, III, 129.

¹⁰⁵ Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid, tragédie, édition conforme à la représentation* (Paris: Duchesne, 1810), I.1, p. 3.

¹⁰⁶ *Six tragédies*. The version referenced here is Paris, BnF, 8-RF-2241, an 'adaptation' of Pierre Corneille, *Six tragédies retouchées pour le théâtre* [edited by J.-L. de Lisle et Audibert] (Paris: Desenne, 1802), BnF, 8-RF-2240 which

rewriter, Joseph Delisle (1735–1809), a local politician from Marseille, was to adapt the tragedies for modern performance and to prevent the tragedies from being ‘lost’.¹⁰⁷ Likewise, ‘[q]uoique *Rodogune* [1647] et les *Horaces* continuent d’être applaudis au théâtre, on a cru pouvoir y faire quelques changemens [...] pour réserrer la marche de l’action, et en accroître l’intérêt.’¹⁰⁸ Delisle’s priority was to ‘plaire et toucher’, his rewritings allowed these tragedies to remain within the performed canon, underlining the distinction between literary and theatrical domains.

Delisle clearly believed that the spectacle was of great significance. Consequently, these tragedies were often reworked with increased staging directions compared to the originals—galleries and lighting play a greater role, the whole stage is used with characters in the fore- and backgrounds, and there are many more people on-stage in the form of guards, crowds, and ‘people’.¹⁰⁹ Now, this could have been the case in performance beforehand—Lekain mentions as many as 100 extras on-stage¹¹⁰—but the effect of this in writing is to convey such a spectacle through the medium of print. Moreover, this edition reordered which characters are on-stage when, thus reformulating the imagined tableau. In V. 5 of *Nicomède* (1651), originally Prusias, Flaminius, Arisoné, Attale, Cléone, and Araspe were all on-stage as the people storm the palace; this is a serious matter of State. However, in the rewritten version the impact of the external events is expressed through a domestic tableau of Arisoné, Prusias’s wife, and their son, Attale.¹¹¹ The tragedy was reconceived for a new public.

The 1802 rewritings also integrated some of the trends of earlier eighteenth-century revisions. In V. 6 of *Nicomède*, a moment of great tension, Arisoné and Laodice occupy the stage alone; the confidante, Cléone, was removed, reflecting the contemporary discourse which challenged the roles of the

contains the handwritten changes which survive into BnF, 8-RF-2241. Delisle was the rewriter, Audibert the editor.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. ii.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ I.e. ‘Nicomède’, in *Six tragédies*, more stage directions in I. 1–1. 4 and a crowd on-stage at V. 9. The masses stay on-stage in *La Mort de Pompée*, ‘La Mort de Pompée’, in ibid., III. 3. *Horace* has a different set, ‘Horaces’, in *Six tragédies*.

¹¹⁰ Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, I, 41.

¹¹¹ ‘Nicomède’, V. 5.

confidants.¹¹² Echoing the previous reduction of female roles, scenes between Arisoné and Cléone were cut. Similarly, as the long speeches of tragedy were attacked more generally by contemporaries, those of Rodogune in the eponymous tragedy disappear.¹¹³ *Nicomède*'s II. 2 was radically shortened, and the male Araspe took over the socially and sexually inferior Cléone's lines in V. 4. Combined with smaller linguistic alterations to facilitate the tragedy's comprehension, it is clear here that Delisle rewrote Corneille's tragedies to meet audience expectations: this is a temporal translation to 'plaire' the revolutionised public.

This pre-existing tragedy was for public entertainment, not academic poetics. Delisle enjoyed his polemical stance on the poetic rules and went as far as to rewrite *Horace* into two acts, in theory poetic high treason. He justified this two-act format by maintaining that *Horace* was effectively a plan with only two parts, one before the fighting, and one after: the other scene changes were futile.¹¹⁴ Moreover, he challenged d'Aubignac's rules on a play's division into five acts: '[q]u'importe qu'une tragédie soit divisée en deux ou trois temps !'.¹¹⁵ As with Rousseau's *Le Cid*, here 'classical tragedy' was rewritten according to what the 'classical rules' had become, resulting in their dissolution. Delisle reproached Corneille for having to replicate scenes in order to fill a tragedy.¹¹⁶ However, he added in many scenes to *Sertorius* (1662), especially in act III. In

¹¹² The role of confidant had been attacked by supporters of the *drame*, an attack which continued into the Napoleonic era, see Jean-François Marmontel, 'Confident', in *L'Esprit de l'Encyclopédie, ou recueil des articles les plus curieux et les plus intéressans de l'Encyclopédie*, 15 vols (Paris: Verdrière, 1822), IV, 100–02 and later Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, 'Quelques réflexions sur la tragédie de "Wallstein" et sur le théâtre allemand', in Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, *Wallstein, tragédie en cinq actes et en verse précédée de quelques réflexions sur le théâtre allemand, et suivie de notes historiques*, (Geneva: J. J. Paschoud, 1809), pp. v–lii (p. xx); Jean-Charles Léonard de Sismondi, *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, 4 vols (Paris; Strasbourg: Treuttel et Würtz, 1813), II, 447; August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Cours de littérature dramatique, traduit de l'allemand*, trans. by Madame Necker, 3 vols (Paris; Geneva: J. J. Paschoud, 1814), II, 166–67.

¹¹³ 'Nicomède', I. 5 and 'Rodogune', I. 3 in *Six tragédies*.

¹¹⁴ *Six tragédies*, p. iii.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p v.

the name of keeping the canon alive, pre-existing tragedy was actualised to meet contemporary demands.

Delisle's rewritings were seemingly not produced at the Comédie-Française, but, given that their publication came before the tragic monopoly of 1806, other Parisian theatres could have performed them, as could society or provincial theatres. After the physical stage, there remains the stage of the readers' minds. Indeed, these rewritings and their draft ended up in Napoleon's library and they were reported in the press.¹¹⁷ *L'Observateur des spectacles* critiqued these adaptations through a satirical dialogue about *Horace* in two acts.¹¹⁸ In the dialogue, a youth, who is a vaudeville author, has amended Corneille to make his works more 'beautiful' and to update his plays with Revolutionary imagery. The multiplication of genres was changing the audience's horizon of expectation. Rewriters attempted to convince their audience that this natural, prosaic, rule-free Corneille was the new father of French tragedy.

Even the Comédie-Française welcomed an updated Corneille and advertised it through publication. Aided by the star actor François-Joseph Talma, François Andrieux (1759–1833) published *Changemens faits à la tragédie de 'Nicomède', de P. Corneille*, adopted by the Comédie-Française, and his proposed changes to *Polyeucte* (1643) in 1805. By printing these changes, which would now be used by the Comédie-Française 'pour toujours',¹¹⁹ they could be implemented by the provincial theatres for the version of *Nicomède* 'conforme à la représentation'.¹²⁰

Licensed by Lekain's rewritings of *Nicomède*, Andrieux judged these changes 'nécessaires' since the archaic beauty of Corneille was being wrongly understood, and worse, becoming a laughing matter, a 'scandale'.¹²¹ This was not

¹¹⁷ BnF, 8-RF-2240.

¹¹⁸ *L'Observateur des spectacles*, 18 March 1802.

¹¹⁹ François Andrieux, *Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces, comédie en un acte en vers de dix syllabes, nouvelle édition, corrigée par l'auteur. On y a joint : 1 des changements adoptés au Théâtre Français pour la tragédie de 'Nicomède', de P. Corneille; 2 un changement proposé pour la tragédie de 'Polyeucte', du même auteur* (Paris: Collin, 1805), p. 48.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 48.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 45 and p. 47.

new: for instance, ‘Attale a le cœur grand, l’esprit grand, l’âme grande, | Et toutes les grandeurs dont se fait un grand Roi’¹²² was apparently comic for Lekain’s society because of the repetition of ‘grand’. Consequently, Lekain changed ‘grandeurs’ for ‘vertus’ to make it less repetitive and to retain the tragic tone.¹²³ However, by the time Andrieux made his modifications, although the passage still needed to be altered, the recurrence of ‘grand’ did not verge on the comic. Andrieux thus wrote: ‘On vient nous assurer qu’Attale a l’âme grande, | Et tous les dons du ciel qui forment un grand roi.’¹²⁴ These changes additionally aided the audience’s understanding of Corneille, especially in performance. Lines such as ‘Tantôt en le voyant j’ai fait de l’effrayée;’ became ‘Tantôt, en le voyant, j’ai feint d’être effrayée.’¹²⁵ Audiences and their horizon of expectation of a genre differ over time, and thus the text had to be updated for the public, the target of Andrieux’s rewriting.¹²⁶

However, Andrieux was not as original as he claimed to be: although his rewriting was more extensive, it often focused on the areas highlighted by Lekain. For instance, Lekain rewrote Corneille’s line ‘Madame, et retenez une telle insolence’ to become ‘Madame, encore un coup, cet homme est-il à vous?’ followed by a cut of four lines.¹²⁷ In 1805 Andrieux kept this cut but returned to the original line.¹²⁸ Sometimes, Andrieux even passed off Lekain’s earlier modifications for his own: Corneille’s ‘le roi s’ennuie’ in III. 7 was changed to ‘Seigneur, le roi vous mande’ by Lekain and retained by Andrieux.¹²⁹ Lines which were too famous for the public, however, could not be altered.¹³⁰ The theatrical ‘Corneille’ was translated, literally carried across, and rendered more accessible to a growing public and its shared culture, facilitating the reconstruction of the French nation.

¹²² Pierre Corneille, ‘Nicomède’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, II (1984), 637–712 (II. 3. 592–93).

¹²³ Lekain, pp. 123–24.

¹²⁴ Andrieux, p. 60.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹²⁷ *Nicomède*, I. 2. 184, Lekain, p. 114.

¹²⁸ Andrieux, p. 52.

¹²⁹ Lekain, p. 155, Andrieux, p. 67.

¹³⁰ Andrieux, p. 65.

These differences demonstrate that the printed text of classical tragedy, including that destined for performance, was still far from being sacred after the author's death. However, there was an attempt to purify classical theatre through new publishing and editorial techniques, which combined with its increased circulation and actualisation through rewriting, drove towards the (re)formation of the canon. This is crucial for the reconstruction of post-revolutionary France because although the canon was no novelty, its re-foundation allowed society to create what the literary memory scholar Herbert Grabes has called a “usable past”, a corpus of texts that can be surveyed and retained in collective memory’, a collective culture essential to the reconstruction of France.¹³¹ These pre-existing tragedies—many of which were based on ancient myths from the foundation of western civilisation—were attached to the memory of Louis XIV. Therefore, these works recalled France's absolutist glory and thus the past majesty of France to forge a strong nation in the present. Their recollection and diffusion at this moment of reconstruction was no coincidence.

b. Archival Rewritings

i. *Corneille au dixneuvieme [sic] siecle [sic]*

Whilst some rewritings entered the public domain, others did not. Nevertheless, they can still be retraced by close archival work. A further, lengthier rewriting of Corneille for both his comedies and his tragedies can be found in the three manuscript volumes of *Corneille au dixneuvieme siecle*, destined for the stage.¹³²

¹³¹ Herbert Grabes, ‘Cultural Memory and the Literary Canon’, in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies*, ed. by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 311–19 (p. 314).

¹³² Paris, BnF, MS *Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle ou Œuvres de Pierre Corneille, remises à la scène par F. BRUNOT*, FRANCAIS-15078; MS *Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle ou Œuvres de Pierre Corneille, remises à la scène par F. BRUNOT*, NAF-2844; MS *Suite du precedent [Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle ou Œuvres de Pierre Corneille, remises à la scène par F. BRUNOT]*, NAF-2845. This includes: *Sophonisbe*, *Pulchérie*, *Nicomède*, *Horace*, *Le Cid*, *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, *La Mort de Pompée*, *Le menteur*, *Rodogune*, *Héraclius*, and *Suréna*. The manuscript version of the title is *Corneille au dixneuvieme siecle* but the BnF catalogue logs the manuscripts with modernised spelling, hence the difference between the title given and the reference.

Whereas in 1802 Delisle openly defied tradition with *Horace* in two acts, this rewriter, F. Brunot (17?–18?), attempted to restore the Cornelian text following the 1801 stereotype edited by Charles Palissot (1730–1814). Nonetheless Brunot believed that it was necessary for these plays to be adapted to the stage for Napoleonic audiences, revealing the contemporary difference between text and script. Significantly, Brunot believed that he was taking a ‘statue mutilée’¹³³ and reworking it to make it magnificent again; he had created a ‘Corneille épuré’,¹³⁴ which constituted ‘un code élémentaire de la tragédie’ for young authors;¹³⁵ and, like his ‘Molière au dix neuvieme siecle [*sic*]’,¹³⁶ this rewriting was for Napoleon, ‘qui va faire refleurir dans ses Etats le beau siècle de Louis XIV’,¹³⁷ reiterating how seventeenth-century tragedy was considered integral to Napoleon’s nationalist and propagandist programme.

Brunot’s claim to be rewriting Corneille to purify and to correct his language for the nineteenth century is reflected in the contentious opening lines to *Le Cid*. The 1801 *Œuvres complètes* had restored I. 1; the play thus commences with Elvire’s words: ‘Entre tous ces amants dont la jeune ferveur | Adore votre fille, et brigue ma fureur’.¹³⁸ Brunot retained this restoration but rewrote the opening lines to ‘Parmi tous ces amants qui d’une vive ardeur | Brûlent pour votre fille, et briguent ma fureur’.¹³⁹ The changes are slight, but Brunot deemed them necessary for contemporary comprehension. Minor rewritings are extensive across the twelve plays, but with the authority vested in him by Voltaire and Palissot, Brunot could make some longer cuts. For instance, Brunot deletes twenty-eight lines from Camille’s monologue in IV. 4 of *Horace*, where she references her ‘Impitoyable père’ and her sacrifice for her country: ‘La patrie est rompue, et les dieux la renouent,’ and ‘Dégénérons, mon cœur,

¹³³ ‘Note de l’éditeur’, p. 2, in MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, NAF-2844.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 3. Brunot’s emphasis.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp. 2–3.

¹³⁸ Corneille, *Œuvres de P. Corneille*, III, I. 1, p. 33.

¹³⁹ ‘Le Cid, tragédie’, p. 1, MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, NAF-2844.

d'un si vertueux père; | Soyons indigne sœur d'un si généreux frère'.¹⁴⁰ The removal of these lines which emphasise what she must renounce echo those of Émilie which are cut in I. 1 of *Cinna*:

Oui, Cinna, contre moi moi-même je m'irrite
Quand je songe aux dangers où je te précipite.
Quoique pour me servir tu n'appréhendes rien,
Te demander du sang, c'est exposer le tien.¹⁴¹

Brunot's restoration of Corneille took a liberal form. Furthermore, Brunot maintained some of the plays' notable deformations: the Infante and her Page were still banished from *Le Cid* and Brunot transcribed 'Livie, impératrice' for *Cinna* before striking through her role.¹⁴²

No trace today can be found of Brunot beyond these manuscripts, but his work was not only offered to Napoleon, but it made its way into the national collection, and the marking 'lu' on the manuscript echoes that of the contemporary theatrical and police practices upon a play's reception.¹⁴³ Likewise, the speed at which his rewritings were produced—approximately one revised play per fortnight—and Brunot's own corrections over his rewritten manuscript of Corneille indicate a sense of urgency, hinting that these rewritings may have been commissioned by the establishment.¹⁴⁴

ii. 'Corrections, coupures et variantes' (1814)

¹⁴⁰ 'Horace, tragédie', pp. 72–73, MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, FRANCAIS-15078. This makes reference to Pierre Corneille, 'Horace', in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 831–901 (IV. 4. 1199–1202 and 1211–30).

¹⁴¹ 'Cinna, tragédie', p. 3, MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, NAF-2844. This makes reference to Pierre Corneille, 'Cinna', in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 913–69 (I. 1. 21–24).

¹⁴² 'Cinna, tragédie', p. ii, MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, NAF-2844

¹⁴³ 'La Mort de pompée', p. i, MS Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, BnF, NAF-2844.

¹⁴⁴ As we can see from the finish dates on each front page, Brunot took an average of two weeks to rewrite each play.

With the change in political regime, the Comédie-Française was assigned a new government official in 1814, Amédée-Bretagne-Malo de Durfort, Duc de Duras (1771–1838). As times changed, the actor Valmore (1792–1881) produced a manuscript document for the Comédie-Française entitled ‘Corrections, coupures et variantes faites par la Comédie Française sur les pièces de son répertoire’.¹⁴⁵ Whilst some of these rewritings were occasioned by the State (*Héraclius* (1647) and *Athalie*), others were the product of the actors and adaptors, past and present, and their theatrical experience; these modifications are ‘par la Comédie-Française’ which encapsulates all of these agents.¹⁴⁶ A critical edition of this

¹⁴⁵ Full name: François-Proposer Lanchantin. The Comédie-Française lists Valmore’s date of birth as 1793, but data.bnf has 1792. The Comédie-Française entry lists Valmore as an actor, ‘puis sous-bibliothécaire à la Bibliothèque impériale.’ See <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-autorite.php?id=554&aut=00007862&ref=00029783&p=1>> [accessed 25 March 2016]. It was not uncommon for actors to hold alternative roles in the theatre. Dublin (17?–18?) seems to have both performed and been in charge of costumes and props (11 floréal an XIII (1 May 1805), 23 September 1808, 1 June 1814 Paris, BMCF, R 415 and R 416), and *L’Opinion du parterre* notes that Florence (Nicolas-Joseph-Florence Billot de La Ferrière, 1752–1816) barely performed any more because of his administrative duties and his role to ‘faire aller la machine’, *L’Opinion du parterre*, I (1803), 90–91. Florence’s information is taken from the Comédie-Française, available at: <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-autorite.php?id=554&aut=00008078&ref=00005772&p=1>> [accessed 25 March 2016].

¹⁴⁶ The document attests the Comédie-Française’s consciousness of past rewritings: ‘variantes’ are noted, including lines originally belonging to the tragicomedy of *Le Cid* from 1636. For example:

LE COMTE:	Ne lui servira pas d’un petit ornement.
D. DIEGUE:	Épargnes tu mon sang ?
LE COMTE:	Mon âme est satisfaite, Et mes yeux à ma main reprochent ta défaite.
D. DIEGUE:	Dédaigne-tu ma vie !
LE COMTE:	En arrêter le cours Ne serait que hâter la Parque de trois jours (il sort)
D. DIEGUE <i>seul</i> :	Ô rage, ô désespoir & &

Le Cid, I. 4. 230–I. 5. 235; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 3.

Another example is that of *Polyeucte* in IV. 6 where the ‘Corrections’ add in the following four lines:

central document would revolutionise our understanding of the evolution of classical tragedy and ‘Classicism’ since it lists fifty-two tragedies with their respective ‘corrections, coupures et variantes’.¹⁴⁷ This underlines the sheer extent to which the tragic heritage both received by and passed on by the Napoleonic era was rewritten. What is more, compared to Chaouche’s statistics, this document reveals that forty-eight of these rewritten tragedies dated from before 1789 and the Revolutionary overhaul of the tragic rules.¹⁴⁸ It is these earlier tragedies, especially those of Corneille and Racine, given their prominent position within the French classical canon, that are of interest when examining the Napoleonic ‘classique’ model.

The Comédie-Française changes confirm the earlier findings that Revolutionary rewriting rendered tragedies increasingly tragic. Two primary examples of French tragedy becoming increasingly tragic can be seen in *Phèdre* and *Rodogune*. *Phèdre*’s lines reasoning Œnone’s accusations against Hippolyte were removed.¹⁴⁹ The tragedy now closed without the rightful recollection that it

Peut-être qu’après tout ces croyances publiques
Ne sont qu’inventions de sages politiques,
Pour contenir un peuple ou bien pour l’émouvoir,
Et dessus sa foiblesse affermir leur pouvoir.

BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 51. These lines were supposedly disowned by Corneille, see Georges Couton, ‘Notes et variantes’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 1659–80 (pp. 1675–76). Despite this restoration project, these lines were deleted from the tragic performance. For example, *Le Cid* in this document is still heavily dominated by the 1734 rewriting.

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix C. After Valmore’s 1814 notes, the document continued to be used by the Comédie-Française and different hands transcribe changes made to later plays on different paper.

¹⁴⁸ Sabine Chaouche is one of the few people to look at the ‘remises’ and ‘reprises’ of tragedy from Grimm’s *Correspondance*, to establish that, between 1756 and 1790 60 plays were reworked, including 29 premieres, 18 remises and 8 reprises, Chaouche, *La Mise en scène*, I, 124. However, archival documents in the Comédie-Française suggest alternative figures to the ones she suggests in her book. See Appendix C for a full list of tragedies contained in this document. Of these tragedies, twenty-nine date from the eighteenth century and another nineteen from the seventeenth century.

¹⁴⁹ Elle a craint qu’Hippolyte instruit de ma fureur
Ne découvrit un feu qui lui faisait horreur.
La Perfide abusant de ma faiblesse extrême

was Œnone—and Œnone alone—who accused Hippolyte, which entailed his death. This omission increased Phèdre’s guilt: without her ‘faiblesse extrême’ she was no longer ‘ni tout à fait coupable, ni tout à fait innocente’; Phèdre was guilty.¹⁵⁰ In *Rodogune*, Cléopâtre might appear evil but Corneille hinted that this was caused by her husband’s affairs. The exclusion of the lines referring to Cléopâtre’s betrayal made her the sole author of her crimes; she was no longer pushed to commit them.¹⁵¹ This rewriting also helped preserve the image of the King as noble rather than neglectful of his queen. From these rewritings it is possible to suggest that the Napoleonic notion of ‘tragedy’ belonged to a play’s emotive and psychological effects rather than the recollection of blood and horror.

The rewritings updated the dramatic highlights of the performance to increase their pertinence and sometimes even the most famous elements of a classical tragedy were changed, such as the poisoned cup in *Rodogune*. Originally, Rodogune ordered Cléopâtre to try the drink on one of the servants: ‘Donnez donc cette preuve, et pour toute réplique, | Faites faire un essai par quelque Domestique.’¹⁵² The Comédie-Française rewrote this as ‘Mais il en faut sur l’heure acquérir une preuve, | De la coupe à mes yeux faites faire l’épreuve.’¹⁵³ The removal of the servant personalises this challenge between the rivals Rodogune and Cléopâtre. Another example is *Le Cid*, which includes

S’est hâtée à vos yeux de l’accuser lui-même.

Phèdre, V. 7. 1627–30; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 78.

¹⁵⁰ Jean Racine, ‘Préface à Phèdre’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Georges Forestier*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), I, 817–19 (p. 817).

¹⁵¹ Elle oublie un mari qui veut cesser de l’être,
Qui ne veut plus la voir qu’en implacable maître,
Et changeant à regret son amour en horreur,
Elle abandonne tout à sa juste fureur.
Elle-même leur dresse une embûche au passage,
Se mêle dans les coups, porte partout sa rage,
En pousse jusqu’au bout les furieux effets.

Pierre Corneille, ‘Rodogune’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, II, 191–266 (I. 4. 255–61); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 43

¹⁵² *Rodogune*, V. 4. 1791–92.

¹⁵³ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 46.

Rousseau's changes from 1734, so in V. 5 Don Fernand could say: 'Approche toi Rodrigue et toi reçois ma fille | De la main & ton roi l'appui de la Castille' instead of 'Sèche tes pleurs, Chimène, et reçois sans tristesse | Ce généreux vainqueur des mains de ta Princesse' which were originally spoken by the Infante.¹⁵⁴ The most common occasion for rewriting the dramatic crux remained the ends of acts. Eight lines were cut from the end act III in *Rodogune*, including the prophetic 'La pesanteur du coup souvent nous étourdit, | On le croit repoussé, quand il s'approfondit'.¹⁵⁵ Although the act still ended with the use of 'si' the final image of 'nature' and 'amour' was much more positive since the references to 'violence', 'orgueil', 'ombres', 'poisons', and 'mort' had disappeared.¹⁵⁶ At other times, the lines of a secondary character finishing the end of an act were cut. An example of this amongst others is *Polyeucte* where two lines from Néarque were deleted so that act II ended at Polyeucte's triumphal line 'Faisons triompher Dieu, qu'il dispose du reste.'¹⁵⁷ Such modifications allowed the primary characters to retain their agency and importance; rather than a minor character, it was they who dominated the end of the scene. A similar phenomenon can be observed in *Horace*, where the end of act I was altered to finish at Camille's line 'Et savoir d'eux encor la fin de nos misères.'¹⁵⁸ This rewriting omitted two lines from her confidante, Julie. Similarly, several of Sabine's lines were cut from both the end of act III and IV so that act III terminates with the vieil Horace's lines and the image of 'romains' and act IV with the desolate 'Adieu, ne me suis point, ou retiens tes soupirs.'¹⁵⁹ Interestingly, this revised line is the first verse of the alexandrine couplet and no final line was proposed as would be expected following the rules of versification. When the end of the act was rewritten, it tended to close with a primary character if there was one on-stage.

These modifications are essential in understanding the evolution of tragedy. Whereas Corneille could happily end an act with a confidant speaking,

¹⁵⁴ *Le Cid*, V. 7. 1799–1800; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 7.

¹⁵⁵ *Rodogune*, III. 6. 1121–22; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 45.

¹⁵⁶ *Rodogune*, III. 6. 1121–22.

¹⁵⁷ Pierre Corneille, 'Polyeucte Martyr', in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 973–1050 (II. 6. 718); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 49.

¹⁵⁸ *Horace*, I. 3. 344; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 7.

¹⁵⁹ *Horace*, IV. 7. 1397; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 10.

this was not as acceptable by the Napoleonic era. These changes severely question the principles of French theatre as developed by seventeenth-century scholars such as the Abbé d'Aubignac. Certainly many of the treatises on tragic rules are imperfect and posterior to Corneille, but they were the underpinning works of what would later become 'Classicism'. According to d'Aubignac, the links between acts were regulated;¹⁶⁰ therefore, Napoleonic adapters contravened the rules in the need to update these tragedies.

In terms of the development of 'Classicism' as a literary and theatrical concept introduced *a posteriori*, it is noteworthy that several of the rewritings reinforce the concept of *bienséance* which had been attacked by the Revolution. The 'Corrections, coupures et variantes' have already shown how Cléopâtre's enumeration of her crimes was removed. Likewise, in *Bajazet*, known for its gore, the *récit* which numbers the dead was cut.¹⁶¹ In the original play, Zaïre then expresses her desire to die, suicidal declarations which were removed from the institutional text so that the tragedy ends on Atalide's line 'Et prenez la vengeance enfin qui vous est due.'¹⁶² Indeed, *Bajazet* is not a lone case: the Comédie-Française severely shortened the suicidal commentary of the characters in *Horace* and *Polyeucte*.¹⁶³ Although playwrights had circumvented the constraints of *bienséance* through the use of *récits*, now even the *récits* could be distasteful to contemporary anticipations. The public's expectations and taste were at the heart of these rewritings: contemporary pleasure overcame traditional poetics.

c. Tracing Tragedy in Performance

¹⁶⁰ Aubignac, pp. 276–311.

¹⁶¹ Bajazet était mort. Nous l'avons rencontré
De morts et de mourants noblement entouré,
Que vengeant sa défaite, et cédant sous le nombre,
Ce Héros a forcés d'accompagner son Ombre.

Jean Racine, 'Bajazet', in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 557–622 (v. 11. 1707–10); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 79.

¹⁶² *Bajazet*, v. 12. 1754. Zaire's lines 1755 and 1756 are removed; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 80.

¹⁶³ *Horace*, II. 6. 635–46; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 8 and *Polyeucte*, II. 6. 671–82; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 49.

As Valmore's changes 'par la Comédie-Française' demonstrate, rewriting occurred within theatrical practice itself, especially in the process from text to stage.¹⁶⁴ The 'registres des feux', which list the plays performed and their cast per day, are precious documents to trace rewritings since we can compare the cast of different performances. For example, the Comédie-Française's Napoleonic reprise of Racine's tragedy 'tirée de l'écriture sainte', *Esther* (1689), was on the larger stage of the Opéra on 2 June 1803 then on 12 June at St Cloud to mark the first court performance since the Revolution and a new performance space in the Château.¹⁶⁵ Despite being announced again in 1803,¹⁶⁶ *Esther* did not reappear until 1805, again at the Opéra on 17 April.¹⁶⁷ When *Esther* was performed at the Comédie-Française on 26 April 1805 for the first time since 1721 there was no chorus as there had been at the Opéra.¹⁶⁸ Contemporary periodicals reveal that the chorus had been composed of the Opéra girls, whose expression of innocence was met with laughter.¹⁶⁹ According to *La Semaine* the chorus's parts were already 'étranglés et tronqués'.¹⁷⁰ The chorus's exclusion from the cast when *Esther* returned to the Comédie-Française can perhaps be accredited to its nineteenth-century reception: for instance, Geoffroy recommended its removal in his feuilleton.¹⁷¹ Nevertheless, the chorus had 364 out of 1286 lines, consequently the play must have been significantly altered to take account of these changes which accounted for twenty-eight per cent of the

¹⁶⁴ As we have seen in the introduction, this transformation is described as a 'rewriting' by André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Frame* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 6 and Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La Littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 405.

¹⁶⁵ *Registre des feux*, Paris, BMCF, R 327.

¹⁶⁶ 6 June 1803, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Registre des feux*, Paris, BMCF, R 329.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ 'Sur "Esther"', *Spectateur français au XIX^e siècle*, III (1806), 354–58 (p. 354).

¹⁷⁰ "'Esther'", *Théâtre des arts*, *La Semaine. Journal dramatique et littéraire*, 16 prairial an XI (5 June 1803).

¹⁷¹ 'Représentation extraordinaire au bénéfice de madame Suin, "Esther" et "Saül"', *Journal des débats*, 19 April 1805.

text.¹⁷² Trailing the performances of *Esther* over 1805 and 1806 shows how the Comédie-Française used performance as a means of trial and error. On 29 April 1805, after a performance with no Israelite chorus, Mademoiselle Patrat (17?–18?)¹⁷³ was listed as the first Israelite, the lead of the chorus who has spoken as well as sung lines.¹⁷⁴ Over the summer the role of the first Israelite stayed on the cast list until 12 September 1805 when it disappeared again.¹⁷⁵ One could propose that the varying inclusion and removal of the Israelite kept the play fresh: on 4 December 1805 Mademoiselle George took on the title role, thus far performed by her rival Mademoiselle Duchesnois, and from January 1806 either actress played the part.¹⁷⁶ Dividing and swapping roles between Mesdemoiselles George and Duchesnois was a tried and tested tactic for maintaining audience interest, as the performances of *Phèdre* in 1803 confirmed. On 3 March 1806 the only listed female roles were Esther and Élise, the confidante: there was no Israelite nor Zarès, the wife of the conspiring advisor Aman.¹⁷⁷ As with the Israelite, Zarès disappeared and reappeared in the register, denoting a certain flexibility of the text in performance, especially as she had 59.5 lines.¹⁷⁸ The omission of both the Israelite and Zarès is likewise important when considered in the light of contemporary views on tragedy. Zarès's role is principally ironic, and could turn the audience to laughter, potentially tragic treason, and the Israelite, with or without chorus, is not a traditional French tragic role.

¹⁷² 'Nombre de vers par acte dans le texte d'Esther de Racine, Jean (1689)', available at <http://www.theatre-classique.fr/pages/programmes/vers.php?t=../documents/RACINE_ESTHER.xml> [accessed 23 April 2015].

¹⁷³ Full name: Justine Alternack <<http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-autorite.php?id=554&aut=00007740&ref=00029785&p=1>> [accessed 5 April 2016].

¹⁷⁴ Registre des feux, BMCF, R 329. For example II. 8 is 'partie déclamée sans chant' and in III.3 the chorus have spoken lines, Jean Racine, 'Esther', in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 943–99.

¹⁷⁵ Registre des feux, BMCF, R 329.

¹⁷⁶ For example, Mademoiselle Duchesnois is Esther on 8 January 1806, whilst George performs on 12 January. Registre des feux, BMCF, R 329.

¹⁷⁷ Registre des feux, Paris, BMCF, R 330.

¹⁷⁸ 'Nombre de vers par acte dans le texte d'Esther de Racine, Jean (1689)'.

Esther is not a lone case. Again the ‘registres des feux’ mark the disappearance of the role of the officer Zama in *Didon* (1734) for the performance of 9 April 1801. Through the distribution we can see how the role was absent from performances over the summer—generally a quieter period—before it was restored on 11 October 1801 at the request of the actor Saint Prix.¹⁷⁹ At other times roles were combined. On 8 March 1804 for the performance of *Le Cid* the ‘registre des feux’ notes:

Il est possible de faire doubler le Rôle d’Alonze à l’acteur qui joue celui d’Arias moyennant que celui qui joue le Rôle de Don Sanche dit les deux vers suivants qui sont dans le Rôle d’Arias

= Ils savent aux dépens de leurs plus dignes têtes
 = Combien votre présence assure vos conquêtes,
 = vous n’avez rien à craindre.

La représentation d’aujourd’hui ainsi que la dernière et l’avant dernière en font foi.¹⁸⁰

Here the actor Florence (1752–1816) performed both roles, a combination which continued after his retirement when Gontier (1785–1841) took over the combined part.¹⁸¹ In tragedy, every element was there for a reason but now another character was removed in addition to the Infante, Léonor, and the Page. The Napoleonic era continued the practice of its predecessors. This observation additionally shows some of the dynamics of rewriting: modifications may have been rehearsed but the final decision was made through their reception, again underlining the element of tragedy’s need to ‘plaire’ and the primacy of the public.

The reestablishment of a character was often by command, either from a high-ranking actor, or Napoleon himself as was the case for *Le Cid* and *Cinna* in

¹⁷⁹ Registre des feux, Paris, BMCF, R 325.

¹⁸⁰ Registre des feux, Paris, BMCF, R 328.

¹⁸¹ 14 August 1804, BMCF, R 328. Gontier’s full name is Tonon Georges Belloste < <http://www.comedie-francaise.fr/la-grange-autorite.php?id=554&aut=00007550&ref=00004165&p=1> > [accessed 5 April 2016].

1806.¹⁸² The need for such a demand to return to the ‘original’ might appear curious, especially after witnessing the contemporary flexibility, but the following annotation regarding *Cinna* and the role of Livie sheds some light: ‘On croit que ce Role a été supprimée a la Representation de vivant même de Corneille, aucun acteur du théâtre français n’ayant vu jouer le Role, ni n’ayant entendu dire qu’il eut été joué par ses prédecesseurs.’¹⁸³ The Comédie-Française’s declaration indicates the weight of the rewritten tragic inheritance and how modification and transformation were an inherent part of the *theatrical*, performative canon.

Performance cannot be forgotten when analysing the Napoleonic rewriting of classical tragedy: it impacted tragedy’s interpretation and form. *Athalie* is an illustrative example. The Comédie-Française kept this play fresh: after its reprise on 24 February 1806 the number of extras varied over time, affecting the visual tableau;¹⁸⁴ the head of the orchestra, Antoine-Laurent Baudron (1743–1834), was rewarded for his ‘soins’ and ‘peines’ in 1808 for the performances;¹⁸⁵ and *Athalie* was still in rehearsal in 1810 alongside the new tragedy *Brunehaut* (1810).¹⁸⁶ These alterations were primarily down to institutional decisions, but the actors could have their own influence. As Talma documented, the line ‘Soumis avec respect à sa volonté sainte’ (I. 1, 63) could deviate from the classical alexandrine. In theory the line would be divided into two hemistichs, but the hemistich could be troubled by the fact that ‘respect à sa

¹⁸² ‘Le Rôle de Livie a été Rétablie dans cette Rep.on a la demande de l’Empereur’, 29 May 1806 and ‘C’est par ordre de l’Empereur que Le Cid a été joué avec le Role de l’Infante’, 1 June 1806, Registre des feux, BMCF, R 330.

¹⁸³ 29 May 1806, Ibid. The spellings are reproduced as found in the original source.

¹⁸⁴ For example, in the last two weeks of February 1806 *Athalie* only needed thirty-four extras but by the last two weeks of May 1806 this had risen to fifty-six. Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 10 Figuration.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Assemblée Générale du 8 Xbre 1808, Extrait du registre des délibérations du dit jour’: ‘Sur l’approbation de son comité, la Comédie accorde, pour être payée de suite, une somme de trois cent livres à Monsieur Baudron en raison des soins et peines qu’il s’est donné pour les représentations d’Athalie.’ Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 6 Orchestre, boîte 3, suppléments 1800–31.

¹⁸⁶ ‘Répertoire du 22 Xbre’, Paris, BMCF, ARAD.1 Dossier Administration Mahérault.

volonté' could become 'respectasse' or 'respè qu'à'.¹⁸⁷ Certainly the alexandrine had been contested for nearly a century,¹⁸⁸ but the contemporary discourse in correspondence and periodicals underlined how it had become prosaic and released from its rules. Actors were praised for declamation which recalled that of Lekain, but critics were concerned about the paucity of guides for diction to carry the tragic heritage forward.¹⁸⁹ Tragic acting became familiar: actors pronounced lines such as 'Eh bien ! il faut vouloir tout ce que vous voulez' from Voltaire's *Zaïre* with 'manières triviales' and 'familiarité'.¹⁹⁰ Geoffroy accused Mademoiselle Duchesnois of 'deforming' tragedy: her familiar tone made the noble genre appear more like *drame*.¹⁹¹ Geoffroy recorded that Lafon sounded like 'un bourgeois de la rue Saint-Denis'.¹⁹² Yet the public desired this and warmly applauded Talma's 'familiar' rendition of 'Quels démons, quels serpents elle traîne après soi !' in Racine's *Andromaque* (1668).¹⁹³ The resulting acting style was a confusion of varying national and international provenances, heir of

¹⁸⁷ Letter Talma to M. Daleg, avocat in François-Joseph Talma, *Réflexions sur Lekain et sur l'art théâtral, édition établie et présentée par Pierre Frantz* (Paris: Desjonquères, 2002), pp. 98–100 (p. 99). This ability to distort the alexandrine through performance is also noted by Wilhelm von Humboldt: 'La déclamation, il est vrai, est tout-à-fait libre et nullement *obligée* ; la rime est même dissimulée avec soin, et le vers coupé tout autrement qu'il ne le seroit étant scandé ;' Wilhelm von Humboldt, 'Considérations sur l'art des acteurs tragiques français, par un Allemand', *Spectateur du Nord*, XIII (1800), 380–409 (p. 387).

¹⁸⁸ Perchellet, pp. 110–11.

¹⁸⁹ Mara Fazio has revealed how Talma had an anonymous critic [Charmois] and guide in the parterre who sent reports of the performance to the actor, see Mara Fazio, *François-Joseph Talma, le théâtre et l'histoire de la Révolution à la Restauration* (Paris: CNRS, 2011), p. 114. The critic praises Talma for declamation in the role of Oreste in *Andromaque*, 'la Phrase = et vous les laissez & &.... Que vous avez rendu comme LeKain, c'est à dire, d'une manière sublime', Letter to Talma, 26 April 1800, Chemise correspondance de Charmois, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 2. See also 'Rhadamiste et Zénobie', *Journal des débats*, 18 February 1801 and *L'Opinion du parterre*, I (1803), 74–77. X. Y. Z., *Sur l'état actuel du Théâtre de la République, par un amateur, qui a vu, qui voit et qui lit dans l'avenir* (Paris: Cabinet de lecture, an X [1801]), p. 10.

¹⁹⁰ *Journal des débats*, 24 February 1802.

¹⁹¹ I have translated Geoffroy's term 'dénaturer' as 'deforming', *Journal de l'Empire*, 26 January 1805.

¹⁹² *Journal des débats*, 24 February 1802.

¹⁹³ *Journal des débats*, 3 August 1802.

different traditions, not to mention the change in pronunciation over the Revolution.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, nonverbal performance became ever more important, and Talma was particularly remarked for ‘sa pantomime, ses cris, son jeu muet, ses soupirs et ses sanglots’,¹⁹⁵ eternalised by Madame de Staël.¹⁹⁶ These interventions should theoretically interrupt the flow of the classical alexandrine, but they were integrated into Napoleonic performances.

Many young actors inherited this greater freedom, such as Lafon, or Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois and George, but they were reproached for the ensuing ‘contresens’. These new interpretations could completely transform a play. For example, Geoffroy believed the line in *Phèdre* ‘Aurais-je perdu tout le soin de ma gloire?’ should be said to Hippolyte but when Mademoiselle Duchesnois played *Phèdre*, she said it to herself; the line the audience knew by heart suddenly appeared to be spoken for the first time.¹⁹⁷ The actors also had the final control, in the moment, over the lines they speak. Stendhal (1783–1842)¹⁹⁸ recorded how some actors skipped lines, potentially to avoid unwanted references, and critics also picked up on these absences.¹⁹⁹ For example, Mademoiselle George omitted the following lines when performing *Phèdre*:

Les dieux m’en sont témoins, ces dieux dans mon flanc
Ont allumé le feu fatal à tout mon sang,
Ces dieux qui se sont fait une gloire cruelle
De séduire le cœur d’une faible mortelle.²⁰⁰

Whereas *Phèdre* incited pity before, now the ‘dégoût’ her crimes cause was emphasised, once again rendering the tragedy more homogenously tragic and

¹⁹⁴ August von Kotzebue, *Souvenirs de Paris en 1804, traduits de l’allemand, sur la deuxième édition; avec des notes*, 2 vols (Paris: Barba, 1805), II, 231.

¹⁹⁵ *Journal des débats*, 29 May 1801.

¹⁹⁶ Madame de Staël, *De l’Allemagne, seconde édition*, 3 vols (Paris: H. Nicolle; Mame Frères, 1814), II, 289–91.

¹⁹⁷ *Journal des débats*, 30 August 1802.

¹⁹⁸ Full name: Henri Beyle.

¹⁹⁹ See Stendhal’s account of Lafon in *Cinna* in 1804, Henri Beyle, *Journal de Stendhal, 1801–1814, publié par Casimir Stryienski et François de Nion* (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1888), p. 71.

²⁰⁰ *Observateur des spectacles*, 19 February 1803.

fitting to contemporary demands. Indeed, like the rewriters Andrieux and Brunot amongst others, actors such as Talma studied the language of Racine and Corneille, changing certain words such as ‘Seigneur’ to ‘Pyrrhus’ to make them more directly accessible to the new public.²⁰¹ In the same vein, pre-existing tragic roles were studied in public gatherings with a view to highlighting contemporary references: for example, Talma developed his conception of the titular role for *Manlius Capitolinus* (1698) at a society evening, incorporating Revolutionary references to transform the character.²⁰² This displays the role of the actors’ interpretation in the transmission and rewriting of the tragic inheritance.

All of these rewritings, be they published, performed, or merely destined for performance, focus on the public, making tragedy more comprehensible. My study has confirmed that the Napoleonic era was in reception of a transformed tragic heritage, a specifically ‘classique’ understanding that pre-existing tragedies were malleable. Rejuvenating tragedy on the one hand and stabilising it in the canon on the other meant that tragedy, with all its hypertextual and intertheatrical memories, was available to a greater portion of the French public, offering it a source of common culture to help rebuild the French post-revolutionary nation.

3. Propaganda and Censorship

a. Propaganda

The public was not the only player in the project to reconstruct the nation. The State aided this effort and tragedy was rewritten both metaphorically and literally by multiple agents to control the image of Napoleon. We can see the manipulations of the tragic text’s meanings and choreography—here for propaganda—as a form of rewriting. Tragedy, along with other classical themes in art, sculpture, and opera, influenced the public perception of Napoleon, helping him overcome major obstacles to his legitimacy, namely his Corsican

²⁰¹ Chemise ‘Epreuves d’Andromaque portant corrections manuscrites’, Paris, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 5.

²⁰² Victorine de Chastenay, *Mémoires de Mme de Chastenay, 1771–1815*, 2 vols (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1896–97), II (1897), p. 37.

origins and the fact he was not born a monarch. Arguably, ‘Napoléon l’Empereur des Français’ is a construction reliant for a large part upon coercion, hence the studies dedicated to Napoleon’s early use of propaganda when he was still Bonaparte.²⁰³ As I will show, the use of Antiquity, via its French seventeenth- and eighteenth-century conception, helped reinforce the image of Napoleon, allowing him to capitalise upon the ‘classical’ roots of France, including Louis XIV. Consequently, Napoleon inserted himself into a line of great rulers as well as a memory and an imaginary that had brought France tremendous glory. Following Sheryl Tuttle Ross’s propaganda model, we might see *ancien régime* tragedy as allowing the new regime as Sender to convey the Message, ‘a favourable public opinion’ of Napoleon’s power, to the Receiver, the public.²⁰⁴

One way in which Napoleon used pre-existing tragedy for propaganda was attending a performance in person. Contemporary accounts noted the difficulty of seeing Napoleon in public and that two possibilities were either the parades or the theatre.²⁰⁵ When word spread that Napoleon would attend that evening large queues formed outside the theatres.²⁰⁶ Napoleon’s presence was carefully staged: actors frequently stopped the performance for the applause at Napoleon’s arrival.²⁰⁷ The presence of Napoleon also increased the possibility of *applications*. Corneille’s *Cinna* had been banned by the Revolution so its reprise

²⁰³ Philip G. Dwyer, ‘Napoleon Bonaparte as Hero and Saviour: Image, Rhetoric and Behaviour in the Construction of a Legend’, *French History*, 18 (2004), 379–403; Wayne Hanley, *The Genesis of Napoleonic Propaganda* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), Ebook; and Alan Forrest, ‘Propaganda and the Legitimation of Power in Napoleonic France’, *French History*, 18 (2004), 426–45.

²⁰⁴ Sheryl Tuttle Ross, ‘Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art’, *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 36 (2002), 16–30 and Robert Holtman, *Napoleonic Propaganda* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 246, p. 244.

²⁰⁵ Francis Blagdon, *Paris As It Was and As It Is; or a Sketch of the French Capital Illustrative of the Effects of the Revolution*, 2 vols (London: Baldwin, 1803), I, 70.

²⁰⁶ See for example, the review of *Hector* in *Journal de l’Empire*, 23 April 1815.

²⁰⁷ For instance, this is the case for *Bajazet*, *Journal des débats*, 29 September 1803 and *Mérope* on 1 March 1806, Louis Henri Lecomte, *Napoléon et l’Empire racontés par le théâtre 1797–1899* (Paris: Librairie Jules Raux, 1900), p. 224.

at the Opéra on 12 July 1801 was considered a novelty.²⁰⁸ Geoffroy explained that *Cinna* moved seventeenth-century audiences so greatly because of memories of the Fronde,²⁰⁹ and its performance after the Revolution was seen in a similar light of post-internal chaos: ‘La révolution est quelque chose d’un peu plus fort que la guerre de la Fronde: les terribles catastrophes, dont la mémoire est encore récente, répandent le plus vif intérêt sur la sublime et profonde politique de Corneille’.²¹⁰ Scholars have often highlighted that *Cinna* was a guise for Richelieu’s politics, and this continued link to central power can be attested by Jean-Baptiste Pujoulx’s (1762–1821) recollection that in the reprise the role of Cinna was played with a wig like that of Louis XIV, thereby creating an inherent Cinna-regime relationship through intertheatricality.²¹¹ The German lawyer Friedrich Meyer (1760–1844) recorded the audience’s positive reaction in 1801 to the lines ‘[Rome] tient des consuls sa gloire et sa puissance’, ‘Puisse le grand moteur des belles destinées | Pour plonger vos jours retrancher nos années’, ‘Le pire d’états, c’est l’état populaire’, and of course ‘Soyons amis, Cinna’.²¹² According to Meyer, the public likened the *Machine infernale* plot against Napoleon in 1800 to the conspiracy against Auguste.²¹³ Tragedy conditioned Napoleon’s public perception.

At times these *applications* were directly signalled to the audience: Meyer described how the actor performed the following lines of Philoctète in Voltaire’s *Œdipe* (1719) to Napoleon’s [then Bonaparte] ‘Glitterloge’, resplendent in Etruscan green and gold:

Le trône est un objet qui n’a pu me tenter.
Hercule à ce haut rang dédaignait de monter.
Toujours libre avec lui, sans sujet et sans maître,

²⁰⁸ *Journal des débats*, 14 July 1801.

²⁰⁹ *Journal des débats*, 21 April 1802.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ Jean-Baptiste Pujoulx, *Paris à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, ou esquisse historique et morale des monumens et des ruines de cette capitale; de l’état des sciences, des arts et de l’industrie à cette époque, ainsi que des mœurs et des ridicules de ses habitans* (Paris: B. Mathé, 1801), p. 45.

²¹² Friedrich Johann Lorenz Meyer, *Briefe aus der Hauptstadt und dem Innern Frankreichs*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1803), I, 222–23.

²¹³ Meyer, I, 222.

J'ai fait des souverains, et n'ai point voulu l'être.²¹⁴

The upbeat reception and Napoleon's gratification of the experience is likewise recounted and confirmed by the police reports that evening and Napoleon's then friend, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne (1769–1834).²¹⁵ This *application* allowed Bonaparte to play on his military heroism and his position as First Consul in 1801, capitalising on France's Revolutionary heritage.

Whilst being beside the stage in his box under the proscenium, Napoleon was also symbolically on-stage via Talma.²¹⁶ Fazio describes how 'le Premier Consul utilisa le tragédien comme son double, comme un enseigne publicitaire, comme son porte-parole.'²¹⁷ This doubling allowed the Napoleonic regime more propaganda material because Talma-Napoleon could symbolically incarnate the clement Auguste in *Cinna* but at the same time change the interpretation of roles. This ability to transform the tragic character has been demonstrated by Claude Reichler's analysis of Talma's evolution of the role of Néron in Racine's *Britannicus* (1670).²¹⁸ Reichler argues that this performance was a 'meditation capable of encompassing and transmitting at the same time itself and its own

²¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 66–67.

²¹⁵ The police report notes that 'J'ai fait des souverains, et n'ai pas voulu l'être' 'a été applaudi à deux reprises pendant plus de dix minutes', 'Rapport de la Préfecture de Police du 10 Prairial an 11 (30 May 1804)', in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat : recueil de documents pour l'histoire de l'esprit public à Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: L. Cerf, 1903–09), II (1904), 325–26 and Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne, *Mémoires de M. Bourrienne, Ministre d'État sur Napoléon*, 10 vols (Brussels: Tarlier, 1829–30), VIII (1829), 63–64.

²¹⁶ From multiple sources we can deduce that Napoleon often sat beside the stage at the Comédie-Française. Meyer says he sits in this 'Glitterloge' when he does not want to be seen, except the rich decoration and the disturbance from the parterre breaking the performance might indicate otherwise, Meyer, I, 67. This position next to the stage is also ratified by Alexandre Duval, who places himself in the wings to watch Napoleon's reaction to his play *Édouard en Écosse*, Alexandre Duval, 'Notice sur Édouard en Écosse', in Alexandre Duval, *Œuvres complètes d'Alexandre Duval*, 9 vols (Paris: Barba, 1822–23), IV (1822), pp. 395–431 (p. 419). This is also the opinion of more recent scholars such as Lecomte, p. 429.

²¹⁷ Fazio, p. 117.

²¹⁸ Claude Reichler, 'Talma as Néron in "Britannicus", or, Putting Monster to Good Use', trans. by Deirdre Dawson, *Yale French Studies*, 76 (1989), 127–45.

updating'.²¹⁹ Thus, through Talma's novel performances, the Napoleonic regime could capitalise upon the past, stabilise the present, and cultivate the Legend for the future.

The social and political ramifications of these rewritings for propaganda were brought home through the importance of tragedy and theatre in Napoleonic high society. Being *au courant* with the latest theatrical developments and the ability to discuss them in the name of taste was an essential activity to retain one's social status in the salons.²²⁰ This is vital because Napoleonic high society was coerced into attending the theatre for new plays, authors, and reprises. Indeed, Napoleon encouraged high members of the regime to hold a box at the Comédie-Française.²²¹ Napoleon focused the new society on theatre, as Louis XIV had concentrated attention on Versailles. In such an environment, one attended to observe and to be observed. Additionally, not only could Napoleon exert the image he wished to exude of himself to his elite, including his high civil servants who implemented the running of the nation, but this spectacle of high society in the boxes was witnessed by the mixed classes of the other areas of the theatre and by extension the French nation. As Joseph Harris argues: '[t]he spectator is thus an observer in the double sense suggested by Jonathan Crary, who notes that "to observe" can mean both "to look at" (perceiving subject) and "to comply with" (as subject to some disciplinary regime).'²²² Indeed, with Napoleon's box beside the stage one could argue that the theatre had a panopticon effect: Napoleon or his staff could survey the individuals present in the theatre exerting disciplinary power through the surveillance of society. As Foucault said of Napoleon: '[i]l est celui qui surplombe tout d'un seul regard, mais auquel aucun détail, aussi infime qu'il soit, n'échappe jamais'.²²³ Taking these arguments it is possible to argue that Napoleon used pre-existing tragedy, its rewriting through new productions, and the changes in allusions, to reinforce

²¹⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

²²⁰ Helmina von Chezy-Haster, *Leben und Kunst in Paris seit Napoleon dem ersten*, 2 vols (Weimar: Industrie Comptoir, 1805–06), II (1806), 131–47.

²²¹ Ibid., p. 136.

²²² Joseph Harris, *Inventing the Spectator: Subjectivity and the Theatrical Experience in Early-Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 5.

²²³ Foucault, p. 253.

his own power through the re-imposition of a social hierarchy and to stabilise the tragic canon, recollecting France's previous glory to strengthen his own authority.

Napoleon's use of classical tragedy as propaganda was not limited to France. From his success in Egypt, Napoleon attempted to use theatre as propaganda abroad both for assimilation and entertainment purposes. During his regime, Napoleon ordered that actors of the Comédie-Française accompany him to Mainz (1804), Brussels (1803, 1810), Erfurt (1808), Holland (1811), and Dresden (1813) amongst other destinations. Here it was the combination of actors, tragedies, and choreography which was so important: in Brussels, Napoleon's wife, Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763–1814), arrived in the middle of Talma-Napoleon's speech in *Cinna*, underlining the role of clemency.²²⁴ For Mainz, the Comédie-Française received the order for three or four tragedies. Amongst the possibilities envisaged were *Cinna*, *Phèdre*, *Andromaque*, *Alzire* (1731), *Le Cid*, *Bajazet* (1672), and *Zaïre*. The actors demanded in Talma's absence included Messieurs Lafon, St Prix, Damas and Mesdemoiselles Duchesnois, Raucourt, and Bourgoïn, the troupe's celebrities at the time.²²⁵ Both the renown of the tragedies and their new actors played a role in influencing public opinion.

Napoleon directed the choice of sixteen classical tragedies to be performed before his 'parterre de rois' at Erfurt in 1808.²²⁶ Here the hereditary power of the Russian Emperor, Alexander I (1777–1825), and of the German kings was challenged by Talma-Napoleon's incarnation of the classic tragic heroes. Napoleon used the image of Louis XIV to represent himself, since the majority of the tragedies performed had been composed under the Sun King's

²²⁴ Henri Liebrecht, *Comédiens Français d'autrefois à Bruxelles* (Paris; Brussels: Maison du livre français; Labour, 1932), p. 223. See also, V. R. Barbet du Bertrand, *Voyage du Premier Consul à Bruxelles* (Brussels: Weissenbruch, an IX [1803]), p. 117.

²²⁵ Letter to Mahéroult, Dossier Administration Mahéroult, Paris, BMCF, ARAD 1/5, doc. 4.

²²⁶ *Cinna*, *Andromaque*, *Britannicus*, *Zaïre*, *Mithridate*, *Cedipe*, *Iphigénie en Aulide*, *Phèdre*, *La Mort de César*, *Horace*, *Rodogune*, *Mahomet*, *Rhadamiste et Zénobie*, *Le Cid*, *Manlius Capitolinus*, and *Bajazet*, 1 November 1808, Paris, BMCF, R 332.

patronage, a parallel underlined by the fact that Napoleon had just added ‘le Grand’ to his name in 1807 in imitation of Louis XIV.²²⁷ Moreover, spectators such as the historian Friedrich von Müller (1779–1849) were aware of Napoleon’s reconceptualization of tragedy’s fate as modern politics.²²⁸ In this sense, Napoleon was demonstrating his superior domination of Europe: he had won rather than inherited his power. Should this have remained unclear, in *La Mort de César* Talma incarnated Brutus rather than the slain Caesar to liken Napoleon to Augustus and the foundation of a new glorious civilisation, once again rewriting the imagery of the tragedy. The message was reinforced by the performance of this tragedy at the ‘intellectual capital city’ of Weimar on 6 October after a commemorative visit to the battlefield of Jena.²²⁹

As in Paris, the spectacle was not confined to the stage. Members of the German literati also attended these performances, such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813); the transcription of these meetings bolstered Napoleon’s image. Likewise, the French press reported these spectacles ‘donnés à Erfurt et à Weymar’ presenting Napoleon commanding the German intellectual scene.²³⁰ Napoleon was deeply attached to the image of the spectacle rather than its reality *per se*. In 1813, the Emperor ordered: ‘je désire que cela fasse du bruit dans Paris, puisque cela ne pourra faire qu’un bon effet à Londres et en Espagne en y faisant croire que nous nous amusons à Dresde’.²³¹ In this sense it does not matter if members of the audience were bored as Rahul Markovits maintains, or if others misunderstood the tragedy,²³² what counts is the image evoked by these tragedies and their

²²⁷ Georges Lefebvre, *Napoleon*, trans. by J. E. Anderson, 2 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), II: *From Tilsit to Waterloo, 1807–1815*, p. 7.

²²⁸ Friedrich von Müller, *Erinnerungen aus den Kriegezeiten von 1806–1813* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1911), p. 174.

²²⁹ Gérard Gengembre, ‘Erfurt 1808. The Emperor honours German Literature’, *Revue du souvenir napoléonien*, 466–67 (2006), available at: <http://www.napoleon.org/en/reading_room/articles/files/gengembre_erfurt.asp> [accessed 22 April 2015] (para. 1).

²³⁰ *L’Opinion du parterre*, VI (1806), 140–41.

²³¹ Lecomte, p. 261.

²³² The British Mary Berry did not appreciate the performance of *Bajazet* in 1802, Mary Berry, *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1866) and in 1808 the

spectacle, diffused in the local press, repeated in later publications, propelling the image of Napoleon.

These tragic performances were also very important for spreading French, and thereby Napoleonic, cultural hegemony. Famously, Napoleon personally invited Goethe to come to Paris to compose a version of *La Mort de César*,²³³ and, although Goethe was more pragmatic than to accept the Emperor's proposition, rewriting did lead to new compositions enhancing the Napoleonic Legend, a result of Napoleonic propaganda. Goethe's incarnation of Napoleon in *Faust II* (1832) as Homunculus and the Gegenkaiser combined with his recurring remarks about the Emperor in his detailed conversations allow for the Napoleonic Legend to continue beyond Napoleon's fall.²³⁴ However, international tragic performances were also immediate in their propaganda uses. Accounts of Erfurt rarely mention that Talma performed and dined with Goethe, a reunion of two of the most prominent theatrical minds in Europe.²³⁵ Fazio has shown how Talma entertained Alexander I when Napoleon had already left Erfurt, as if he were taking on Napoleon's duties.²³⁶ Additionally, Talma personally corresponded with the high echelons of the Russian government at Alexander's request to arrange new French actors for the Russian theatres, in turn a continued dissemination of French cultural hegemony.²³⁷

German Johann Georg August Galletti was in the belief that *Phèdre* was by Voltaire, Johann Georg August Galletti, *Reise nach Paris im Sommer 1808* (Gotha: Ettinger, 1809), p. 140.

²³³ Lecomte, p. 261.

²³⁴ Homunculus represents Napoleon according to John R. Williams, *The Life of Goethe: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p. 202, and the Gegenkaiser/Rival Emperor according to Bernd Witte, ed., *Goethe Handbuch*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1996–99), II: *Dramen* (1996), p. 547. Indeed, the Gegenkaiser's speech of *Faust Part II*, IV. 16. evokes many an image of Napoleon and his conquest, see Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust Part Two*, trans. by D. Luke (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Milan Schömann, *Napoleon in der Deutschen Literatur* (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co. 1930), p. 16.

²³⁵ Fazio, p. 150.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Letter Alexandre Narischokin, Grand Maréchal de la noblesse du Tzar et Directeur des Théâtres, to Talma 18 November 1808, Paris, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 2.

Classical tragedy, the rewriting of its references, and its interpretation by a new generation of actors was part of an aesthetic which was at the heart of Napoleonic propaganda, both for the reconstruction of the French nation and for his personal image. For the French nation, pre-existing tragedy allowed the recollection of France's glory under Louis XIV and its cultural hegemony. The diffusion of this great memory and glory allowed the French people to share a common denominator, which was essential to the reconstruction of the French nation.

b. Rewriting and Control

The analysis of propaganda has established how the text was open to multiple allusions. In the 1814 'Corrections, coupures et variantes', analysed earlier in this chapter, there are several thematic rewritings 'par la Comédie-Française' which shape the image of authority. One of the most striking ways in which rewriting across the plays of Corneille and Racine occurs is the construction of those in power and their reigns. Certain lines directly referring to a sovereign's power being challenged or even usurped were taken out of tragedies such as *Le Cid*, *Rodogune*, *Polyeucte*, and *Iphigénie* (1675), indicating that this image posed a threat and must be tightly controlled. Although Cléopâtre's murder of her king and husband is famous in *Rodogune*, explicit references to these actions disappeared in performance, as the cut of the following line demonstrates: 'Le Roi meurt, et dit-on, par la main de la Reine.'²³⁸ Here, there is the double threat of not just the Queen's actions but also the 'dit-on' which breaks the line by its encompassing commas emphasising the uncontrolled agency that popular rumour can have, an agency which was also removed from *Bajazet* when the Janissaries murmur about the chef vizier's absence.²³⁹ Similarly, in *Iphigénie* the ruler is powerless, as the triple sibilance highlights: 'Le Roi, de son pouvoir se voit déposséder.'²⁴⁰ Yet this line did not reach the Napoleonic stage, nor did *Rodogune*'s recollection of 'Voyant le Roi captif, la Reine désolée, | Il crut

²³⁸ *Rodogune*, I. 4. 263; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 43.

²³⁹ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 79.

²⁴⁰ Jean Racine, 'Iphigénie', in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 695–763 (v. 3. 1627); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 80.

pouvoir saisir la Couronne ébranlée'.²⁴¹ For the Napoleonic audience these lines could reference the Revolution—including the role of Marie-Antoinette in Louis XVI's fall, the King's weakness, and the subsequent failure of the constitutional monarchy—or Louis XVIII (1755–1824) in exile whilst Napoleon ruled France as an usurper. The removal of these lines avoided their potentially ambiguous interpretation both by the actor and by the heterogeneous audience, which could lead to debate or even disturbance.

Tyrants, arguments, and contests are a staple of tragedy but their image was tightly managed. Regardless of the political regime, heads of State, be they monarch, elected, or emperor, did not want to be overly defied. Consequently, challenges to authority were revised. In *Polyeucte*, the social hierarchy was maintained by the removal of Pauline's declaration to Sévère, only a knight, that she preferred him to even the best of monarchs.²⁴² The threat to the social order of institutions, especially the army, was also eliminated through rewriting. For instance, in *Horace* whereas Procule, a simple soldier, had disbelievingly questioned Horace after the latter had murdered his own sister, Procule was emphatically removed from the stage: 'Procule ne paraît pas'.²⁴³ This is crucial because Horace's fratricide problematised his status as tragic hero.²⁴⁴ The reworking thus diminished this critique, allowing Horace a monologue to justify his actions.

The rewriting of these tragedies targeted the audience through the modification of accounts of conquered peoples and suffering. In *Iphigénie* Eurybate's account of Clytemnestre's family's afflictions in V. 3 was removed, including the double interrogative reinforcing the fact that no force could defend them against 'tant d'Ennemis'; that '[c]e n'est plus un vain Peuple en désordre assemblé'; that the king had been forced to abdicate; and that even Achilles cannot save them with 'Tous les flots d'ennemis prêts à l'envelopper'.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ *Rodogune*, I. 1. 31; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 43.

²⁴² 'Je découvrais en vous d'assez illustres marques, | Pour vous préférer même aux plus heureux Monarques,' *Polyeucte*, II. 2. 469–70; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 48.

²⁴³ *Horace*, IV. 6. 1323; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 10.

²⁴⁴ For an overview of the reactions to *Horace* see Marc Escola, 'Réécrire *Horace*', *Dix-septième siècle*, 216 (2002), 445–67.

²⁴⁵ *Iphigénie*, V. 3. 1619–34; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 80.

Likewise, in the opening scene of *La Mort de Pompée*, the evocation of Pompée who ‘fuit le désespoir des Peuples et des Princes’ was cut, as were its consequences, namely popular uprising, leading to mass revolt and a challenge to absolute power.²⁴⁶ Therefore, although a tragic performance was far from a happy affair, certain references to people’s misery, particularly poignant for a country at war and after the Revolution, were reworked, as were their tragic results that question the ruler’s supremacy. These rewritings reduced *applications* between the tragic events on-stage and their contemporary counterparts.

Lines which were susceptible of easily dividing the audience were removed. In *Polyeucte* the statement ‘Comme entre deux rivaux la haine est naturelle’ disappeared, as did the duality of the ensuing lines which cite ‘L’un’ and ‘L’autre’.²⁴⁷ The removal of *Rodogune*’s plural first person indicative ‘Montrons-nous toutes deux’²⁴⁸ decreased the rivalry passing to the parterre where the imperative could have been enthusiastically received. Similarly, the following phrase, ‘nous pouvons tout oser, | Nous n’avons rien à craindre, et rien à déguiser,’ also vanished.²⁴⁹ Lively audience participation in performance and the abundance of *applications* had been a hallmark of revolutionary theatre and whilst this tradition remained, it could be dangerous. Therefore, these cuts are not surprising, especially given the contemporary opinion that the parterre was

²⁴⁶ Il fuit le désespoir des Peuples et des Princes
 Qui vengeraient sur lui le sang de leurs Provinces,
 Leurs États et d’argent et d’hommes épuisés,
 Leurs trônes mis en cendre, et leurs sceptres brisés[.]

Pierre Corneille, ‘Pompée’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, I, 1069–1134 (I. 1. 61–64); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 53. And :

Mais la reconnaissance et l’hospitalité
 Sur les âmes des Rois n’ont qu’un droit limité.
 Quoi que doive un Monarque, et dût-il sa couronne,
 Il doit à ses Sujets encor plus qu’à personne[.]

Pompée, I. 1. 135–38; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 53.

²⁴⁷ *Polyeucte*, III. 1. 737 and III. 1. 739–40; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 49.

²⁴⁸ *Rodogune*, II. 1. 407; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 43.

²⁴⁹ *Rodogune*, II. 1. 409–10; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 43.

filled with the political opposition;²⁵⁰ the increasing binary between Napoleon and his rival Louis XVIII; and that the incitement to hatred could lead to skirmishes within the audience. Such clashes could defy the tragic tone by pitting one side of the theatre against the other, turning the performance towards the comic.²⁵¹ By using these modifications, the Comédie-Française invited the public to adhere to its institutional vision, which, as the modifications have shown, dissuaded direct confrontation between subjects and sovereign and such applications.²⁵²

Through the ‘Corrections, coupures et variantes’ we are able to trace how the image of the hero was updated and strengthened to adhere to contemporary expectations. The role of women, who had often been capital in the resolution of tragedies, was frequently removed, reducing the power couple to an all-powerful man. As we have seen, the Napoleonic era was still performing *Le Cid* without the Infante and *Cinna* without Livie: the absence of the Empress altered the perception of the imperial couple and emphasised Auguste-Napoleon’s clemency and actions. Men outside of marriage also became increasingly masculine: in *Sertorius*, the lines where Sertorius states his life and hopes depend upon his lover, Viriate, were eliminated.²⁵³ Likewise, in *Polyeucte* some of Sévère’s affection was removed, as was ‘Et ce n’est pas un mal que je veuille guérir. | Je

²⁵⁰ The Napoleonic playwright Charles Brifault explains: ‘le parterre est toujours l’opposition’, Charles Brifaut, *Souvenirs d’un académicien sur la Révolution, le Premier Empire et la Restauration*, 2 vols (Paris: Albin Michel, 1920–21), II (1921), 137.

²⁵¹ For an example of how the theatre could oppose Napoleon and royalists, and how the parterre could interact and express their support for either side of the debate, see Duval who describes an evening where Napoleon sat in his box on one side of the theatre, whilst the recently returned émigré, the Duc de Choiseul, sat on the other. Duval, pp. 395–431 (p. 420).

²⁵² This is moment when the controlled debate of the Napoleonic era could be linked to Noam Chomsky’s ‘Propaganda Model’, Noam Chomsky, *Understanding Power, The Indispensable Chomsky*, ed. by Peter R. Mitchell and John Schoeffel (London: Vintage Books, 2003), pp. 13–18.

²⁵³ ‘Ceux de la politique et ceux de l’amitié | M’ont mis en un état à me faire pitié,’ Pierre Corneille, ‘Sertorius’, in Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Couton, III (1987), 307–77 (IV. 1. 1199–1200); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 64.

ne veux que la voir, soupirer, et mourir.’²⁵⁴ Tragic heroes’ declarations that they are weighed down by love were similarly reworked. Pyrrhus was no longer ‘Vaincu, chargé de fers, de regrets consumé, | Brûlé de plus de feux que je n’en allumai’.²⁵⁵ The removal of the weight of love on the tragic hero rendered him more independent and less abetted by external factors. Bajazet’s speech was eclipsed so he did not express his helplessness at ‘Rien ne m’a pu parer contre ses dernier coups’, underlining how he could not stand up to Roxane.²⁵⁶ The pity of men for children was also amended: Ulysse no longer asked Clytemnestre for forgiveness in *Iphigénie* after he admitted his role in her daughter’s fate.²⁵⁷ In the final scene of *Phèdre*, Thésée’s accusation ended at ‘Je le crois criminel, puisque vous l’accusez.’²⁵⁸ Consequently, Thésée did not have to recount ‘la sanglante image’ of the now dead and ‘déchiré’ hero Hippolyte, his son, and the king did not appear on-stage ‘Confus, persécuté d’un mortel souvenir, | De l’Univers entier je voudrais me bannir’, remaining fit to rule.²⁵⁹ These rewritings updated the heroes, portraying them in a stronger light, hinting towards the heroic isolation which would later symbolise the Romantic hero. Such adaptations attempted to regulate the performance of the image of power and subsequently its reception by contemporary subjects, demonstrating the real political power tragedy held. Theatre critics, then and now, espouse theatre’s didactic force; by observing these modified actions the audience observed and enacted the correct model of Frenchness.²⁶⁰

c. Censorship

²⁵⁴ *Polyeucte*, II. 1. 435–36; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 48.

²⁵⁵ Jean Racine, ‘Andromaque’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 193–256 (I. 4. 319–20); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 78.

²⁵⁶ *Bajazet*, II. 5. 667; ‘BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 79.

²⁵⁷ *Iphigénie*, V. 6. 1723–28; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 80.

²⁵⁸ Jean Racine, ‘Phèdre’, in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 815–76 (V. 7. 1600); BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 78.

²⁵⁹ *Phèdre*, V. 7. 1607–08; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 78.

²⁶⁰ On the enactment of theatre’s messages, even if they are refused, see Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 3.

Although all rewriting is ideological, following ‘what society should (be allowed to) be’,²⁶¹ some rewriting was directed by the State to a greater extent. The Ministère de l’Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police paid great attention to the potentially subversive nature of reprises. During April 1800 the Ministère de l’Intérieur licensed the revival of both *Méropé* and *Athalie*, but obliged the Comédie-Française to conform to the State-sanctioned modified text.²⁶² In one sense, this was the suppression of potentially subversive lines: the great Napoleonic censorship scholar, Henri Welschinger, has examined the censor Pierre-Édouard Lémontey’s (1762–1826) changes to *Athalie* in light of the potential references to the *ancien régime* and the Revolution.²⁶³ Yet as the examples of *Héraclius* and *Athalie* demonstrate, State rewriting capitalised upon these occasions for propaganda. Léon de Lanzac de Laborie underlines how Napoleon postponed the reprise of *Athalie* until he had been crowned and until the exact day the Pope baptised the son of Louis and Hortense Bonaparte (1778–1846 and 1783–1837 respectively).²⁶⁴ Fazio notes another propagandistic gesture during the reprise of *Athalie*, namely the distribution of the *Bulletin de la Grande Armée*, a known Napoleonic propaganda technique.²⁶⁵ However, as the ‘registres des feux’ reveal, *Athalie*’s rewritten lines directly prepare for this *mise en scène* of Napoleonic power:

1re Rep.on de la Reprise d’Athalie jouée **par ordre** d’Empereur. Nta. L’Empereur qui assistait a la Rep.on envoya entre le 1er et le 2me acte un officier Général dans les coulisses pour donner l’ordre d’annoncer au public la nouvelle de l’entrée de l’armée

²⁶¹ Lefevre, p. 14.

²⁶² Letter Lucien Bonaparte to Sociétaires, 21 germinal an VIII (11 April 1800), ‘Je vous autorise, Citoyen, à représenter Méropé, tragédie de Voltaire; en vous conformant aux changements indiqués sur l’exemplaire que je vous renvoie cy-joint.’ Paris, BMCF, 3-AA-1799-1807 (1-16); letter Lucien Bonaparte to Mahéault, 25 Germinal an VIII (15 April 1800) (when *Athalie* had not yet been performed): ‘je vous invite, Citoyen, à suspendre la représentation d’Athalie jusqu’à nouvel ordre.’ BMCF, ARAD 1/1 (1-15).

²⁶³ Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire, avec documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1887), pp. 231–34.

²⁶⁴ Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon : le Théâtre-Français* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1911), pp. 135–36.

²⁶⁵ Fazio, p. 136.

française dans le ville de Naples ainsi que la prise de tous les forts et citadelles du pays et de l'armée napolitaine entiere faite prisonniere de guerre.²⁶⁶

Here, Lémontey's changes gain a whole new significance between propaganda and prevention. The victory was retained but the lines evoking misery, sacrifice, and crimes disappeared from the subsequent acts such as 'Mais, hélas ! en ce temps d'opprobre et de douleurs'.²⁶⁷ Likewise, for a society where the military played a large role, it was perhaps advisable to bypass the human cost of conquest such as 'Quel fruit me revient-il de tous vos sacrifices ?'²⁶⁸ Similarly, the following lines were eradicated from I. 1: 'De quelle ardeur j'irois reconnaître mon roi !'²⁶⁹ and

Les morts, après huit ans, sortent-ils du tombeau ?
Ah ! si dans sa fureur elle s'étoit trompée ;
Si du sang de nos rois quelque goutte échappée...²⁷⁰

If performed, these omissions could have referenced Louis XVI but also the recently usurped Ferdinand IV (1751–1825), king of Naples until 1806. The manipulation of the pre-existing text allowed Napoleon's victory to appear even more impressive to the public, as the Police and the *Gazette de France* recorded.²⁷¹

The reprise of *Héraclius* in 1806 and 1807 was another occasion when the government altered the dramatic text for preventative and propagandistic reasons. The 'Changemens proposés pour la Tragédie d'Héraclius', supposedly by the censor Joseph Esménard (1767–1811),²⁷² survive but scholars have never analysed them with their corresponding Comédie-Française text and have only

²⁶⁶ 24 February 1806, Registre des feux, BMCF, R 329. The register's emphasis.

²⁶⁷ Welschinger, p. 232.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ 'Bulletin du 26 janvier 1806 – journaux', in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire : recueil de documents pour l'histoire de l'esprit public à Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: L. Cerf, 1912–23), II (1914), 446–47 (p. 447). The *Gazette de France* highlights how the public particularly picked up on the application of 'Et quel temps fut jamais si fertile en miracles!', ibid.

²⁷² Lanzac de Laborie, p. 144.

concentrated on the larger areas of rewriting.²⁷³ Taking these two corresponding texts and valorising all rewritings provides insight into the significance of the transformations. Upon comparing the two documents to a modern critical edition, the first notable difference is the fact that the source text for the ‘Changemens’ was an eighteenth-century rewriting of the original. There are many more scene changes for characters’ entrances and exits, some at different moments.²⁷⁴ Unsurprisingly, the punctuation was also varied, giving the actors greater licence for interpretation. From the outset then the rewritten ‘classique’ heritage is apparent.

Before analysing the propagandistic rewritings, we must begin with what is omitted. The first example is the emperor Phocas’s opening speech. The rewriting shaped the image of a ruler who had gained power, rather than inherited it. The Napoleonic rewriting concealed Phocas’s explanation that he is not the rightful emperor of the Orient and that his position is only secured by his crimes, directly removing lines which could have agitated the opposition in the parterre.²⁷⁵ As an *application* this could have reminded the audience that not only was Napoleon not enthroned by Divine Right, but that he was born in Corsica as the island came under French control. The rewritings which replaced these cuts individualise the image of Phocas, diminishing the possibility of its transferral to Napoleon. Therefore, instead of being a ‘soldat’ who rose to the empire, the on-stage Emperor did so ‘sans combats, sans gloire’.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Ibid., pp. 144–45 and Henri de Curzon, ‘Comment on retouchait Corneille pour le rendre digne de Napoléon, “Héraclius” à la cour’, *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire du théâtre*, 1 (1902), 113–21.

²⁷⁴ For example, in the Comédie-Française copy II. 4 starts at the line ‘Exupère, Madame, est là qui vous demande.’ Paris, BMCF, 1. HER Cor. p. 338, which is still II. 3 in the Pléiade text, *Héraclius*, II. 3. 577.

²⁷⁵ For example:

Surtout qui, comme moi, d’une obscure naissance
Monte par la révolte à la Toute-puissance,
Qui de simple soldat à l’Empire élevé[.]

Héraclius, I. 1. 9–11; ‘Changemens Proposés pour la Tragédie d’Héraclius’, Paris, AN, F/7/4233, p. 1.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

The rewritings additionally shaped the portrayal of outspoken women, especially the former emperor's daughter Pulchérie. Although the power Pulchérie holds through her inheritance is a key element of the plot, references to her female agency and her ability to be part of Phocas's 'politique' were excluded. Pulchérie's resistance to Phocas and her ensuing insults such as 'Tyran, descends du Trône, et fais place à ton maître' were also suppressed.²⁷⁷ The unacceptability of such behaviour is hinted at by the fact that no alternative lines were proposed here; her role must be tamed. This is most evident in Pulchérie's presentation as belonging to the female sex: her 'liberté' and ability to defend herself were removed.²⁷⁸ Consequently, her rejection of being forced into marriage was reworked, echoing the reinforcement of patriarchal power with the *Code civil* in 1804.²⁷⁹ Indeed, in the rewritten text, although Pulchérie 'rejet' her marriage, this is a replacement of her much more active 'contredit' in the original version, and her expression of desire is totally eradicated.²⁸⁰ Therefore, the cuts transform the text to fit the government's ideology.

The rewriting of *Héraclius* is an unrivalled opportunity to examine the close relationship between tragedy, the government, and propaganda. Through looking at invoices for extras and the registers, it is clear that *Héraclius* was in the final stages of rehearsal in August 1806 before its performance at St Cloud on 7 August 1806.²⁸¹ However, it had to wait until 24 January 1807 to be performed at the Comédie-Française.²⁸² Given the delay of nearly six months and the rewritings on the actual manuscript of the 'Changemens' in multiple hands and extra slips of paper, it is probable that this delay was used to capitalise upon the propagandistic benefits of the Parisian performance. Indeed, these changes

²⁷⁷ *Héraclius*, I. 2. 234; AN, F/7/4233, p. 5.

²⁷⁸ *Héraclius*, I. 2. 112–13; AN, F/7/4233, p. 5.

²⁷⁹ *Code civil des Français : édition originale et seule officielle* (Paris: Imprimerie de la république, an XII [1804]) available at <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/evenements/code-civil-1804-1.asp>> [accessed 24 April 2015].

²⁸⁰ *Héraclius*, III. 1. 788; AN, F/7/4233, p. 9.

²⁸¹ 12 extras were needed for a rehearsal for *Héraclius* in the first fortnight of August 1806, Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 10 Figuration. *Héraclius* was performed at St Cloud on 7 August, Registre des feux, BMCF, R 330.

²⁸² Registre des feux, BMCF, R 330.

were still in force at the Restoration, demonstrating that these glorifying rewritings remained integral to what had become Corneille's *Héraclius*.²⁸³

In the 'Changemens' there is an inserted slip of paper in a different hand using distinctive symbols to refer to the alterations of I. 3, adding in twelve extra lines.²⁸⁴ In the source text, Héraclius, who believes himself to be Phocas's son Martian, refutes the need to marry Pulchérie to cement his power, since his own birth by Phocas should be sufficient. The rewriting subtly changed this, so that Martian (Héraclius) mocks Phocas's desire to consolidate their power by marriage, thereby showing it to be unnecessary. The ensuing lines are an exercise in national negotiation: 'Sans contester ici les droits de ses Ancêtres, | Combien de fois l'empire a-t-il changé de maîtres ?' Martian (Héraclius) does not propose to forget about the past, as France could not, but the evolution of history allows for regime change. Indeed, this revolution preserves the country: 'N'a-t-il pas, au déclin d'un siècle de mollesse, | De l'état Languissant Ranimé la Vieillesse ?' The idea of decline and weakness references contemporary discourse on the eighteenth century, conveniently allowing Napoleon to associate himself with having renewed France's roots, as the glorious era of Louis XIV had done. However, lest the monarchical reference be too strong, Martian (Héraclius) recalls how: 'Enfants de la fortune, Enfants des légions, | Comptaient, au lieu d'Ayeux, leurs grandes Actions', reiterating how politics and actions have replaced fate and inheritance in this evolved nation.

Another example of propaganda rewriting is I. 2, where Pulchérie's original expression of her female agency is replaced by a long exposition of her male genealogy. 'Par Tibère adopté, choisi par le Sénat' gives Pulchérie a double genealogical and legal inheritance, a legacy appropriately then 'Transmis à ses enfants' as it was with the establishment of the French Empire. The great past is then further reinforced by the enumeration of former leaders, such as Trajan and Constantine. Despite the fact *Héraclius* is set in the Orient, these names opportunely allow for allusions to ancient Rome, a key topos of Napoleonic propaganda. To bolster this link the 'Changemens' add the adjective 'romain',

²⁸³ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 27.

²⁸⁴ This rewriting can be found on a loose piece of paper between pages 4 and 5 of the 'Changemens', AN, F/7/4233.

not found in the source text.²⁸⁵ Finally, the rewriting ends with the images of ‘victoire’, military camps, and the ‘vengeur de l’Etat’ which make direct reference to Napoleon’s accession to power. This genealogical exposition was rewritten twice, and eight lines were inserted to lengthen its poignancy: the State capitalised on censorship for propaganda.

The shorter rewritings of the ‘Changemens’ have been vastly overlooked. Certainly, only a word or a hemistich might have been transformed, but all rewriting is ideological. The principal effect of these changes is to make the tragic language more accessible, to translate it, as we have seen in other rewritings. ‘Tire chez vous’ became ‘Porte chez vous’;²⁸⁶ ‘Sus donc’ was then ‘Eh bien’.²⁸⁷ Archaic language with unusual grammar was updated: ‘Le Peuple en sa personne aime encore, et révere;’ was altered to ‘En elle tout le peuple aime encore et révere’.²⁸⁸ Modifications of this type occur throughout the ‘Changemens’ and, like the similar changes in Andrieux’s rewriting for *Nicomède*, they updated the language for a larger variety of people or to those who had missed out on their education because of the Revolution, this is a temporal translation. Similarly, the crucial passage explaining how Héraclius became Martian was reworked to render the crux of the tragedy more intelligible for the audience.²⁸⁹ Given the importance of classical tragedy in the Napoleonic era at all levels of society, from national education to the salons, it is possible to argue that this was temporal translation of the classical text for the post-revolutionary society. The altered vocabulary and imaginary increased the tragedy’s reception, therefore boosting the common culture identified by Bell as necessary for constructing the nation.²⁹⁰ In all these Napoleonic rewritings the

²⁸⁵ AN, F/7/4233, p. 4 and p. 2 of the insert between pages 4 and 5.

²⁸⁶ *Héraclius*, I. 1. 72 and AN, F/7/4233, p. 3.

²⁸⁷ *Héraclius*, V. 5. 1794 and Pierre Corneille, *Héraclius*, Paris, BMCF, 1. HER Cor [originally belonged to *Chefs d’œuvre de Corneille*, II], p. 392.

²⁸⁸ *Héraclius*, I. 1. 57 and AN, F/7/4233, p. 2.

²⁸⁹ *Héraclius*, I. 2. 411–20 and the censor adds: ‘Par respect pour le père du Théâtre, on devait au moins affaiblir ce défaut, qui empêche le commun des spectateurs de suivre la marche d’Héraclius et d’en saisir les beautés’, AN, F/7/4233, p. 7.

²⁹⁰ Bell, p. 21.

tragic text was adapted to prevent its loss and secure its place within the post-revolutionary canon.

The textual changes in the Napoleonic era were motivated in part by the Revolutionary turmoil and abandonment of the monarchy, but paradoxically, as the propaganda analysis has shown, aspects of monarchical glory and symbolism were used to reinforce the Napoleonic regime. There was a fine line between the desired and the wrong allusion.

4. Rewritten Afterlives

While this chapter has aimed to demonstrate how the tragic heritage was rewritten, it is also important to question how long these rewritings lasted. Andrieux published his corrections to *Nicomède* in 1805, the copy of the Comédie-Française printed in 1806 has the handwritten ‘Corrections’ incorporated them,²⁹¹ and the ‘Corrections, coupures et variantes’ name them the ‘variantes d’Andrieux’,²⁹² but some of these lines such as ‘Votre frère son fils revenue dans ces lieux’ were not those proposed by Andrieux himself in 1805.²⁹³ Likewise, the four-line cut after ‘La fille d’un tribun ou celle d’un prêteur’ that Andrieux demanded and that was adopted by the Comédie-Française earlier in the Napoleonic era did not survive in 1814.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the majority of Andrieux’s modifications were maintained and were propelled further into the evolution of Classicism by their incorporation in Barba’s 1819 edition of *Nicomède* ‘conforme à la représentation’.²⁹⁵ Likewise, Barba’s ‘conforme à la représentation’ edition of *Polyeucte* in 1818 retained some of the rewritings, both those of Andrieux and those ‘par la Comédie-Française’.²⁹⁶ A noteworthy case is

²⁹¹ Pierre Corneille, *Nicomède* (Paris: Fages, 1806), ‘Corrections de la Comédie Française’, BMCF, Rés Cor NIC 1806.

²⁹² BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 12.

²⁹³ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 12.

²⁹⁴ Andrieux, p. 52; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 13.

²⁹⁵ Pierre Corneille, *Nicomède, tragédie de P. Corneille, représentée, pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre de l’Hôtel de Bourogne, par la Troupe royale, en 1652. Nouvelle édition conforme à la représentation* (Paris: Barba, 1819), p. 4.

²⁹⁶ Pierre Corneille, *Polyeucte martyr, tragédie chrétienne de P. Corneille, représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre de l’Hôtel de Bourgogne, par la*

that of *Le Cid*. Barba published this edition ‘conforme à la représentation’ in 1817, and, as with the other editions in the same series, the publisher was keen to highlight the ‘variantes’. However, some of the ‘variantes’ it lists are not those marked as ‘variantes’ in 1814 and some of the ‘variantes’ in 1814 were taken as stable text in 1817. For example, in 1814 the rewriting proposed reordering the lines:

- (2) Il apprendrait à vaincre en me regardant faire
 var. (1) loin des froids leçons qu’a mon bras ou préfère
 (3) On verrait...²⁹⁷

This order was adopted in 1817, it was not a ‘variante’.²⁹⁸ However, whereas in 1814 sixteen lines had been removed, in 1817 these were restored to III. 4 when Chimène speaks to Rodrigue of her love for him, although eight were marked with an asterisk signalling their absence from performance.²⁹⁹ The advantage of the printed rewritings and those ‘conforme à la représentation’ like *Le Cid* from 1810 and the Barba Restoration editions is that they could diffuse the *theatrical* text.

From annotated editions of the 1811 *Catalogue de pièces choisies du répertoire de la Comédie Française*, it is evident that outside of Paris some tragedies such as *Esther* were performed in a different version. All the characters

troupe royale, en 1640. Nouvelle édition conforme à la représentation (Paris: Barba, 1818). The variante Andrieux proposes for I. 4 is included as a variante in the Barba edition but the cut of four lines is not carried through, Andrieux, p. 79, *Polyeucte martyr*, I. 4, pp. 11–12. The cut of fifty-six lines Andrieux proposes is III. 5 is not adopted although twelve of these lines are not said in the performance in the 1818 edition, Andrieux, p. 80; *Polyeucte martyr*, III. 5, pp. 38–39. Some of the Comédie-Française rewritings recorded in 1814 are likewise kept, for example the variante in IV. 5 that instead of ‘Je n’aurais adoré que l’éclat de vos yeux, | J’en aurais fait mes Rois, j’en aurais fait mes Dieux;’ the lines run ‘Que du bonheur si grand et si cher à mes yeux, | J’aurais avec transport remercié les dieux.’ is registered in the 1818 edition, IV. 5 p. 49; BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 51.

²⁹⁷ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 3.

²⁹⁸ Pierre Corneille, *Le Cid de P. Corneille, représentée pour la première fois, sur le Théâtre de l’Hôtel de Bourgogne, par la Troupe royale, vers la fin de l’année 1636, nouvelle édition, conforme à la représentation* (Paris: Barba, 1817), I. 2, p. 8.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., III. 4, p. 32.

were present on-stage, including the chorus which was cut from the Comédie-Française performances.³⁰⁰ Generally the number of lines attributed per character in the *Catalogue* corresponds to that of the printed text. In the case of *Athalie* for example, this would mean that the censorship rewritings were not adhered to. Whilst the Police had declared in 1805 that ‘les changements dont les [tragédies] anciennes paraissent susceptibles, seront abandonnés à la prudence des préfets’, thus delegating provincial censorship, archival evidence in Chapter Four illustrates that Parisian censorship was still in force in the provinces.³⁰¹ This questions the censorship process and once again demonstrates the instability of the tragic text and the cachet of the Parisian Comédie-Française performance.³⁰² This theatrical experience could not be reproduced elsewhere.

The 1814 ‘Corrections, coupures, et variantes’ shed light on censorship. The censors’ rewriting for *Héraclius* was still enforced in 1814 with no sign of disappearing with the regime change.³⁰³ On the other hand, a letter from the Comtesse de Rémusat (1780–1821) questions the afterlife of the censorship of *Athalie* in 1806. Writing to her husband, the Surintendant des Spectacles, in November 1809, she warns against the performance of *Athalie* because of the

³⁰⁰ *Catalogue de pièces choisies du répertoire de la Comédie Française, mis par ordre alphabétique avec les personnages de chaque pièce, et le nombre des lignes où vers de chaque rôle &c* (Paris: [n. pub.] 1811), Paris, BMCF, R 203¹ Répertoire des pièces choisies 1811.

³⁰¹ ‘Bulletin du 21 frimaire an XIII’ (12 December 1804), in Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire*, I (1912), 453.

³⁰² The characters of *Athalie* are listed as having the following number of lines: Joas 79, Joad 501, Abner 215, Mathan 173, Nabal 20, Azarias 17, Ismael 25, Un Lévite 13, Josabeth 175, Zacharie 89, Salomith 12, Athalie 254, Agar 5, trois prêtres, la nourrice de Joas, Lévite..., Tyriens. *ibid.* In the 1689 text they have the following: Joas 68.51, Joad 493.01, Abner 209.83, Mathan 172, Nabal 20, Azarias 15.83, Ismael 24, Un Lévite 13, Josabet 182.49, Zacharie 91.67, Salomith 32, Athalie 237.65, Agar 5, Chœur 250.67. Cyril Triolaire has also shown how sometimes provincial theatre directors, who were normally very tightly controlled, could escape the censorship system of Paris, Cyril Triolaire, *Le Théâtre en province pendant le Consulat et l’Empire* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2012), p. 118.

³⁰³ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 27.

line ‘Rompez, rompez tout pacte avec l’impiété.’³⁰⁴ However, this line was supposedly removed by the censorship of 1806 which would seem to indicate that at least this censored version of *Athalie* only lasted for a short while, as in the case of *Esther*.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, *Athalie*, which was censored again in 1813 according to the 1814 document, had some of the prohibited lines from 1806 upheld in 1814, such as ‘Oui, nous jurons ici pour nous, pour tous nos frères, | De rétablir Joas au trône de ses pères’: this was still sensitive in 1814.³⁰⁶ On the other hand, previously problematic lines were restored in 1814, such as ‘Athalie étouffa l’enfant même au berceau. | Les morts après huit ans, sortent-ils du tombeau ?’.³⁰⁷ The 1814 ‘Corrections, coupures, et variantes’ is, therefore, an integral record of the evolution of French ‘classical tragedy’, whilst also demonstrating a specific conception of the ‘classique’ heritage and model for the Napoleonic era.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have exposed the malleability of pre-existing tragedies over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and how the nineteenth century continued these practices. This instability seriously problematises the twentieth- and twenty-first century notion of ‘Classicism’ to refer to the French tragic tradition, both the unity and the universality it conveys. The Napoleonic era was a key moment in the genesis of this concept; contemporary society did not employ this term to refer to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century tragedies but it received an understanding of them as a tragic inheritance. However, as the notion of an ‘inheritance’ and the published, metaphorical, and archival rewritings of these tragedies during the Napoleonic period have shown, this notion was continually updated to meet audience expectations: it was not an unmoveable, monolithic inheritance, but a specific ‘classique’ understanding of tragedy’s past. Given the temporal specificity of this view, and indeed all opinions, we should question our

³⁰⁴ Quoted in Welschinger, p. 377. Jean Racine, ‘Athalie’, in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Georges Forestier, I, 1017–84 (I. 1. 90).

³⁰⁵ Welschinger, p. 232.

³⁰⁶ BMCF, MS Rés 048, p. 81.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

current perception of Classicism as a more concrete movement and ask how this vision came about.

The examination of the tragic rewritings, those inherited, carried out by, and passed on from the Napoleonic era, has revealed the fluctuating boundaries of tragedy as a genre. Whereas modern scholars have preferred to put the weight of classical tragedy on its supposed structural rules, for revolutionary and post-revolutionary society it was the effect of tragedy which was paramount. In order to succeed, this effect must be tailored to a certain moment in time and to a certain society. To this end, *ancien régime* tragedies were effectively translated, literally carried across from monarchical France, across the Revolution, to the post-revolutionary society and Napoleonic regime which was reconstructing the French nation after the chaos of the Revolution. These rewritings, which continually updated their references and more importantly their language, can thus be considered translations, from the *ancien régime* to the revolutionised French nation. This allowed classical tragedy, and more importantly its imaginary and memory, in conjunction with other media, to form part of a common culture across the hierarchical layers of French society, to attempt to facilitate unification under Napoleon, through free will or coercion, and to reconstruct France. I have consequently examined aspects of cultural life under Napoleon which are often overlooked in the period's historiography. However, my analysis has also exposed the simultaneous unity and disparity of post-revolutionary France, at once centralised under Napoleon's power but separate from it, allowing the French reconstruction project to continue without Napoleon and for Napoleon's propaganda project to continue beyond his rule, resulting in the Napoleonic Legend. Accordingly, the view of 'classique' tragedy during the Napoleonic period was transmitted to and inherited by the next step in the progress of history: the Restoration.

Chapter 2

New Napoleonic Tragedy and the ‘Classique’ Model

Introduction

In traditions of French theatre history, Napoleonic tragedy has been positioned between the movements of Classicism and Romanticism.¹ The corpus of new tragic works from this period was from the outset—and still is—denounced as *classique*, that is to say belonging to the classical tradition, imitating previous examples.² This has led Napoleonic tragedy to be associated more with seventeenth-century French classical tragedy than nineteenth-century theatre, weakening its position within French theatre history.³ Qualifying Napoleonic

¹ Pierre Frantz, ‘Le Théâtre sous l’Empire: entre deux révolutions’, in *L’Empire des muses: Napoléon, les arts et les lettres*, ed. by Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Belin 2004), pp. 173–97. See also Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon: le Théâtre-Français* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1911), p. 1.

² A variant on this judgment can be found in Charles Marc Des Granges’s work. After thoroughly studying the conservative critic Geoffroy, Des Granges divides Napoleonic tragic playwrights in ‘néo-classiques’ and ‘mélo-classiques’. The production of the former is ‘vide’ and the latter ‘ne touchent pas à la *forme*, mais ils bouleversent complètement le fond’ of tragedy. Charles Marc Des Granges, *Geoffroy et la critique dramatique sous le Consulat et l’Empire (1800–1814)* (Paris: Hachette, 1897), pp. 372–76.

³ French theatre was positioned in the *classique* section of Schlegel’s 1808–09 lectures on theatre in Vienna, August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Cours de littérature dramatique, traduit de l’allemand*, 3 vols (Paris; Geneva: J. J. Paschoud, 1814), II, 75–318. For post-Romanticism uses of the term *classique* regarding the Napoleonic era, see Eugène Lintilhac, ‘La Théorie du théâtre en France de Scaliger à Victor Hugo’, *La Nouvelle Revue*, 9 (1901), 3–20 (p. 6); Gustave Lanson, *Esquisse d’une histoire de la tragédie française* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920), p. 130; Louis Bertrand, *La Fin du classicisme et le retour à l’antique dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle et les premières années du XIX^e siècle en France*, 2nd edn (Paris: Arthème Fayard & Cie, 1897), p. 325; Maurice Albert, *La Littérature française sous la Révolution, l’Empire, et la Restauration* (Paris: Société française d’imprimerie et de Librairie, 1898), p. 285. The official Napoleonic theatre is also seen as classical by Jean-Claude

tragedy as *classique* belittles the period's tragic production, denying innovation where innovation occurs, a judgement exacerbated by a general lack of attention to the works themselves and their performance history.⁴ It is high time to re-investigate new Napoleonic tragedies performed at the Comédie-Française and to challenge these narratives.

Not only was 'Classicism' fluid during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the last chapter has established, but the very notion of *classique* is a later invention and was still in the process of being conceptualized during the Napoleonic era.⁵ After the Empire, the Romantics distinguished themselves during the 1820s and 1830s from the earlier traditions by labelling them as *classique*.⁶ More recently, these terms have been reinterpreted and used by twentieth and twenty-first century scholars to theorise the thought and literature stemming from the seventeenth century, thereby increasing the disregard Napoleonic tragedy is held in when it is labelled as *classique*. The scholarly

Bonnet, 'Le Débat sur "le grand siècle" à l'Académie au début du XIX^e siècle', in *Un siècle de deux cents ans? Les XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles : continuités et discontinuités*, ed. by Jean Dagen and Philippe Roger (Paris: Desjonquères, 2004), pp. 108–18 (p. 112) and Jean-Pierre Perchellet, *L'Héritage classique. La Tragédie de 1680 à 1814* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004).

⁴ For example, Florence Naugrette jumps from the Revolution to the Restoration in her account of French theatre history, Florence Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique en France, Histoire, écriture, mise en scène* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), p. 58.

⁵ Christian Delmas, *La Tragédie de l'âge classique, 1553–1770* (Paris: Seuil, 1994), p. 18 and Pierre Moreau, *Le Classicisme des romantiques* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1932), pp. 7–8.

⁶ See Emmanuel Bury, *Le Classicisme. L'Avènement du modèle littéraire français, 1660–1680* (Paris: Éditions Nathan, 1993), p. 5, Henri Peyre, *Qu'est-ce que le classicisme?* (Paris: Nizet, 1965), p. 17 and p. 29, Alain Cantillon, 'Classique et classicisme : de la réification d'une notion de l'historiographie de la littérature', in *Un classicisme ou des classicismes, Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre de recherches sur les classicismes antiques et modernes, Université de Reims 5, 6 et 7 juin 1991*, ed. by Georges Forestier and Jean-Pierre Néraudau (Pau: Publications de l'Université de Pau, 1995), pp. 259–67 (p. 259).

oversimplification of *drame romantique*, has heightened the *classique/romantique* binary and further overshadowed Napoleonic tragedy.⁷

As with ‘Romanticism’, the way in which scholars use and define ‘Classicism’ varies hugely: Philip Thomlinson demonstrates how the term can be used to refer to different time periods and both the plays and the theories of these periods, which can alter dramatically depending on the scholar.⁸ The introduction has shown us how *tragédie classique* can conclude in either 1660 or 1854, and whilst some scholars underline the heterogeneity of the movement,⁹ others have tended to see ‘Classicism’ as a more unified concept, developing corresponding methods. Examples of the latter approach include René Bray’s ‘doctrine classique’, Jacques Scherer’s ‘dramaturgie classique’, and Jacques Truchet’s analysis of *tragédie classique*.¹⁰ These works embrace a method that takes French ‘Classicism’ as a whole and attempt to derive a set framework from a

⁷ Some works reject the idea of development during the Napoleonic era, see David Owen Evans, *L’Évolution du théâtre social en France de 1750 à 1850* (Paris: [n. pub.], [n.d.]); Maurice Descotes, *Le Drame romantique et ses grands créateurs (1827–1839)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); and André Le Breton, *Le Théâtre romantique* (Paris: Bovin & Cie, 1927). However, Naugrette amongst other scholars has questioned the novelty of *drame romantique*, see Florence Naugrette, ‘Le Mélange des genres dans le théâtre romantique français : une dramaturgie du désordre historique’, *Revue internationale de philosophie*, 255 (2011), 27–41.

⁸ Philip Thomlinson, ‘French “Classical” Theatre Today’, in *French ‘Classical’ Theatre Today, Teaching, Research, Performance*, ed. by Philip Thomlinson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 11–23.

⁹ Nicholas Hammond, *Creative Tensions: An Introduction to Seventeenth-Century French Literature* (London: Duckworth, 1997); John D. Lyons, *The Kingdom of Disorder: The Theory of Tragedy in Classical France* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1999); and Joseph Harris, *Inventing the Spectator: Subjectivity and the Theatrical Experience in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹⁰ René Bray, *La Formation de la doctrine classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1961); Jacques Scherer, *La Dramaturgie classique en France* (Paris: Nizet, 1962); Jacques Truchet, *La Tragédie classique en France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1975). Another example is Jacques Morel, *La Tragédie* (Paris: A. Colin, 1964) which reviews tragedy from 1550–1743 through the presentation of numerous contemporary texts. However, although Morel’s work is beneficial for presenting the primary documents, his analysis is lacking.

multitude of sources. To do so, all three of these works adopt a generic analysis, a method continued by more recent francophone scholars.¹¹

Whereas Bray and Scherer remain within the seventeenth century, Truchet highlights classical tragedy's varied reception over time, although he does skip over the Napoleonic era. Truchet sees the death of classical tragedy as a genre coinciding with the arrival of the *drame*, a death confirmed by Revolutionary tragedy, which was no longer generically *classique*.¹² Truchet's temporal prolongation and generic framework has been recently supported by Jean-Pierre Perchellet who sees 'la tragédie classique' as an 'héritage classique' where from 1680 to 1814 authors were conscious of a code and model to be replicated. In 2015, Melai used Francesco Orlando's notion of 'codes littéraires', 'l'ensemble des constants formelles, structurelles et thématiques qui caractérisent les textes d'une époque historique bien précise' to evaluate *classique* tragedy from 1814 to 1854.¹³ Whilst the methods of the French tradition have been contested in the Anglophone world in relation to the seventeenth century,¹⁴ they are nonetheless useful for the rehabilitation of Napoleonic tragedy and its relationship to French classical tragedy because, as I will demonstrate, the Napoleonic era adopted a similar generic and regulatory approach, developed through the evolving understanding and practice of the seventeenth-century models.

Through the examination of a variety of contemporary publications on the French tragic tradition and on new compositions, I will argue that Napoleonic tragic playwrights had a conception of a previous generic model to be reproduced, a critical horizon of expectation, which was largely based in seventeenth-century tragedy. As before, the emphasis of this research will be to underline the specificity of the Napoleonic conception of the French tragic inheritance, which I have qualified as 'classique'. Here, we will consider to what extent Napoleonic tragedy abided by the inherited 'classique' model. To do so, it

¹¹ Jean Rohou, *La Tragédie classique (1550–1793)* (Paris: Sedes, 1996) and Maurizio Melai, *Les Derniers Feux de la tragédie classique au temps du romantisme* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris Sorbonne, 2015). Another example is also Perchellet's methodology.

¹² Truchet, pp. 165–70.

¹³ Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 1.

¹⁴ Lyons, p. x.

will be necessary to reflect on the tragic theories and propositions of contemporary critics to found a framework, which will then be employed to assess Napoleonic tragedy in both text and performance, examining if and how these tragedies divert from the established model. In doing so, I will substantially challenge the narratives of French theatre history and reveal how in places Napoleonic tragedy echoed ‘romantique’ thought and the later theatrical Romanticism.

1. The ‘Classique’ Model

a. Inherited and Contested Models

We must establish the critical boundaries of the tragic genre as it was understood at the time, the ‘classique’ model, before analysing the Napoleonic tragedies themselves. Tragedy based on imitation is a hypertextual form of rewriting, and, as we saw in the introduction with André Lefevere’s analysis, these rewritings must abide by the critics’ and reviewers’ ‘dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be—its poetics’,¹⁵ here the generic formation of tragedy. The poetological forces Lefevere identifies were arguably even stronger for Napoleonic tragedy because of the contemporary importance of the tragic ‘rules’ and ‘laws’. Aristotle’s influence over French tragedy is well known, and Jean François de La Harpe reiterated the philosopher’s contemporary importance, declaring that Aristotle ‘a gravé pour l’immortalité les regles [*sic*] essentielles de la poétique’.¹⁶ However, these rules had evolved, as Julien Louis Geoffroy highlighted: ‘la poétique du Théâtre Français, [...] n’est pas précisément la poétique d’Aristote, mais [...] ne contredit aucune des observations essentielles du philosophe grec’.¹⁷ These French rather than Ancient Greek rules were notably expressed in works such as the Abbé d’Aubignac’s *La Pratique du Théâtre* (1657) and Nicolas Boileau’s (1631–1711) *Art poétique* (1674). They

¹⁵ André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Frame* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 14.

¹⁶ Jean-François de La Harpe, *Lycée, ou cours de littérature ancienne et moderne*, 16 vols (Paris: Agasse, an VII–XIII [1799–1804]), I (1799), 11.

¹⁷ Julien-Louis Geoffroy, ‘Préface générale’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres de Jean Racine avec des commentaires par J.L. Geoffroy*, 7 vols (Paris: Le Normant, 1808), I, pp. i–viii (p. vii).

were presented as compulsory if a playwright were to realise Aristotle's notion of *mimesis*, understood as 'imitation' of nature.¹⁸ Through this regular system the playwright could convey the 'vérité de l'Action Théâtrale', allowing the audience to return to the action of centuries past within the present.¹⁹ These seventeenth-century works, developed during the eighteenth century by figures such as Voltaire, remained guides in the Napoleonic era.²⁰ The consciousness of this development was underlined by La Harpe, who argued that '[c]et art, comme tous les autres, s'est formé par la succession et la comparaison des idées, par l'expérience, par l'imitation, par l'émulation.'²¹ Rules, therefore, came from models, and models were meant to be imitated.

However, the modifications of the 'héritage classique' were not always set out in theatrical treaties and sometimes innovation took place in performance. The playwright Jean-François Cailhava de L'Estandoux (1731–1813) defined the 'tradition théâtrale' as '[u]ne histoire non écrite, mais qui passant de bouche en bouche, transmise d'exemple en exemple, doit conserver à la postérité la manière dont les merveilles de l'art furent rendues'.²² Cailhava's judgement is important on two levels. Like La Harpe, he underlines the vital role of imitation, but the idea of an 'histoire non écrite', at a time when criticism was a growing field,

¹⁸ Rohou, pp. 111–13.

¹⁹ Abbé d'Aubignac, *La Pratique du théâtre* (Paris: de Sommaville, 1657), p. 50. For modern discussions on the seventeenth-century desire for the theatrical illusion see Georges Forestier, *La Tragédie française. Passions tragiques et règles classiques* (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010), pp. 71–108. Forestier examines how the concept of imitation led to the creation of rules and the importance of *vraisemblance*, whilst also highlighting its paradoxical nature since after d'Aubignac tragedy had to '[c]orriger le vrai du représenté au moyen de la vraisemblance absolue pour donner l'illusion absolue du vrai dans la représentation', Forestier, *La Tragédie française*, p. 90. Harris has also demonstrated that although the notion of the theatrical illusion is a relatively modern concept, it can be traced through older notions such as d'Aubignac's 'Vérité de l'action théâtrale', Harris, *Inventing the Spectator*, pp. 53–54.

²⁰ Lemercier quotes 138.5 lines of Boileau over the first volume of his *Cours*, Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Cours analytique de littérature générale : tel qu'il a été professé à l'Athénée de Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: Nepveu, 1817), I.

²¹ La Harpe, I, 5–6.

²² Jean-François Cailhava de L'Estandoux, 'Essai sur la Tradition théâtrale', in *Journal des spectacles de musique et des arts*, 3 nivôse an X (24 december 1801).

prefigures the modern theorist Tzvetan Todorov's belief that generic norms only become visible when they are transgressed.²³ Indeed, genre was inherent to such an extent that it often went undefined.²⁴ Consequently, in millions of pages of criticism, very few scholars advanced a structural tragic model. Nevertheless, our understanding of the generic structure, the generic horizon of expectation, can be excavated from contemporary documents.

²³ Tzvetan Todorov, 'The Origin of Genres', in Tzvetan Todorov, *Genres in Discourse*, trans. by Catherine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 13–26 (p. 14).

²⁴ As we saw in the introduction, this is also the opinion of Mark Ledbury for the eighteenth-century art world. Mark Ledbury, *Sedaine, Greuze and the Boundaries of Genre* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), p. 18.



Figure 1. Paris, BnF, 'Pièce satyrique contre les critiques de l'Année littéraire, Journal des Débats. Dédiée à M.r l'abbé G.... y', available at Gallica.fr.²⁵

²⁵ Des Granges dates the print as 1800, Des Granges, p. 506. Although this is a satirical print, the satire is directed against the critics, not against the canonical authors.

As the previous chapter has established through contemporary publications and performance statistics, Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire reigned supreme in the re-foundation of the canon. Many textual examples from the critics themselves could support this, but the pertinence of this triple model for society was visualised in a print from 1800. Here, a tree presents a pyramid of great authors including Homer, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778); it is crowned with the holy trinity of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, and a cherub comes to award them yet another laurel wreath. As Louis de Bonald (1754–1840) confirmed, these playwrights were the benchmark by which new tragedies were judged.²⁶ Certainly there were other laudable dramatic authors—Joseph-Gaspard Dubois-Fontanelle (1727–1812) advanced the cause of Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon (1674–1762),²⁷ taken up likewise by Marie-Joseph Chénier who additionally advocated the works of Thomas Corneille (1625–1709), Antoine de La Fosse (1653–1708), and Claude Guimond de la Touche (1723–1760) amongst others²⁸—but as Bonald argued these works ‘rentrent tous à peu près dans le caractère général de celui des trois grands maîtres’.²⁹ Therefore, Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire were simultaneously individual models—Corneille for heroic and historical tragedy, Racine for gallantry and beauty, and Voltaire for the spectacular—and a coherent norm. Contemporary critics emphasised how these tragic playwrights imitated previous models to create their masterpieces; therefore, imitation leads to the best new productions, ergo new tragedy should be composed by imitating and adhering to

²⁶ Louis de Bonald, ‘Des progrès ou de la décadence des lettres’, *Gazette de France*, 19 September 1810, pp. 1035–36 (p. 1035). This article can also be found in *Mélanges littéraires, politiques, et philosophiques*, 2 vols (Paris: Le Clere, 1819), II, 458–75 in Louis de Bonald, *Œuvres choisies, édition de Gérard Gengembre et Jean-Yves Pranchère*, 2 vols (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010), I: *Écrits sur la littérature*, pp. 333–41 (pp. 333–34).

²⁷ Joseph Gaspard Dubois-Fontanelle, *Cours de belles Lettres*, 4 vols (Paris: Gabriel Dufour, 1813), I, 439–40.

²⁸ Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Tableau historique de l’état et des progrès de la littérature française depuis 1789* (Paris: Maradan, 1816), p. 292.

²⁹ Louis de Bonald, ‘Réflexions sur les questions de l’indépendance des genres de lettres, et de l’influence du théâtre sur les mœurs et le goût, proposées pour sujet de prix par l’institut national, à sa séance du 29 Juin 1805’, in Bonald, *Œuvres choisies*, I, 85–105 (p. 92).

the rules set out by the tragic models. Indeed, the State even defined tragedy through the models of Corneille and Racine.³⁰

This model was not uncontested. Critics during the Napoleonic period remarked upon the emergence of two schools, one of which would later become the *romantique* movement.³¹ This school was not unique to tragedy, but because tragedy was such a regulated genre at the heart of French culture, it was where the divergences appeared clearest. This debate became a nationalised affair as Bernard Franco has maintained: this was the first time that Germanic thought impacted on French tragic theory, especially the nascent ‘romantique’ school.³² I use this term to refer to authors and theorists who contested the traditional model, before the later and different movement of *romantisme*. As with later *drame romantique* apologists, there was no unity of tragic vision within the ‘romantique’ school but several partisans contested key elements of the ‘classique’ model. French and Germanic scholars alike attacked the French canon. Michel de Cubières-Palmézeaux (1752–1820) critiqued and rewrote

³⁰ Paris, AN, Ms Nouvelle organisation des théâtres après les principes établis par le décret du 8 juin 1806, F/21/953.

³¹ Madame de Staël, *De la littérature, seconde édition*, 2 vols (Paris: Maradan, an IX [1800]), I, 2–5, and later during the Empire this is recognised by the *Journal de l'Empire* which identifies Staël, Chateaubriand, and Bonald as the three major figures of the other school, *Journal de l'Empire*, 14 March 1807, cited in Gengembre and Goldzink, ‘Introduction’, in Madame de Staël, *De la littérature, édition établie par Gérard Gengembre et Jean Goldzink* (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1991), pp. 7–47 (p. 46). Bonald might be seen as a modern figure because he ‘met au point une théorie esthétique et littéraire. C’est ainsi que, pensée selon les critères de progrès et de décadence, la question de la nation permet quelques avancées’, but in the matter of tragedy the weight of the ‘héritage classique’ is clear, Gérard Gengembre, ‘Introduction’, in Bonald, *Œuvres choisies*, I, 7–59 (pp. 34–35).

³² Bernard Franco, “‘Phèdre’ sous l’Empire : enjeux d’un modèle national”, in *Littératures classiques, jeux et enjeux des théâtres classiques (XIX^e-XX^e siècles)*, ed. by Marianne Bury et Georges Forestier (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003), pp. 85–95 and Bernard Franco, *Le Despotisme du goût. Débats sur le modèle tragique allemand en France, 1797–1814*, 2 vols (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2006) I, p. xi.

Racine in *Hippolyte* (1803)³³ and Louis-Sébastien Mercier (1740–1814) directly challenged the tragic genre with his publication of Friedrich von Schiller's (1759–1805) *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1801). Mercier explicitly labelled his 1802 translation a 'tragédie' despite its rejection of the rules, with respect to the unities, verse, and scene liaisons.³⁴ Mercier further confronted the inherited models by denouncing Boileau and Racine as the heads of the worst school in Europe.³⁵ The attack continued with the rewriting of Boileau's works by Emmanuel Louis Nicolas Viollet-le-Duc (1781–1857) (1809) and P. J. B. Chaussard (1811) not to mention Cubières-Palmézeaux's *Essai sur l'art poétique* (1812).³⁶

The offensive against the inherited model was intensified by a Germanic invasion: the publication of Schiller's translation of Racine's *Phèdre* (1677) in 1805 without the alexandrine verse, with the use of 'tu' between Queen and confidante, and *Phèdre*'s blatant suicide on-stage shocked contemporaries.³⁷ Shortly afterwards, August Wilhelm von Schlegel published his polemical *Comparaison entre la 'Phèdre' de Racine et celle d'Euripide* (1807). The fact that the German scholar wrote this in French added salt to the wound caused by advocating the supremacy of Euripides (480–406 BC) over Racine. Schlegel

³³ Michel de Cubières-Palmézeaux, *Hippolyte, tragédie en trois actes, imitée d'Euripide, représentée pour la première fois, sur le théâtre du Marais, le 9 ventôse an 11* (Paris: Masson, 1803).

³⁴ Friedrich Schiller, *Jeanne d'Arc ou la Pucelle d'Orléans, tragédie en cinq actes*, trans. by Charles-Frédéric Cramer, ed. by L. S. Mercier (Paris: Cramer, 1802).

³⁵ Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Satyres contre Racine et Boileau, dédiées à A. W. Schlegel, Auteur de 'Comparaison entre la 'Phèdre' de Racine et celle d'Euripide'* (Paris: Hénée; Tourneisen, 1808), p. v.

³⁶ Emmanuel Louis Nicolas Viollet-le-Duc, *Nouvel art poétique, poème en un chant* (Paris: Martinet, 1809) and P. J. B. Chaussard, *Épître sur quelques genres dont Boileau n'a pas fait mention dans son art poétique* (Paris: Didot aîné, 1811) and Michel de Cubières-Palmézeaux, *Essai sur l'art poétique en général, et en particulier, sur la versification française, divisé en quatre épîtres aux Pisons modernes* (Paris: Froullé, 1812). In the words of Stéphane Zékian, Cubières-Palmézeaux '[prend] systématiquement le contre-pied de Boileau, Stéphane Zékian, 'Comment améliorer les œuvres classiques : le cas de Boileau', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 114 (2014), 31–43 (p. 34).

³⁷ Jean Racine, *Phaedra, Trauerspiel von Racine*, trans. by Friedrich Schiller (Tübingen: Cotta, 1805). For the reaction this caused see Franco, pp. 85–95.

dismantled the French vision of the tragic past which posited the French as the heirs of the ancient world by arguing that ‘il n’y a rien de plus dissemblable, de plus diamétralement opposé, que la tragédie grecque et la tragédie française’.³⁸ Later in his *Cours de littérature dramatique* (1814), Schlegel continued this comparative approach to expose the development of theatrical rules within a particular climate; according to Schlegel, since those of France had not evolved, French theatre is ridiculous. These polemicists refuted tragedy: they preferred the mixed *drame* and deplored the alexandrine, the use of confidants, the imposition of *bienséance*, and the crushing weight of the unities.

Similar criticisms came from more moderate works, such as those of Madame de Staël, Benjamin Constant, and Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi (1773–1842). These critics did not contest the superiority of the French inheritance, nor ‘tragédie’; and, although their arguments were not entirely novel, collectively they did wish to refresh the genre. These writers argued for relativity, for a better understanding of foreign literature which could enrich the French tradition;³⁹ for a loosening of the rigour of the unities which curtailed the dramatic effect—Sismondi even proposed a new system of the unities of ‘intérêt’, ‘manière’ and ‘nature de mœurs’.⁴⁰ They wanted to rid the stage of confidants, allowing for a richer variety of characters on-stage⁴¹ and to widen the

³⁸ August Wilhelm Schlegel, *Comparaison entre la ‘Phèdre’ de Racine et celle d’Euripide* (Paris: Tournisien et fils, 1807), p. 7.

³⁹ Madame de Staël, *De l’Allemagne, seconde édition*, 3 vols (Paris: H. Nicolle; Mame Frères, 1814), II, 2–3; Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, ‘Quelques réflexions sur la tragédie de “Wallstein” et sur le théâtre allemand’, in Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, *Wallstein, tragédie en cinq actes et en verse précédée de quelques réflexions sur le théâtre allemand, et suivie de notes historiques* (Geneva: J. J. Paschoud, 1809), pp. v–lii (p. li); and Jean Charles Léonard de Sismondi, *De la littérature du midi de l’Europe*, 4 vols (Paris; Strasbourg: Treuttel et Würtz, 1813), I, 1.

⁴⁰ Staël, *De l’Allemagne*, II, 7; Constant, pp. v–lii (p. xxxi), Sismondi, III, 463.

⁴¹ Constant, pp. v–lii (p. xix–xx), Sismondi when discussing Vittorio Alfieri’s (1749–1803) works, Sismondi, II, 443–51. This idea had even been expressed by Corneille in his *Discours*. Peter Szondi has taken this as a leap towards a ‘tragédie bourgeoise’, see Péter Szondi, ‘Denis Diderot : théorie et pratique dramatique’, in *Diderot* ([Paris]: Comédie-Française, 1984), pp. 33–61 (pp. 33–34).

generic boundaries, including not enforcing the use of the alexandrine.⁴²

Therefore, although they were not united in their call for a *tragédie romantique* as Stendhal and Alfred de Vigny (1797–1863) would later propose,⁴³ these scholars did challenge the received tragic inheritance and would later be seen as central in the evolution towards the *drame romantique*.

b. *Classique* and ‘Classique’

These ‘romantique’ critics were reacting against the need to imitate, but their calls were deafened by their position on the geographical and theoretical periphery of France. Imitation remained at the heart of the ‘classique’ model for new tragedies destined for the Comédie-Française. *Classique* as a term came to defend the national French tradition in the face of Germanic military and literary invasion, as Edmond Eggli and Pierre Martino have shown.⁴⁴ However, I would argue that although the period 1813 to 1815 may have cemented the use of the adjective *classique* during the Napoleonic period, there was an earlier fundamental shift in how critics viewed the theatrical past, resulting in the different uses of the term *classique*, especially in 1806 and 1807 at the height of the Empire. Both the new editor to La Harpe’s edition of Racine and that commented by Geoffroy refer to Racine as *classique* in 1807 and 1808

⁴² Staël, *De l’Allemagne*, II, 12; Constant, pp. v–lii (pp. xv–xvii). This had also been contested by earlier playwrights, notably Houdar de La Motte. See Houdar de La Motte, *Les Œuvres de théâtre de M. de La Motte de l’Académie française, avec plusieurs discours sur la tragédie*, 2 vols (Paris: Chez Gregoire Dupuis, 1730), especially ‘Quatrième discours à l’occasion de la tragédie d’Œpide’, I, 188–208 and ‘Comparaison de la première scène de “Mithridate” avec la même scène réduite en prose, d’où naissent quelques réflexions sur les vers’, I, 209–34.

⁴³ Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare N° II ou Réponse au Manifeste contre le romantisme prononcé par M. Auger dans une séance solennelle de l’Institut, 1825* (Paris: Dupont et Roret, 1825) and Alfred de Vigny, ‘Lettre à Lord *** Earl of *** sur la soirée du 24 octobre 1829, et sur un système dramatique’, in William Shakespeare, *Le More de Venise, Othello, tragédie traduite de Shakespeare en vers français, par le Comte Alfred de Vigny, et représentée à la Comédie-française le 24 octobre 1829* (Paris: Levavasseur, 1830), pp. i–xxxvii.

⁴⁴ Edmond Eggli and Pierre Martino, *Le Débat romantique en France, 1813–1830, pamphlets, manifestes, polémiques de presse*, 2 vols (Paris: Société d’édition ‘Les Belles Lettres’, 1933), I, 104.

respectively.⁴⁵ Likewise, in 1808 Chénier referred to Molière, Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire amongst others as ‘nos classiques’.⁴⁶ In 1810 the term *classique* was extended from authors to precise works. Anticipating Todorov’s argument that the norms of genre are only exposed when they are transgressed, the *Mercur* describes *Le Cid* (1637) and *Iphigénie* (1675) as ‘nos classiques’ when critiquing *Les États de Blois* (1810/1814).⁴⁷ Bonald reiterated this in the *Gazette de France*. For Bonald, the status of ‘ouvrages classiques’ is inherently linked with their quality; they have been the object of study over time; sometimes posterity increases their success; consequently they are in all libraries and *cabinets de lecture*. Subsequently ‘ils deviennent une partie précieuse du patrimoine d’une famille et des richesses d’une nation’.⁴⁸ By late 1813, the meaning of *classique* had taken another bound forward: the *Journal de l’Empire* hypothetically asked whether there was a ‘littérature classique’, ‘s’il y a une littérature qui doive, avec des modifications convenables, servir de règles aux autres’.⁴⁹ By 1814 and in reaction to Schlegel’s provocative *Cours*, this had become a distinct movement opposed to ‘le romantique’: ‘Le classique est celui dont les anciens ont donné l’exemple et les règles’.⁵⁰ A few weeks later, Joseph Esménard (1767–1811), himself a playwright and censor, wrote that

Le nom de *genre classique* est laissé ou abandonné à celui qui, formé sur les Grecs et les Latins, avec quelques modifications en faveur desquelles on cite les préceptes d’Aristote, d’Horace et de Boileau, se trouve assujéti aux règles *des trois unités*, et dont

⁴⁵ ‘Préface du nouvel éditeur’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes de Jean Racine avec le commentaire de M. de La Harpe et augmentées de plusieurs morceaux inédits ou peu connus*, 7 vols (Paris: Agasse, 1807), I, 1–9 (p. 2) and Geoffroy, ‘Préface générale’, pp. i–viii (p. v).

⁴⁶ Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Discours présenté à Sa Majesté impériale en son conseil d’état le 27 février 1808, au nom de la classe de la langue et de la littérature française* (Paris: Didot Jeune, 1808), p. 10.

⁴⁷ *Mercur*, vol. 60, no. DCLXIII, September 1814, p. 554.

⁴⁸ Louis de Bonald, ‘Sur les ouvrages classiques’, *Gazette de France*, 29 May 1810, pp. 591–92 (p. 591). This is also reproduced in full in *Mélanges littéraires, politiques, et philosophiques*, II, 392–412 and in Bonald, *Œuvres choisies*, I, 321–31 (p. 321).

⁴⁹ *Journal de l’Empire*, 29 September 1813, cited in Eggli, p. 71.

⁵⁰ *Journal de l’Empire*, 4 March 1814, cited in Eggli, p. 113.

parmi les modernes, Molière, Racine, Voltaire et quelques autres illustres étrangers ont fixé définitivement la marche et les limites.⁵¹

During 1814 then, the term *classique* had evolved to signify a literary and theatrical tradition regulated by rules and examples, from the ancient world but modified over time by the French. This is one of the notions ‘Classicism’ denotes today, reiterating the importance of the Napoleonic era in our understanding of French theatre history.

Given the fluctuating meanings of *classique*, both at the time and since, we cannot simply impose this term on Napoleonic tragedies. *Classique* and ‘classique’ are not the same thing here: what I mean by ‘classique’ is the contemporary nineteenth-century understanding of the tragic model as transmitted through the tragic inheritance, an understanding of the theatrical past which was specific to the time. This model was based on seventeenth-century tragedy practised by Corneille and Racine, theorised by d’Aubignac and Boileau, extended by Voltaire.⁵² The rules of these practising and theoretical forefathers were paramount for Napoleonic playwrights, yet, as Chapter One has shown, the ‘classique’ inheritance contained hereditary and contemporary rewritings of Corneille and Racine: the theatrical past was malleable. This vision of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ‘Classicism’ is certainly not that which is invoked when modern scholars use the qualifier *classique* in relation to Napoleonic tragedy, thus reinforcing the urgent need to consult contemporary theory and its understanding of the tragic heritage.

The Napoleonic ‘classique’ structure used to analyse the era’s new tragedies in this chapter is developed from Népomucène-Louis Lemercier in his *Cours analytique de littérature générale* (1810/1817), reinforced by

⁵¹ *Gazette de France*, 22 March 1814, cited in Eggli, p. 126.

⁵² In addition to Voltaire’s own innovations in tragedy such as the use of French characters in *Zaïre* (1732) or the development of local colour in *L’Orphelin de la Chine* (1755) or the spectacular in *Sémiramis* (1749), he transformed the vision of the seventeenth century in his works *Le Temple du goût* (1731) and *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751). Voltaire and his opinions remained dominant for Napoleonic theory. La Harpe makes frequent reference to him throughout the sixteen volumes of the *Lycée* and Geoffroy constantly references him in the famous *Feuilleton* of the *Journal des débats*.

contemporary critical reception. Through Lemerrier's categorical generic study and its contextualization within contemporary criticism, we can excavate the 'classique' model. Like other critics such as La Harpe, Geoffroy, Fontanelle, and Bonald, Lemerrier's conception of the tragic model is based on the thorough study of classical tragedy from Corneille to Voltaire alongside their ancient predecessors. The significance of Lemerrier is manifold. Firstly, he was a practising playwright under the Revolution, Napoleon, and the Restoration, and a well-respected literary figure promoted to the Institut national.⁵³ He was at one time close to Napoleon and even invited to join Bonaparte's expedition of scholars to Egypt, before turning against the Corsican with the foundation of the Empire.⁵⁴ Although Lemerrier is sometimes seen as an early Romantic for his comedies *Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration* (1800) and *Christophe Colomb* (1809), after these innovations and transgressions, he was acutely aware of the stipulations of the 'classique' inheritance in tragedy as his *Cours* demonstrates.⁵⁵ Lemerrier was chosen to give lectures on tragedy at the Athénée in Paris in 1810, formerly the Lycée where La Harpe had aired his novel vision of literary criticism, and these lectures were later published in 1817.⁵⁶ This *Cours* is significant because Lemerrier adopted a scientific approach to literature, a turning point in the methodologies of criticism, resulting in his structural rather than chronological analysis of tragedy.⁵⁷ The result is a classification following the genre-species model, the rules of which, Lemerrier claimed, are as rigorous as those of any science.⁵⁸ From his scientific examination, Lemerrier developed

⁵³ For a full list of Lemerrier's theatrical works see Vincenzo De Santis, 'Le Dramaturge dissident. Le Théâtre de Louis Lemerrier entre Lumières et Romantisme' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 618–23.

⁵⁴ Gabriel Vautier, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Népomucène Lemerrier* (Toulouse: A. Chauvin et fils, 1886), p. 13 and p. 26.

⁵⁵ Patrick Berthier, *Le Théâtre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), p. 37 and De Santis, 'Le Dramaturge dissident', pp. 166–222. On Lemerrier's observance to the 'classique' model, see Vincenzo De Santis, *Le Théâtre de Louis Lemerrier entre Lumières et Romantisme* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), p. 145.

⁵⁶ Lemerrier, p. 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 52 and p. 45.

twenty-six rules or conditions for a ‘tragédie’, each of which is founded in examples from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. To illustrate this, Lemer cier extensively quoted these sources. This direct citation was a technique favoured by other critics such as Fontanelle who reiterated the need to re-read the great tragic models.⁵⁹ Lemer cier’s contemporary structural ‘classique’ approach corroborates the structured approach of this chapter.

Lemer cier defined tragedy as:

[U]ne action divisée en cinq ou trois actes, présentée en dialogue, entre de grands personnages dont les intérêts, le rang, et les caractères, doivent exciter l’admiration, la terreur et la pitié, par l’exposition, par les péripéties, et par un pathétique s’accroissant de scène en scène, et qui doit arriver à son comble à la catastrophe, sans dégrader, par son excès, la noblesse du genre; les couleurs et les nuances du style doivent s’y accorder avec les dispositions du sujet, et la diction descendre quelquefois à la plus simple naïveté, sans bassesse.⁶⁰

Tragedy is then generically structured along twenty-six conditions, which can be summarised as follows: a tragedy has a serious plot, invented or historical, which is based on politics, passions, an event, or the characters themselves. The three unities, *vraisemblance* and the *nécessaire*, mixing fear and pity, and exciting admiration control tragic productions. These are largely the rules which would form the notion of *classique* after the Napoleonic era.⁶¹ Lemer cier continues: the characters must be noble and heroic, but governed by the fate of destiny or passions, which must be fitting to one’s contemporary society, as should the *mœurs* the characters display. A tragedy is divided between acts and scenes which must be in the required order with peripeteia, and the whole work must have an exposition, *nœud*, and *dénouement*. Its language must be either simple or

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 177–79. See Appendix D for a list of all twenty-six conditions. Over the course of the volume on tragedy, Lemer cier cites 138.5 lines of Boileau, 359 lines of Corneille (approximately one entire act), 641.25 lines of Racine (approximately two full acts) and 145 lines of Voltaire. On re-reading, Fontanelle’s advice is: ‘lisez, relisez les grands modèles, Corneille, Racine, Crébillon et Voltaire.’ Fontanelle, pp. 439–40.

⁶⁰ Lemer cier, p. 177.

⁶¹ See Victor Hugo, ‘Préface à Cromwell’, in Hugo, Victor, *Cromwell, chronologie et introduction par Anne Ubersfeld* (Paris: Flammarion, 1968), pp. 61–109, p. 68.

full of local colour, with sustained or alternating dialogue, always in alexandrines. A tragedy should also contain dramatic tableaux and symmetry.

This view of tragedy concurs with that of Lemer cier's contemporaries. Fontanelle prescribed a model structured along the unities, the exposition, characters, intrigue and *nœud*, the dénouement, the style, and the tragedy's tableaux.⁶² Geoffroy reduced the theatrical rules to 'ces unités, cette liaison de scènes, cette marche régulière de l'action, ces motifs d'entrées et de sorties, cette rigoureuse vraisemblance,'⁶³ and La Harpe focused his criticism around the question of whether

[L]es sujets de ses [the playwright's] pièces sont bien choisis, les plans bien conçus, les situations intéressantes et vraisemblables, les caractères conformes à la nature; si le dialogue est raisonnable, si le style est l'expression juste des sentimens et des passions, s'il est toujours en proportion avec le sujet et les personnages, si la diction est pure et harmonieuse, si les scenes [*sic*] sont bien liées les unes aux autres, si tout est clair et motivé[.]⁶⁴

Lemer cier's schema is undoubtedly more extensive but he is the only critic to propose and explain tragedy structurally—other critics took comprehension of the genre as read—and many of Lemer cier's twenty-six conditions were treated by these other theorists in their individual analyses.

Having outlined the 'classique' generic schema for tragedy, I will now analyse the extent to which Napoleonic tragedy can be said to be 'classique' in practice. My examination is the first that many of these tragedies have received in two centuries; as such it will deepen our understanding of the Napoleonic era's tragic production within the history of French theatre.⁶⁵

2. The 'Classique' Model in Practice

a. Subject Matter

⁶² Fontanelle, pp. 341–442.

⁶³ *Journal des débats*, 19 July 1801. Repeated in *Le Spectateur français au dix-neuvième siècle*, VIII (1810), 385.

⁶⁴ La Harpe, I, 21.

⁶⁵ Appendix E contains short summaries of new Napoleonic tragedies to avoid encumbering the flow of the analysis.

The majority of Napoleonic tragedies abide by the first element of the tragic schema, that of a serious plot, invented, or historical, based on politics, passions, an event, or the characters themselves,⁶⁶ which had been a stipulation since Aristotle.⁶⁷ It is noteworthy that although Napoleonic tragedies remain serious in nature, they become more intimate in their setting. In his ‘Avertissement’ to *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806), Gabriel Legouv   (1764–1812) explained how he could have made an entirely political tragedy.⁶⁸ However, Legouv   opted for an ‘intrigue domestique, o   [Henri] serait plac   entre sa femme et Sully.’⁶⁹ This is echoed in Louis-Gr  goire Lehoc’s (1743–1810) *Pyrrhus, ou les   caides* (1807), which begins with the King, Alc  tas, and Queen, Amestris, before they are joined by their daughter Iphise. Similarly, Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival’s (1764–1810) *Hector* (1809) opens with an intimate scene between the title character and Andromaque. Furthermore, Luce removed H  l  ne from the entire tragedy to produce a more domestically virtuous setting.⁷⁰ Yet Hector’s military costume in I. 1 indicates, like in *Pyrrhus* and *La Mort de Henri IV*, that politics is never far away from these domestic settings. Playwrights thus maintained a serious historical plot based on politics, passions, an event, or the characters themselves but within a domestic setting, albeit the royal domestic. However, this familiarisation and individualisation of the plot could be seen to link these tragedies with the *drame* and later *drame romantique* where the domestic setting and the importance of the individual were privileged in serious

⁶⁶ Lemerrier, p. 194.

⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. by Malcolm Heath (London: Penguin, 1996), pp. 10–11 (Bekker 49b–50a) and p. 29 (55b–56a).

⁶⁸ Gabriel Legouv  , ‘Avertissement’, in Gabriel Legouv  , *La Mort de Henri IV, trag  die en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1806), pp. iii–v (p. iv).

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, ‘Variantes et Fragmens’, in Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, *Hector, trag  die en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs fragmens imit  s de l’Iliade, et d’une sc  ne du r  le d’H  l  ne que l’auteur a supprim  * (Paris: Chaumerot, 1809), pp. 81–88 (pp. 81–86).

plots relativising the novelty scholars attribute to the Romantics such as Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870) and Victor Hugo.⁷¹

Although historical tragedies were far more common than invented plots, certain tragedies, such as Jean-François Ducis' *Phœdor et Waldamir* (1801) championed the invented plot. Ducis' play is set in Siberia and two sons of Romanoff, one warlike (Waldamir), the other peaceful (Phœdor), both love the young Alzerline. Phœdor saves her life and declares his love to her but she prefers Waldamir. However, Alzerline announces she will marry neither of them, after which she goes outside and freezes. One breath allows the brothers to know that she is not dead but as she lies there mumbling in a dream she calls Waldamir her 'époux'.⁷² The invented plot allows this tragedy to sit within the 'classique' model but Ducis used the poetic freedom to move towards the wider Romantic tendencies of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.⁷³ Nature plays an active role here, either as the 'arbre de l'amitié' or '[l]a congélation subite des vapeurs qui s'échappent l'hiver de notre poitrine, & qui forment un petit nuage

⁷¹ In relation to the domestic setting of the *drame* see Denis Diderot, 'Dorval et Moi, Troisième entretien', in *Œuvres de théâtre de Diderot: avec un discours sur la poésie dramatique*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: [n. pub.], 1772), I, 285–86. Regarding the individual in the *drame romantique* as symbolic of a greater mass of men, see Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique*, p. 213 and on the individuality of characters such as Anthony in Alexandre Dumas, *Antony* (Paris: Auffray, 1831), see Gérard Gengembre, *Le Théâtre français au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1999), p. 245. Regarding the seventeenth-century tragic dilemmas between love and duty: in Corneille's *Le Cid* (1637) Rodrigue loves Chimène but they cannot marry until act V through the need for familial and national glory and in Racine's *Bérénice* (1671) Titus loves the foreign queen Bérénice but has just been appointed Emperor of Rome, who cannot be married to a foreigner and he must leave her to fulfil his duties.

⁷² *Journal de Paris*, 6 floréal an IX (26 April 1801), pp. 1302–03. The *Journal des débats* proposes a different action, see the summaries of Napoleonic tragédies in appendix E.

⁷³ The first use of the word 'romantique' was in Pierre-Prime-Félicien Le Tourneur's translation of Shakespeare in 1776 where 'romantique' meant 'pittoresque' and 'romanesque', see Pierre Frantz, 'L'Invention du classicisme aux sources de la modernité', in *Révolutions du moderne*, ed. by Daniela Galligani, Claude Leroy, André Magnan, and Baldine Saint Girons (Paris: Méditerranée, 2004), pp. 116–26 (p. 117).

blanc sur le bord de nos lèvres.'⁷⁴ The audience rejected these theatrical advances, and critics claimed that Ducis 's'est mis au-dessus de toutes les règles & de toutes les convenances'.⁷⁵ Nonetheless, Ducis's plot did have elements that might still be considered 'classique', revealing how poetic progression was still possible with one foot in the rules and the other reaching towards novelty.

Turning to historical plots, sometimes a historical setting was simply a pretext for an invented plot. Lemerrier's *Isule et Orovèse* (1802) was 'historique' since it was based on 'la fable antique de Corésus et Callotté', which was adapted for its setting in Gaul.⁷⁶ However, this adaptation, which allowed Lemerrier to 'employer dans [s]on tableau des couleurs nouvelles', was perceived as an invented plot—arguably correctly so given its extensive adaptation.⁷⁷ In *Pyrrhus*, Lehoc was fully aware of the intertextual implications of his title but, with the authority of Aristotle, Racine, and Corneille, he heartily defended a playwright's ability to alter history. Lehoc reversed the customary process: '[c]e n'est donc point un trait d'histoire que j'ai saisi : j'ai au contraire cherché dans l'histoire un événement et des noms que je pusse appliquer à mon roman.'⁷⁸ Lehoc marries fiction and history and his tragedy is a psychological investigation as to how Pyrrhus's character changes upon learning that he is the son of a usurped king. His transformation from tender lover to a terror is remarkable and it is the passions which are really under investigation: 'Où tout est passion tout est à redouter' and 'C'est Pyrrhus qui te parle, et non plus Agénor'.⁷⁹ the invented-historical plot, therefore, allowed Lehoc to showcase

⁷⁴ *Journal de Paris*, 6 floréal an IX (26 April 1801), pp. 1302–03.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1303.

⁷⁶ Lemerrier maintained that his tragedy was historical, but his need to justify and explain his reproach in an open letter reveals how it was received as invented, Népomucène-Louis Lemerrier, 2 frimaire an XI (23 November 1802), quoted in Pierre-David Lemauzier, 'Annales du Théâtre français depuis la Réunion générale au Théâtre de la République, Rue de la Loi, le 11 prairial, An sept [30 May 1799]; jusqu'au 1^{er} Vendémiaire, an 14 [23 September 1805]', Paris, BMCF, Ms 25036 (2), p. 65.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Louis-Grégoire Lehoc, 'Réflexions sur la tragédie de Pyrrhus et sur l'art dramatique', in Louis-Grégoire Lehoc, *Pyrrhus, ou les Æacides, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Lecouvreur, 1807), pp. 79–94 (p. 87).

⁷⁹ *Pyrrhus, ou les Æacides*, III. 1, p. 31, and II. 7, p. 28.

Pyrrhus's character metamorphosis through the driving force of passions; this is the crux of the plot.

Although no tragedy could be objectively truthful in the matter of history, Napoleonic tragedies shared a strong preference for historical plots, such as *Les Templiers* (1805), *La Mort de Henri IV*, and *Tippo-Saëb* (1813). However, eight years after the failure of his Gallic tragedy, *Isule et Orovèse*, Lemer cier stipulated a playwright should 'choisir le sujet de la fable, autant que possible, dans la haute antiquité, nommé par les Grecs *temps héroïques*'.⁸⁰ Lemer cier's preference for Antiquity is mirrored by Geoffroy who, when reviewing *La Mort de Henri IV*, stated that Racine's *Britannicus* (1670), set in ancient Rome, was 'le plus parfait modèle d'une tragédie historique.'⁸¹ Whereas the 'romantique' theorists wanted to exploit the subjects offered by French history, Parisian critics' requirement for temporal distance was reinforced at State level. In response to *Les Templiers*, and upon hearing the news that a new tragedy was to be performed depicting Henri IV (1553–1610), Napoleon wrote:

Je ne crois pas qu'il faille laisser jouer des pièces dont les sujets seraient pris dans des temps trop près de nous. Je lis dans un journal qu'on veut jouer une tragédie de *Henri IV*. Cette époque n'est pas assez éloignée pour ne point réveiller des passions. La scène a besoin d'un peu d'antiquité[.]⁸²

As such, Napoleon initially banned Legouvé's tragedy for portraying Henri IV.⁸³ Just as the seventeenth century had understood temporal distance to be crucial for 'vérité de l'Action Théâtrale', Napoleon shunned recent French history precisely because the parallels were too close, especially after the Revolution which had witnessed regicide. Although 'romantique' critics claimed tragedy should relate more to the audience,⁸⁴ contemporary tragedy portraying modern history was too emotive. Certain tragedies such as *Antiochus Épiphanes* (1806), *Octavie* (1806), and *Vitellie* (1809) obliged the government by setting their plots

⁸⁰ Lemer cier, p. 203.

⁸¹ *Journal de l'Empire*, 27 June 1806.

⁸² Letter Napoleon to Fouché cited in Lanzac de Laborie, p. 207.

⁸³ Lanzac de Laborie, p. 208.

⁸⁴ Constant, pp. v–lii (p. xiii), Sismondi, II, 237, and Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, II, 10.

in Ancient Rome. Yet these tragedies did not gain critical acclaim, rather the audience rejected them. Other ancient tragedies treated myths such as the birth of Athens in *Thésée* (1800) or the Trojan War myth in *Polyxène* (1804), *Astyanax* (1805), *Pyrrhus*, and *Hector*. These tragedies employed a hypertextual link with the myths and literature of the ancient world, notably the *Iliad*, and recalled the memory of one of France's greatest tragedies, Racine's *Andromaque* (1668). Whilst these Napoleonic tragedies were not traditionally 'historique', Mazoyer claimed a 'fonds historique' to his *Thésée*, demonstrating how the line between invented and historical plots was becoming blurred.⁸⁵

Despite the pressure from the government and critics, Napoleonic playwrights were keen to explore the wealth of plots and public nationalist support that modern, and especially French, history could provide. This exposes the role of audience satisfaction and politics in the reception and development of the tragic rules. Nearly half of the twenty-five tragedies performed under Napoleon employed modern history and over a quarter used French history as a source of tragic plot.⁸⁶ The requirements for a tragedy to be 'historique' are thus a point where the post-Revolutionary nature of Napoleonic tragedy becomes evident. Tragedies like *Les Templiers* and *La Mort de Henri IV* are historical tragedies; however, they also belong to the sub-genre *tragédie nationale*, tragedy based on France's national history. History had often been present in French

⁸⁵ Frédéric Mazoyer, *Thésée, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Huet, 1801), p. iii.

⁸⁶ Eleven of twenty-five tragedies performed at the Comédie-Française between 1799 and 1815 used modern history: Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, *Montmorenci* (1800) and *Pierre-le-Grand* (1804); F.-J. Depuntis *Alhamar* (1801); Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Isule et Orovèse* (1802); Antoine-Vincent Arnault *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur* (1803); François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers* (1805) and *Les États de Blois* (1810/1814); Gabriel Legouvé, *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806); Étienne Aignan, *Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis* (1810); Pierre Baour-Lormain, *Mahomet II* (1811); Étienne de Jouy, *Tippo-Saïb* (1813). Six of the twenty-five tragedies used French history: *Montmorenci* (1800); *Isule et Orovèse* (1802); *Les Templiers* (1805); *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806); *Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis* (1810); *Les États de Blois* (1810/1814). *Tippo-Saïb* (1813) could arguably be seen as based on French history because it treats the Great Britain's assassination of an Indian Sultan protected by France.

tragedy,⁸⁷ but this trend had developed from the middle of the eighteenth century with Voltaire's *Zaïre* (1732) and Pierre-Laurent Buirette de Belloy's (1727–1775) *Le Siège de Calais* (1765), which used national figures in the comparatively modern setting of the Middle Ages.⁸⁸ *Tragédie nationale* and the portrayal of the French monarchy on-stage developed rapidly after 1789. The appearance of both the King and the Church on-stage and their depiction as murderers responsible for the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572 in Marie-Joseph Chénier's *Charles IX* (1789) became symbolic of the Revolutionary theatre and this sub-genre.⁸⁹

The use of modern, even contemporary, history in Revolutionary tragedy demonstrates that the seventeenth-century rules evolved in a specific climate.⁹⁰ The contemporary consciousness of this evolution can be seen by the 1806 reprint of Claude Billard's (1550–1623) *La Mort d'Henry IV* from 1610 to coincide with Legouvé's new version.⁹¹ In 1610 Satan appeared on-stage and the action was set in the current calendar year. However, such a portrayal in tragedy would later become impossible as the genre was 'regularised' under the auspices of the Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642) and his Académie française, sustained by the absolutism of Louis XIII and his progeny. This monarchical climate and its polite society had a distinct impact on the evolution of tragedy which was based on illusion, hence the proliferation of tragic rules reinforcing elements

⁸⁷ See for example George Bernard Daniel, *The Development of the 'tragédie nationale' in France from 1552–1800* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1964).

⁸⁸ Clarence D. Brenner, *L'Histoire nationale dans la tragédie française du XVIII^e siècle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1929), p. 196. *Zaïre* is set during the reign of Louis IX (1214–1270), Voltaire, 'Lettre à M. de la Roque sur la tragédie de "Zaïre"', in Voltaire, *Théâtre de Voltaire*, II, 164–74 (p. 167) and *Le Siège de Calais* treats the homonymous event of 1346, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de Belloy, *Le Siège de Calais* (Paris: Ballard, [n.d.]), p. ii.

⁸⁹ Daniel, p. 11.

⁹⁰ For example, Aignan has written a *La Mort de Louis XVI* (1793) and *Le Martyre de Marie-Antoinette d'Autriche* (1793).

⁹¹ Claude Billard, *La Mort d'Henry IV, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, par Claude Billard, Seigneur de Gourgenay, représentée devant la Reine Marie de Médicis, en 1610, l'année même de la mort d'Henry IV* (Paris: Collin, 1806).

such as the distance of the portrayed action and *bienséance*.⁹² However, this official *ancien régime*, monarchical atmosphere was theoretically no longer relevant to Napoleonic society. Therefore, the continued use of the *tragédie nationale* and its generally popular reception constitute a departure from the seventeenth-century inspired ‘classique’ rules on tragedy whilst simultaneously affirming certain poetic advances of the Revolution.

Although playwrights such as François-Juste-Marie Raynouard and Legouvé imitated a previous model, this model was not founded in seventeenth-century tragic theory, nor was it espoused by Lemercier’s tragic theory. *The Mercure* noted that *Les Templiers* was a tragedy ‘[qui] ne ressemble à aucune autre’.⁹³ This growing trend to push the boundaries allowed Chénier to qualify *La Mort de Henri IV*, a *tragédie nationale*, as a ‘tragédie moderne’.⁹⁴ these Napoleonic playwrights were evolving Chénier’s model as the relationship between history and fiction was being rethought.⁹⁵ These two points demonstrate that *tragédie nationale* became an increasingly accepted form to Napoleonic society. Indeed, Étienne de Jouy’s tragedy *Tippo-Saëb* reveals how far the inherited tragic plot’s model had disintegrated. Jouy declared his aim: ‘exposer sur la Scène Française un événement contemporain’.⁹⁶ Following Racine, he justified the lack of temporal distance by that of the geographical. However, the setting of India in 1799 was a guise for an Anglo-French ideological combat whereas the absence of French characters and proxy war in Racine’s *Bajazet*

⁹² See Rohou, pp. 95–110 and Forestier, *La Tragédie française*, pp. 10–11. On the seventeenth-century need for distance, see Jean Racine, ‘Préface à Bajazet [1676–97]’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Georges Forestier*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), I, 623–26 (p. 625).

⁹³ *Mercure*, vol. 44, no. CCCCXCI, December 1810, p. 365.

⁹⁴ Chénier, *Tableau*, p. 301.

⁹⁵ See June K. Burton, *Napoleon and Clio: Historical Writing, Teaching, and Thinking During the First French Empire* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979) and Heiko Feldner, ‘The New Scientificity in Historical Writing Around 1800’, in *Writing History, Theory & Practice*, ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Arnold, 2003), pp. 3–22.

⁹⁶ Étienne de Jouy, ‘Préface’, in Étienne de Jouy *Tippo-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Barba, 1813), pp. v–xii (p. v).

(1672) could not allow it to be considered a *tragédie nationale* as Jouy's could.⁹⁷ In further contrast to Racine, Jouy had multiple eyewitnesses to the event, 'encore au milieu de nous',⁹⁸ and Tippo had last sent ambassadors to France just fifteen years previously.⁹⁹ Additionally, unlike *Bajazet*, Tippo's defeat lay in the withdrawal of the French military during the Revolution. Thus *Tippo-Saëb* was not only an anti-English tragedy, but arguably an anti-Revolutionary one too. Jouy pushed the boundaries of tragedy, and *Tippo-Saëb* directly spoke to his audience as the 'romantique' theorists desired. *Tippo-Saëb* is distinctly not 'classique' in the matter of plot, and its avant-garde nature is underlined by the fact that in 1825 Lemercier's *Les Martyrs de Souli* could not be performed because the action only occurred twenty-five years previously, a time difference eleven years longer than that of *Tippo-Saëb*.¹⁰⁰

Historical plots also allowed for the development of the 'tragédie de caractère' which scholars have considered to be a later phenomenon.¹⁰¹ This term appears to date from the Napoleonic era, where it was first employed by Geoffroy with reference to Racine's *Britannicus* because this 'tragédie [est] uniquement fondée sur le jeu des passions et le développement du cœur sans cet attirai de situations extraordinaires'.¹⁰² Characters were thus at the basis of the action as was possible with Lemercier's schema. However, the notion developed over the period, and 'tragédie de caractère' was composed of two differing standpoints. On the one hand, the consistency of a character was praised: the

⁹⁷ Racine's witness, the ambassador to Constantinople, the Comte de Cézzy died in 1652, when Racine's source, François du Prat, the Chevalier de Nantouillet, was only 17, see Georges Forestier, 'Bajazet, Notes et variantes', in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, I, 1490–1524 (p. 1510). Indeed, Racine 'ne conseillerai[t] pas à un Auteur de prendre pour sujet d'une Tragédie une Action aussi moderne que celle-ci, si elle s'était passée dans le pays où il veut faire représenter sa Tragédie, ni de mettre des Héros sur le Théâtre, qui auraient été connus de la plupart des Spectateurs', Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, I, 623–26 (p. 625).

⁹⁸ Jouy, pp. v–xii (p. v).

⁹⁹ Étienne de Jouy, 'Précis historique', in Jouy *Tippo-Saëb*, pp. xiii–xxvii (pp. xix–xx).

¹⁰⁰ Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, 'Préface', in Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Les Martyrs de Souli, ou l'Épire moderne, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: U. Canel, 1825), pp. i–lii (pp. xvii–xviii).

¹⁰¹ Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 134.

¹⁰² *Journal des débats*, 10 May 1802.

Grand-Maître in *Les Templiers* was admired for his steadiness of character and how his and the Templiers' virtue overcame torture and death.¹⁰³ On the other hand, *Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis* by Étienne Aignan (1773–1824) in 1810 showcased the opposite notion of 'tragédie de caractère'.¹⁰⁴ Unlike the steadfastness of the Grand-Maître, Brunehaut switches from playing the caring grandmother, nurturing the future ruler, to a mad monster who incites civil war to secure her power. As with *Pyrrhus*, the plots of these tragedies are as much an examination of character as the portrayal of an event. This psychological use of tragedy would later be mirrored in tragedies such as Jouy's *Sylla* in 1821 when, after four acts of tyranny, the insecurity of the dictator is revealed, exposing his status as a '*homo duplex*'.¹⁰⁵ For Melai, this means that in 1821 Jouy 'rompt avec le principe classique de l'intégrité et de la cohérence du caractère tragique', offering a 'conception romantique du personnage'.¹⁰⁶ However, my analysis of the preceding era's tragedies indicates that this said Restoration 'novelty' had Napoleonic, even seventeenth-century, antecedents.

The increase in the use of more modern history in Napoleonic tragedy has not been properly acknowledged by scholars, even by those claiming to examine the rise in the use of national history such as Michèle Jones.¹⁰⁷ As the next chapter shall reveal, the rewriting of history via tragedy was a central *topos* of Napoleonic tragedy and a means to overcome the Revolution. Furthermore, in terms of Napoleonic tragedy's position between the movements of Classicism and Romanticism, 'romantique' authors argued that tragic plots ought to use national history to a greater extent and one of the founding texts of French Romantic theatre, Hugo's 'Préface' to his play *Cromwell* (1828), advanced that

¹⁰³ Ch. Vg., 'Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard', *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*, VII (1805), 105–20 (p. 106); 'Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard, second article', *Archives Littéraires de l'Europe*, VII (1805), 211–34 (p. 228).

¹⁰⁴ Étienne Aignan, *Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Vente, 1811), p. iii.

¹⁰⁵ Maurizio Melai, "'Sylla" d'Étienne de Jouy, ou "le lendemain de Waterloo": régimes tragiques de symbolisation de l'histoire', *Études littéraires*, 43 (2012), 41–56 (p. 44); Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 135.

¹⁰⁶ Melai, pp. 41–56 (p. 46).

¹⁰⁷ See Michèle Jones, *Le Théâtre national en France, de 1800 à 1830* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1975), pp. 133–46.

theatre should be based on the painting of historical events.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, as Florence Naugrette argues, '[c]'est dans le cadre de cette nouvelle vogue de l'histoire que s'inscrit le drame romantique',¹⁰⁹ thus underlining how Napoleonic tragedy was part of the theatrical evolution. Although the use of history in tragedy during the Napoleonic period continues to portray the ruling class and the Romantics were to portray historical events at all levels of society, there is a fundamental connection between the theatre of the two schools of thought and the two époques which has been unjustly denied.¹¹⁰ Moreover, this is a connection which seriously destabilises the assertion that Napoleonic theatre was purely *classique*.

b. The Unities

The three unities of time, place, and action, as detailed in Aristotle's *Poetics*, have been understood as a staple in French 'Classicism' and essential for maintaining *vraisemblance*, especially after the *Querelle du Cid* (1637).¹¹¹ By the Napoleonic era, the three unities were a defining element of French tragedy in comparison to the more liberal English and German traditions.¹¹² Starting with the unity of time, from the majority of the printed editions, it would seem that most Napoleonic tragedies obeyed this stipulation. Although in the past Corneille had theoretically argued for the unity of time's extension to thirty hours after recognising twenty-four as the norm,¹¹³ for Lemercier, and Boileau, the unity of time was limited at twenty-four hours, and contemporary critics such as Fontanelle restricted it further to only a little longer than the time performed on-

¹⁰⁸ Hugo, 'Préface à Cromwell', pp. 61–109 (p. 68). Hugo's 'Préface' is often dated as 1827 but it was not published until 1828.

¹⁰⁹ Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique*, p. 189.

¹¹⁰ For example, Victor Hugo, *Ruy Blas* (1838).

¹¹¹ Abbé d'Aubignac, p. 92, Rohou, p. 97 and Forestier, *La Tragédie française*, p. 73.

¹¹² Schlegel, *Cours*, II, 87.

¹¹³ Pierre Corneille, 'Discours des trois unités, d'action, de jour, et de lieu', in Pierre Corneille, *Œuvres complètes, textes établis, présentés et annotés par Georges Couton*, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1980–87), III (1987), 174–90 (p. 183).

stage.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, *Les Templiers* was ridiculed because its obedience to the unity of time had rendered the plot absurd. Raynouard reduced the events of several years into one day so that the Templiers are arrested, interrogated, judged, sentenced, and executed within twenty-four hours. Geoffroy declared this reduction of time ‘une invraisemblance des plus grossières.’¹¹⁵ Ironically, the unities which were supposed to guarantee *vraisemblance* prevented it. The incongruity was fully exposed when the king Philippe-le-Bel repents and orders the Templiers to be freed, but they have already died despite being on-stage earlier in the act: logically not enough time has passed for them to reach the site of their execution and for the sentence to have been carried out. The (dis)unity of time caused similar *invraisemblance* in *Vitellie*, where Vitellius was murdered by ‘une troupe cruelle | De soldats furieux’ (V. 9), despite having been alive in V. 5.

Upon consultation of the prompt books, which include lighting directions for performance, rather than printed editions, it becomes clear that Napoleonic tragedies were far from faithful to the ‘classique’ unity of time. In *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte* (1806) there was a storm between act IV and act V and night fell to become ‘Jour’ again in act V.¹¹⁶ In *Brunehaut* the indication ‘*Il fait jour*’ extends the unity of time beyond the contemporary twenty-four hour limit.¹¹⁷ Indeed, *Artaxerce* commences in act I with ‘demi-jour’, the end of act IV is marked as ‘nuit’, and act V opens still dark before the sun has fully risen by V. 3.¹¹⁸ In *Polyxène*, the *Journal du théâtre françois* recorded that within three acts ‘on voit le jour naître deux fois, et l’illusion en souffre’:¹¹⁹ critics considered the

¹¹⁴ Lemerrier, pp. 206–07; ‘Qu’en un lieu, qu’en un jour, un seul fait accompli | Tienne jusqu’à la fin le théâtre rempli’, Nicolas Boileau, *L’Art poétique ; suivi de Horace, Épître aux Pisons* (Paris: Bordas, 1972), Chant III, 41–42, p. 72; Fontanelle, p. 343.

¹¹⁵ *Journal des débats*, 16 May 1805.

¹¹⁶ Paris, BMCF, *Omasis*, prompt book, Ms 463 (p. 135).

¹¹⁷ *Brunehaut*, V. 1, p. 52.

¹¹⁸ The prompt book marks that act I starts ‘demi-jour’ (p. 5) the end of act IV as ‘nuit’ (p. 111) and act V opens whilst still ‘nuit’ (p. 112) and it becomes ‘jour’ again at V. 3, Paris, BMCF, *Artaxerce*, prompt book, Ms 478, p. 119.

¹¹⁹ The *Journal du théâtre françois* 22 January 1804, p. 208. This is confirmed upon consultation of the prompt book, p. 3 notes ‘Commencer le jour dans les coulisses’ as a lighting direction, and when Ulysse starts to speak at ‘Je gémis comme vous des malheurs de la guerre’ it is ‘**jour**’, p. 7. Act III starts ‘**nuit**’ and

unity of time as limited to twenty-four hours. Certainly, these tragedies remained temporally confined and did not portray action over months as the later productions would. Through the lighting directions several of the Napoleonic tragedies evidently depart from the ‘classique’ unity of time of twenty-four hours, something to which even ‘romantique’ playwrights were bound, as Constant’s adaptation of *Wallstein* (1809) demonstrates when he reduced the action of several years and three plays into twenty-four hours.

Obedience to the unity of place is generally better observed, although as the ‘bordereaux du chef machiniste’ show, setting the play within a palace did not necessarily mean that there was no change between rooms.¹²⁰ Whereas in 1820 a tragedy set in multiple rooms of one building ‘trahit gravement le système classique’ according to Melai, under Napoleon it was quite common.¹²¹ Sometimes there was an implicit change of place without it being signalled: for example, act V of *Thésée* occurs in the Temple, whilst the rest of the tragedy was in the palace. Another example is that of *Octavie* where Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc (1767–1837) added some local colour and extended the unity of place from Néron’s palace by setting the trial of Octavie in a ‘Tribunal du Préteur’, feasibly situated in the Forum. This court was adorned with statues of Jupiter, Themis, Mars, Apollo, and Diana, who, as Sénèque recalls, are actually present as deities within the court.¹²² In 1817, Antoine Vincent Arnault’s tragedy *Germanicus* overstepped tragedy’s boundaries, Michel Autrand contends,

it is ‘**jour**’ again by III.4, Paris, BMCF, *Polyxène*, prompt book, Ms 439, p. 47 and p. 56. The emphasis is as found on the manuscript.

¹²⁰ For example, there is a different decoration for acts I and II of Racine’s *Esther* (1689), Paris, BMCF, ‘Bordereaux des surnuméraire [*sic*] pour le mois de floréal an 13’, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux chef machiniste, Bouillet 1799–1806.

¹²¹ Melai is speaking of Pierre Lebrun’s *Marie Stuart* (1820), Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 36. Even before the Revolution the unities had been broken, one example (ironically) is La Harpe in his tragedies *Le Comte de Warwick* (1763) which moves from a palace in London to the Tower, and *Coriolan* (1784) where the first two acts are in Coriolan’s house in Rome, and the last three are in the camp of the Volsci. During the Revolution these unities were extended, for example Legouvé’s *La Mort d’Abel* (1793) moves from fields to mountains.

¹²² Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc, *Octavie, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Vente, 1806), IV. 1, p. 42.

because of the presence of statues on-stage and multiple exits.¹²³ The inclusion of more flexibility within Napoleonic tragic compositions reveals how they were advancing away from the ‘classique’ model and preceding later so-called ‘advances’.

Nevertheless, the theoretical unity of place still led to some awkward, *invraisemblable*, scenes. For example, in *Mahomet II* (1811) would women from the Sérail really be wandering through the palace unattended? Could Marie de Médicis and d’Épernon conspire in the same room where Henri held council in *La Mort de Henri IV*? Could the prisoner Siméon in *Omasis* easily encounter the princess Almaïs? Yet when playwrights did try to limit the *invraisemblance* of the unity of place, for example in *Mahomet II* by not showing the plotting against Mahomet in a room to which he had full access, the *Mercure* bemoaned this, wanting to see more of the tragic action.¹²⁴

There is one Napoleonic tragedy which constitutes a severe departure from the ‘classique’ unity of place. In *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur* (1802), Arnault breaks the unity of place in a tongue-in-cheek homage to Corneille’s *Le Cid* and its ensuing *Querelle* by situating the action ‘à Séville, et dans une campagne qui n’en est pas éloignée’¹²⁵ where ‘[o]n distingue Séville dans l’éloignement.’¹²⁶ The proximity of the two settings, but also their difference, is accentuated by lines such as ‘Vous serez dans une heure aux portes de Séville.’¹²⁷ Arnault’s son, Lucien Arnault (1787–1863), was heavily criticised during the Restoration for his play *Pierre en Portugal* (1823) where part of the action was set in Lisbon and part in the neighbouring countryside, yet his father advanced this digression over twenty years beforehand.¹²⁸ The countryside setting of *Le Roi et le laboureur* is emphasised by the *mise en scène* including

¹²³ Michel Autrand, ‘Sur la légende du drame romantique’, *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France*, 108 (2008), 821–47 (p. 831).

¹²⁴ *Mercure*, vol. 46, no. DIV, March 1811, p. 515.

¹²⁵ Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur, tragédie en cinq actes, en vers* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]), p. 12.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹²⁸ Melai, *Les Derniers Feux*, p. 127.

some of the thirty-six extras acting as harvesters with ‘*la faucille à la main*’.¹²⁹ The initial disunity of place is extended further by an imaginary recalled through lines such as: ‘Que ces bois, ces rochers, ces sables, ces rivages,’¹³⁰ a convocation of nature which is positively Romantic in tone, as in Ducis’ *Phædor et Waldamir*.

In his *Cours* Lemer cier re-read pre-existing French tragedy to contain two actions, where one dominates and the other gives extra interest.¹³¹ Thus in Racine’s masterpiece *Phèdre*, Phèdre dominates the action of the play, but the inclusion of Aricie twists the tale, introducing a second action.¹³² Lemer cier finds the balance of these two actions to be incredibly rare, citing but one example, that of Racine’s *Andromaque*.¹³³ Although this questioning of the unities has typically been viewed as ‘romantique’ because they were seemingly challenged by Staël and Schlegel and replaced with a new system by Sismondi, the unity of action had been separated into ‘histoire’ and ‘épisode’ since the seventeenth century.¹³⁴ This pre-existing instability of the unity of action reveals how the ‘rules’ of the classical heritage had been reduced and classicised over time from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century; consequently, the novel ‘romantique’ arguments have seventeenth-century precursors.

The unity of action’s instability continues during the Napoleonic era. In *La Mort de Henri IV*, contemporary audiences perceived the Queen’s jealousy as the driving unity of the action.¹³⁵ It is this jealousy which, when presented with

¹²⁹ Paris, BMCF, Etat des hommes employés au Théâtre Français de la République le mois de prairial an X 2ème quinzaine, 3 AC 10; *Le Roi et le laboureur*, I. 3, p. 21.

¹³⁰ *Le Roi et le laboureur*, p. 82.

¹³¹ Lemer cier, p. 208.

¹³² Gordon Pocock amongst others praises *Phèdre* as Racine’s masterpiece, see Gordon Pocock, *Corneille and Racine: Problems of Tragic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p. 237; Lemer cier, p. 208.

¹³³ Lemer cier, p. 208.

¹³⁴ Staël, *De l’Allemagne*, II, 7–11; Schlegel, *Cours*, II, 84–88 and 119–22; Sismondi, III, 437. The seventeenth-century precedent is confirmed by Abbé d’Aubignac who separates the two actions and calls one the ‘histoire’ and the other the ‘episode’, *La Pratique du théâtre*, p. 118.

¹³⁵ Alexandre Duval, ‘Extrait du discours prononcé le 15 avril 1813 à l’Institut par M. Alexandre Duval’, in *Œuvres complètes de G. Legouvé, membre de*

the triple threat of her powers being limited, divorce, and her children's disinheritance in IV. 5, drives her to license Henri's assassination. However, Henri's murder can in its own sense be seen as the unity of action since this is the motivating force of the play. Nevertheless, there is also a third action. Behind the Queen's manipulation is d'Épernon's ambition as he confesses to the Spanish ambassador in I. 6:

L'ambition.

‘L’ambition’ is brutal in its primary position at the start of the line, occupying a first three syllables with this one word reply, slicing the line into pieces. This ambition, overlooked by contemporary reviews, potentially because the suggestion that those in power were malleable counted as political subversion and could be censored in the printed press, is the impetus behind the Queen’s actions. D’Épernon’s own action is emphasised in the ‘Observations historiques’ of the play’s printed edition which dedicate a specific section to both d’Épernon and the Queen.¹³⁶ Arguably, it is the combination of this double action, the Queen’s jealousy and d’Épernon’s ambition, which culminates in the overriding action of Henri IV’s assassination, just as the two actions unite in *Andromaque*. The mixture of these two actions is strengthened since *La Mort de Henri IV* presents a double fall: d’Épernon falls from grace on-stage in v. 5 as Henri IV is simultaneously slain offstage. Therefore, Legouv   departs from the ‘classique’ unity of action and there is a format similar to the ‘romantique’ unity of interest as advanced by Sismondi.¹³⁷ The disunity of the tragedy results in its double reading, which was a common trait of Napoleonic tragedies as we shall see in Chapters Three and Four.

La Mort de Henri IV is not a lone case. For example, in Chénier's *Cyrus* (1804) there are multiple actions: Cyrus, having been brought up to believe he

l'Institut, 3 vols (Paris: Louis Janet, 1826–27), II (1826), pp. i–viii (p. v).

¹³⁶ Gabriel Legouv  , ‘Observations historiques’, in *La Mort de Henri IV, trag  die en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1806), pp. 77–112. D’  pernon is of particular focus pp. 93–97.

¹³⁷ Sismondi, III, 463.

was Elénor, has his true identity revealed and is reunited with his mother, Mandane. This involves its own subplot of the disguise of Elénor's guardian, Arbacès: he is actually the pastor, Mitridate, who saved Cyrus (Elénor) by rescuing him from the palace where he was sentenced to death as a child, lest he should usurp the monarch. These are different actions, albeit linked, to the power games of the King, Astyage, on the day of the Sun festival. *Pyrrhus* is another case in point: there is the action of Pyrrhus learning of his origins and the psychological reflection this brings, but also the attack on the city by Phanès, who is really Pyrrhus' father, Æacide, in disguise. The unity of action is further displaced from the early nineteenth-century tragic horizon of expectation through tragedies like *Omasis*. As the author of the *Lettres champenoises* noted, in *Omasis* there are three distinct actions rather than one alone: 'vous pouvez choisir, ou de la conspiration contre Joseph, ou des amours de Joseph et d'Almaïs, ou bien enfin la reconnaissance de Joseph et sa famille.'¹³⁸ This author was not alone in his observation and the lack of unity of action was commented upon disapprovingly by periodicals such as the *Gazette universelle* and the *Mémorial européen*, whilst begrudgingly recognising *Omasis*'s public success.¹³⁹ This disunity of action is a diversion from the 'classique' rules and relies upon what seven years later Sismondi would call 'unité d'intérêt'. Therefore, throughout the Napoleonic period there are departures from all three unities both textually and in performance, allowing certain Napoleonic tragedies to extend beyond the 'classique' model.

c. *Nécessaire and Vraisemblance*

After the three unities, a tragedy should obey the conditions of the *nécessaire* and *vraisemblance* according to Lemerrier.¹⁴⁰ Lemerrier retained this Cornelian division, but stated that the *nécessaire* and *vraisemblance* remain inherently

¹³⁸ Jean-François Ruphy, *Lettres champenoises, ou observations critiques sur quelques tragédies et comédies modernes*, 2 vols (Paris: Colnet, 1809), II, 3.

¹³⁹ *Gazette universelle*, VII (1806), pp. lxiv–lxvi and *Mémorial européen, journal de politique et de littérature*, 16 September 1806.

¹⁴⁰ Lemerrier, p. 226.

linked.¹⁴¹ Unlike Corneille whose notion of the *nécessaire* was likened to historical fact, Lemerrier's *nécessaire* 'est ce qui résulte d'une volonté, d'une passion, ou d'un fait, entraînant leur suite indispensable.'¹⁴² *Vraisemblance* can be 'ordinaire, dans les directions et dans les discours des acteurs qui doivent agir et parler en conséquence de leurs mœurs et de leurs conditions' or 'extraordinaire, dans les faits et dans les passions des personnages divins, fabuleux, ou historiquement héroïques.'¹⁴³ However, sometimes the *nécessaire* can be *invraisemblable* and the *faux* can be *vraisemblable*.¹⁴⁴ This nineteenth-century vision echoes the seventeenth-century relationship between the *vrai* and the *vraisemblable*: 'Jamais au spectateur n'offrez rien d'incroyable: | Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.'¹⁴⁵ Boileau's observation highlights the large role played by reception in the *vraisemblable*: whilst a playwright can obey an objective rule in their composition, tragedy's effect lies in its reception.¹⁴⁶ Similarly, d'Aubignac observed two methods of *vraisemblance*: the first emphasised the importance of the audience and its expectations of what was being represented whilst the second concentrated on the aesthetic pleasure of *vraisemblance* through the regularity of the rules.¹⁴⁷ This paradoxical duality of *vraisemblance* was maintained in the early nineteenth century.

Initially, with regard to the *nécessaire* and the *vraisemblable*, historical tragedies such as *Montmorenci* (1800), *Les Templiers*, and *La Mort de Henri IV* were attacked harshly in part because they were historical subjects and could therefore be criticised as both history and literature, although critics were keen to maintain the divide.¹⁴⁸ Therefore, the *Mercur* complained that 'le Henri IV de la

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁴² Rohou, p. 117 and Lemerrier, p. 226.

¹⁴³ Lemerrier, p. 229.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 228.

¹⁴⁵ Boileau, *L'Art poétique*, Chant III, lines 47–48, p. 72.

¹⁴⁶ Forestier and Perchellet have commented upon this paradoxical nature of *vraisemblance*. Forestier, *La Tragédie française*, pp. 96–97. Perchellet, p. 27.

¹⁴⁷ Abbé d'Aubignac, pp. 38–40.

¹⁴⁸ The *Mercur* review separates itself between historical and literary criticism, *Mercur*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, pp. 293–301 (p. 294). Theatre critics were keen to protect their territory and stressed that taking a plot from history did not instantly make it theatrical, *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, 16 May 1805, pp. 983–84.

tragédie de M. Legouvé n'est pas le Henri IV de l'histoire.'¹⁴⁹ Dramatic artistic licence was seemingly erased in the name of historical *nécessaire*. Legouvé was condemned for not showing the famous bonny nature of Henri IV, and the man of the *poule-au-pot*.¹⁵⁰ Marie de Médicis' role in the assassination of her husband likewise caused so much outcry that Legouvé had to include 'Observations historiques' in the printed version to justify its historical foundation.¹⁵¹ Despite these criticisms, Henri's appearance in the fifth act was considered particularly tragic because it was founded in history.¹⁵² Ironically, Legouvé seriously manipulates history in this act: he portrays Henri going to the Champ de Mars in act V despite the fact he was really travelling in the other direction and the Champ de Mars did not yet exist; in the play d'Épernon remains in the Louvre whereas he was actually in the carriage when the assassination occurred; on-stage Sully gives a *récit* of Henri's death in v. 7 when in reality it was d'Épernon who witnessed it.¹⁵³

The imposition of the historical *nécessaire* on the *vraisemblable* can be seen in other historical tragedies. Tragedies such as *Les Templiers*, *Artaxerce*, *Brunehaut*, and *Tippo-Saëb* were keen to provide paratexts justifying the dramatic contortion of history and to asterisk archaic words as 'historique'. However, artistic licence was not universally accepted. Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas (1767–1841) had portrayed Richelieu declaring his love to the Queen in *Montmorenci*, but he was obliged to rewrite his tragedy for publication to remove Richelieu's avowal: the historical *nécessaire* limited the *vraisemblable*.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 296.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., *Epître à M. Legouvé*, p. 5.

¹⁵¹ Legouvé, 'Observations historiques', p. 79.

¹⁵² *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 298.

¹⁵³ Mark Greengrass, *France in the Age of Henri IV*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1995), p. 251. The open space of the Champ de Mars started to be created during the 1760s and 1770s with the creation of the École militaire, Karine Huguenaud, 'École militaire et Champ-de-Mars Paris', available at <http://www.napoleon.org/fr/magazine/musee/files/Ecole_militaire-Champ-de-Mars.asp> [accessed 14 July 2015].

¹⁵⁴ Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, 'Au Sénateur Lucien Bonaparte', in Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, *Montmorenci, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Duval, 1803), pp. v–xiv (p. vi).

In this vein of authenticity, playwrights were keen to obey the local colour of their tragedy: Jouy had originally planned a love intrigue for his tragedy *Tippo-Saëb* but scrapped it because in the local customs women and men do not live or circulate together.¹⁵⁵ The attention to detail continued in the visualisation of local colour through exquisite costumes. Tippo's outfit reputedly came from India, and the Comédie-Française ordered four 'masque[s] de negres' for this production, an instance of local colour which would seem to echo 'romantique' theories.¹⁵⁶ However, contemporary accounts indicate that the Comédie-Française did not always succeed in supplying local colour: the author of the *Lettres champenoises* was disappointed at the use of Western wigs in *Omasis*, believing the Eastern people to have shaved heads,¹⁵⁷ and the *Journal du théâtre françois* lamented the use of Greek costume in Racine's *Mithridate* (1673) which was set in Asia Minor.¹⁵⁸ However, as Staël advocated, local colour was also a way of overcoming *invraisemblance*.¹⁵⁹ when Geoffroy attacked Delrieu claiming that it was *invraisemblable* that the King's soldiers could have let Artaban into the King's chamber, and that they did not rush to their monarch's side when they heard his screams as Artaban murdered him,¹⁶⁰ Delrieu cited local customs: Artaban could reach the sword because a Persian king kept it above his bed and the king's guards did not rush into their master's chamber because Artaban alone was allowed to enter it. Local colour explained how the murder could take place.¹⁶¹ This contradictory reception of *vrai* and *invraisemblable* and *faux* as *vraisemblable* chimes with Joseph Harris's recent re-reading of spectators' conceptions of *vraisemblance*: 'a tragedy's historical exactitude and inherent *vraisemblance* are far less important than its conformity

¹⁵⁵ 'Préface', pp. v–xii (p. ix).

¹⁵⁶ Lanza de Laborie, p. 166; BMCF, 3 AC 17. Talma was known to use face paint in *Othello*. For the importance of 'couleur locale', in 'romantique' thought, see Constant, pp. v–lii (p. xxix); Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, II, 10; Schlegel, *Cours*, II, 226; and Sismondi, II, 444.

¹⁵⁷ *Lettres champenoises*, II, 11.

¹⁵⁸ *Journal du théâtre françois*, 22 January 1804, p. 195.

¹⁵⁹ Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, II, 10.

¹⁶⁰ *Journal de l'Empire*, 2 May 1808.

¹⁶¹ 'Notes des Éditeurs', Étienne-Joseph-Bernard Delrieu, *Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Giguët et Michaud, 1808), pp. 113–39 (p. 126).

to established narratives with which the spectator is broadly familiar.¹⁶² Here, Harris distinguishes between d'Aubignac's two notions of *vraisemblance*, that of the audience and that of composition, privileging the former. Therefore, as in the seventeenth-century tragedy, in 'classique' tragedy the truth can be false; what matters is the *vraisemblance* for the audience. Consequently, although Raynouard, Legouv  , Aignan, and Jouy manipulated historical fact, their failure to represent the 'established narratives' could entail their tragedies' received *invraisemblance*.

d. *Vraisemblance* and *Biens  ance*

Biens  ance, that is making characters behave in an appropriate manner according to their rank, is interestingly absent from Lemerrier's structure of tragedy, despite it being seemingly fundamental since '[c]e n'est que par la biens  ance que la vraisemblance a son effet'.¹⁶³ Yet, *biens  ance* can be found in Lemerrier's definition of *vraisemblance*, which is either 'ordinaire, dans les directions et dans les discours des acteurs qui doivent agir et parler en cons  quence de leurs m  urs et de leurs conditions' or 'extraordinaire, dans les faits et dans les passions des personnages divins, fabuleux, ou historiquement h  ro  ques'.¹⁶⁴ Reproaches against *biens  ance* in Napoleonic tragedies were made both by the contemporary critics such as Geoffroy, and by future generations like Hugo.¹⁶⁵ It is thus important to consider how Napoleonic tragedies conform to *biens  ance* through *vraisemblance*. In doing so, this section will encounter other conditions for tragedy, namely the depiction of characters, passions and their fatality, *m  urs*, and *admiration*.¹⁶⁶

i) Death

¹⁶² Harris, p. 81.

¹⁶³ Paul Rapin, *R  flexions sur l'art po  tique d'Aristote*, cited in Bury, p. 215.

¹⁶⁴ Lemerrier, p. 229.

¹⁶⁵ *Journal de l'Empire*, 27 June 1806; Hugo, 'Pr  face    Cromwell', p. 93.

¹⁶⁶ For Lemerrier's rules on characters, see p. 375, on *m  urs* p. 397, on passions p. 343 and pp. 357–59, and on *admiration* p. 290.

A prime test of *bienséance* is the issue of death on-stage. As a few of their predecessors had done, multiple Napoleonic tragedies included suicide on-stage—one need only think of *Polyxène*, *Ninus II* (1813), or *Isule et Orovèse*—but Arnault went further in *Le Roi ou le laboureur*, overtly portraying murder in IV. 5.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, this is a murder not of a tyrant but of a loyal soldier, Léon, by the King. The contemporary press noted that ‘il est révoltant de voir un roi assassiner un soldat’.¹⁶⁸ Critics argued that this act should have been accomplished by a confidant so that the King would still be guilty in court, but upon realising his mistake he would give up his lover, Félicie, who was Léon’s betrothed, at which point Léon should come back on-stage alive.¹⁶⁹ In a less *merveilleux* version, Arnault could easily have opted to have the assassination committed by a confidant, or to have it occur off stage, but he expressly chose to represent an unjust murder carried out by the King on-stage, with the Comédie-Française’s support.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, Arnault dragged out the death scene: Léon crawls back to the doorstep of his country hut, symbolically returning to the social level he came from, where he remains for the rest of the act.¹⁷¹ This tableau underlined the king’s slaughter of a subject on-stage, forcing the audience to engage with Arnault’s bold disrespect of *bienséance*, a tragic audacity which was not to be repeated for decades to come.

ii) Characters and Rank

Léon’s return to the hut leads on to the next violation of the established model. ‘Classique’ tragedy required ‘grands’ characters, ‘dont les intérêts, le rang, et les

¹⁶⁷ Previous tragedies had involved murder on-stage, but it was still hidden. For example, in *Zaïre*, the star eighteenth-century actor Henri-Louis Lekain had brought the murder of the heroine on-stage in performance, albeit masked at the back of the theatre and in the obscurity of the night, Fontanelle, p. 403.

¹⁶⁸ *Journal des arts, de littérature et de commerce*, 9 June 1802, p. 382.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from the Sociétaires du Théâtre Français de la République to Citoyen Arnault, Chef de l’instruction publique au ministère de l’Intérieur, 23 p[rairi]al an X, (12 June 1802), Paris, BMCF, Dossier Antoine-Vincent Arnault.

¹⁷¹ *Le Roi et le laboureur*, IV. 5, p. 93.

caractères, doivent exciter l'admiration'.¹⁷² Although Lemer cier recognised that the character's personality formed part of the 'caractère', he specifically identified 'rang' as integral to the 'grand personnage'. However, in Napoleonic tragedies such as *Le Roi et le laboureur* and *Omasis* the characters on-stage come from a variety of backgrounds. *Omasis* portrays all levels of society in primary roles, from slaves and pastors to members of the royal family. The press consequently claimed that *Omasis* 'n'est pas, à proprement parler, une tragédie',¹⁷³ and that to make it worthy of the generic title Baour-Lormian had included a love intrigue, set the action under a weak Pharaoh's rule, and had invented the power struggle of Rhamnès, the royal prince and disgraced minister, who plots against his replacement, Omasis.¹⁷⁴ Additionally, the characters are of all ages, from an elderly man to children, one of whom was performed by the star comic actress of the time, Mademoiselle Mars, *en travesti* – a *travestissement* of both genres and genders. Through the rewritings contained in the prompt book it is clear that this social mix is not unproblematic: certain passages about slaves are rewritten and the children's entrance and the family's arrival are delayed until act IV.¹⁷⁵

Le Roi et le laboureur is even more notable for the social mix it portrayed and the reactions that this caused. Although Arnault tried to obey 'les modifications commandées par la délicatesse française', he pushed tragedy's boundaries.¹⁷⁶ The Comédie-Française recognised this tragedy was a 'bataille' and, crucially for an institution which is so often seen as conservative, it supported and furthered such an attempt.¹⁷⁷ From the opening scene, the stage is

¹⁷² Lemer cier, p. 177.

¹⁷³ 'Omasis', in *Gazette universelle*, VII (1806), pp. lxiv–lxvi (p. lxvi).

¹⁷⁴ *Mercure*, vol. 63, no. DCLXXX, April 1815, p. 467.

¹⁷⁵ BMCF, Ms 463, p. 66.

¹⁷⁶ 'Avertissement', in Arnault, *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur*, pp. 3–8 (p. 5).

¹⁷⁷ Letter from the Sociétaires du Théâtre Français de la République to Citoyen Arnault, Chef de l'instruction publique au ministère de l'Intérieur, 23 p[rairi]al an X (12 June 1802):

Citoyen, C'est nous qui vous devons une entière reconnaissance. Vous nous trouverez toujours disposés à faire ce qui pourra contribuer à votre gloire littéraire ; votre ouvrage a été jugé d'une manière qui ne peut y porter atteinte, et quand vous voudrez tenter une

occupied by a mixture of social classes, commencing with Don Pèdre, the King, Alphonse, a courtier, and Diègue, the Laboureur's son. Furthermore, Don Pèdre and Alphonse are dressed in 'habits de voyageurs',¹⁷⁸ entailing the performance of a contemporary form of *travestissement*, inverting the normal rules of society. Then the other main characters are presented: Léon, the Laboureur, is characterised as 'pauvre, mais estimé. | Content de moissonner le champ qu'il a semé',¹⁷⁹ which the press saw as a rank which 'ne peut figurer que dans la farce ou le drame';¹⁸⁰ Félicie his daughter is the virtuous 'honneur de son sexe' who loves 'Léon, simple soldat'.¹⁸¹ As a later editor phrased the battle, '[c]'est une question de savoir si la scène tragique n'est pas en quelque sorte, la propriété exclusive des princes & des héros':¹⁸² this was a tragic storming of the Bastille, just one which failed for political rather than poetic reasons.¹⁸³ However, it did encourage a discussion on the nature of 'grands' characters for tragedy:

[E]n scène un personnage est grand surtout par la situation où il se trouve, par les intérêts qui l'occupent ; et que les hommes y sont moins nobles ou vils par leur condition, que par leurs sentimens et par leurs mœurs.¹⁸⁴

This declaration has both poetic and social ramifications. On the poetic level, it refutes Diderot's theory of a character's condition as more important than his

nouvelle bataille nous sommes prêts à vous en assurer le succès. Nous avons l'honneur de vous saluer[.]

BMCF, Dossier Antoine-Vincent Arnault. The underlining is the Comédie-Française's emphasis.

¹⁷⁸ *Le Roi et le laboureur*, I. 1, p. 13.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁰ Lettre to the editor of the *Citoyen français*, in *Le Citoyen français, journal politique, commercial et littéraire*, 20 prairial X (9 June 1802).

¹⁸¹ *Le Roi et le laboureur*, p. 15.

¹⁸² *Journal de Paris*, 18 prairial an X (7 June 1802), p. 1600.

¹⁸³ Gustave Merlet claims that *Le Roi ou le laboureur* was censored because lots of Republicans attended it 'pour y fêter dans la personne de Don Pèdre le spectacle d'une couronne avilie'. Gustave Merlet, *Tableau de la littérature française, 1800–1815* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1878), p. 216.

¹⁸⁴ 'Avertissement', pp. 3–8 (p. 6).

personality.¹⁸⁵ As such it can be considered as an attack on the *drame* and an avowal of the ‘tragédie de caractère’. On a social level, this statement reveals the construction of an individual, in this view society is made up of behaviour not status, which could potentially be hard to hear for a country coming out of Revolution and re-founding its society. Bonald’s remarks confirm this reading. For Bonald, this ‘tragédie’ mixed ‘des personnes publiques et des personnes domestiques, qui appartiennent chacune à un genre différent de drame, parce qu’elles sont placées chacune dans un ordre différent de société’; Arnault’s mixture was ‘le bouleversement de tous les principes d’ordre littéraire et social’.¹⁸⁶ However, some critics were warmer to the transgression of the generic boundaries: the *Moniteur* accredited the Germanic influence on the tragedy, a foreign influence advocated by ‘romantique’ theorists, and noted how half of the audience supported these novelties.¹⁸⁷ *Le Roi et le laboureur* constitutes a definitive departure from the stipulations of the ‘classique’ rules and contains elements, such as characters from different social backgrounds, a mixture of comic and tragic traits, the murder of a soldier on-stage by the King, and the disunity of place which would feed into the *drame romantique*. This has led Raymond Trousson to identify *Le Roi et le laboureur* as a precursor of *Hernani* and *Ruy Blas*.¹⁸⁸ Consequently, the social mix of Napoleonic tragedies and the redefining of ‘grands’ characters was a step towards later theatrical characteristics and responded to elements of the contemporary ‘romantique’ thought.

iii) Gender, *Vraisemblance*, and *Bienséance*

Evidently, characters could be *invraisemblables* and could go against *bienséance*. The character most criticised for this offence is Marie de Médicis in *La Mort de*

¹⁸⁵ Denis Diderot, *Entretiens sur le Fils naturel, De la poésie dramatique, Paradoxe du comédien*, ed. by Jean Goldzink (Paris: Flammarion, 2005), pp. 135–36.

¹⁸⁶ Bonald, pp. 85–105 (pp. 99–100).

¹⁸⁷ *Le Moniteur*, 7 June 1802.

¹⁸⁸ Raymond Trousson, *Antoine-Vincent Arnault (1766–1834). Un homme de lettres entre classicisme et romantisme* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), p. 147 and p. 150.

Henri IV. Certainly Marie is governed by the strength of her passions, as Lemer cier would desire in a tragedy; indeed, they are so strong that they lead to the tragedy.¹⁸⁹ Their extremity results in her losing all consistency bar her inconsistency, entailing her *invraisemblance* both in theory and in reception. This is confirmed by the *Mercure*'s review, which states that Marie '[choque] toutes les règles des convenances', thus causing *invraisemblance*.¹⁹⁰ Marie is governed by three passions. Like Médée in *Thésée* and Brunehaut, she is avid for power as her exclamatory reaction 'Il borne ma puissance!' illustrates, and she repeats her love for her 'diadème'.¹⁹¹ Similarly to Médée in Mazoyer's *Thésée*, Marie is also plagued by anger, which Geoffroy argued 's'empporte contre toute espèce de bienséance et de raison'.¹⁹² Just as Médée's monstrous monologue was cut for performance, so Marie's rage is kept off-stage, showing the limits of *bienséance* for the contemporary audience.¹⁹³ Further evidence is provided by scenes such as IV. 5 where Marie decides upon Henri's death, appearing on-stage '*dans le plus grand trouble*' which affects her until the end of v. 7. The appearance of the enraged, mad Queen on-stage is interesting: technically, it would go against the behaviour necessitated by her rank as Queen of France and against Boileau's stipulation that this can be accounted for through *récit* rather than action, a technique Legouvé adopts at the beginning and the very end of the play.¹⁹⁴ Legouvé's preference for action alongside *récit* reinforces the fluctuating evolution of model to imitate. This combination of action, deed, *récit*, and its interpretation also acts as a metaphor regarding *vraisemblance*: an author can make a tragedy as *vraisemblable* as he considers fit, yet a large part of the success of this *vraisemblance* resides in its reception by the audience. The distance between action and *récit* thus reflects the distortion between textual and

¹⁸⁹ Lemer cier, p. 329–35.

¹⁹⁰ *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 295.

¹⁹¹ *La Mort de Henri IV*, IV. 5, p. 51, II. 2, p. 19 and IV. 5, p. 54.

¹⁹² *Journal de l'Empire*, 27 June 1806. On female madness in the early nineteenth-century, see chapter four of Christie Margrave, 'Women and Nature in the Works of French Female Novelists, 1789–1815' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St Andrews, 2015).

¹⁹³ Mazoyer, 'Variantes', in *Thésée*, pp. 88–99.

¹⁹⁴ Boileau, Chant III, lines 51–54, p. 72.

performed *vraisemblance*, which resides to a far greater extent in the public and its expectations than the playwright.

Marie's principal passion, and the main cause for her perceived *invraisemblance*, is jealousy.¹⁹⁵ This is damningly declared 'comique, plus digne d'une parade que d'une tragédie' by Geoffroy.¹⁹⁶ Marie was *invraisemblable* because, as a married mother at thirty-six, she was old and therefore could have nothing of which to be jealous.¹⁹⁷ This is a curious subjective judgement: seventeenth-century classical tragedy had many passionate older women—Cléopâtre, Roxane, and Phèdre to name but three.¹⁹⁸ However, the strength of the contemporary reaction against Marie's jealousy as a fate-determining passion indicates that perhaps this was an unacceptable passion for Napoleonic society. The *Code civil* (1804) had legalised female subservience to men and thus it could be hard for the contemporary audience to empathise with such a character.¹⁹⁹ This is supported by the number of female characters who blindly follow their male superiors: Vitellie kills herself when she becomes free after her tyrannous father's death; in *Ninus II* Elzire keeps Ninus's secret despite both his death and her justifiable anger at the fact he killed her husband, his brother; and Andromaque is presented as the model of the good wife supporting her military husband in *Hector*. The stage also frowned upon gender transgression. Although in *Astyanax* Andromaque cried that: 'Je veux aller au camp; | J'oublierai tout, oui, tout, et mon sexe et mon rang' to claim the safety of her child, she crucially does not accomplish this act, resorting to the opposite: hiding her son in a tomb, only to be captured by the Greeks.²⁰⁰

In contrast to Andromaque, Marie does transgress contemporary behaviour standards, swearing at her king and husband on-stage, declaring him to be a 'perfide' and 'ingrat'.²⁰¹ Marie's outbursts were considered to be against

¹⁹⁵ *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 295.

¹⁹⁶ *Journal de l'Empire*, 27 June 1806.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Corneille, *Rodogune* (1647), Racine, *Bajazet* (1672) and *Phèdre* (1677).

¹⁹⁹ For example *Code civil*, Livre 1, titre V du mariage, titre VI du divorce, and titre IX de la puissance paternelle <<http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/evenements/code-civil-1804-1.asp>> [accessed 14 July 2015].

²⁰⁰ Halma, *Astyanax, tragédie en trois actes* (Paris: Masson, [n.d.]), p. 6, l. 5.

²⁰¹ *La Mort de Henri IV*, II. 4, p. 27.

bienséance by both critics and characters.²⁰² Sully's remarks to Marie actively highlight this inappropriate behaviour:

Est-ce à vous d'accuser un dessein magnanime ?

Femme d'un souverain, épouse d'un héros.

Devez-vous lui proscrire un indigne repos ?

[...]

Prodiguez tous vos soins à l'époux qui vous aime...

Eh! N'est-ce pas enfin votre premier devoir ?²⁰³

Sully demonstrates the double failure in Marie's lack of *bienséance*: her behaviour is against her position as wife and Queen. In combination with the recent *Code civil*, Marie was therefore *invraisemblable* and against *bienséance* because rather than acting outside of her rank, she is acting outside of her gender, obedience to which was demanded by the contemporary morals, and thus by the conditions of tragedy.

The discussion of *invraisemblance* and *bienséance* develops the Napoleonic notion of character which was touched upon in the discussion of plot: a character is no longer based uniquely upon rank, as is only fitting after the Revolution, but upon behaviour. The depiction of Marie beyond her gender entails Legouvé's violation of the 'classique' rules, although as previously demonstrated, there is a tension between composition and reception in the matter of *vraisemblance*, as d'Aubignac had already demonstrated.

The gendered nature of *vraisemblance*, which subsumes *bienséance* through the former's emphasis on expectation, is consolidated by the analysis of male characters. Legouvé was reproached for not portraying Henri IV as the victorious *bon gallant*.²⁰⁴ Whilst Marie lacks *bienséance* for her passions, Henri's mistresses and affairs are referred to openly, as are those of Égée in *Thésée* which drove Médée to her fatal passions of ambition and power. In *La Mort de Henri IV* these reports create the lethal blow, both in the rumour of the

²⁰² In relation to swearing in Revolutionary pamphlets see Gérard Walter, *Hébert et le Père Duchesne* (Paris: Janin, 1944), p. 28; As Geoffroy confirms: 'cet excès de démente choque les usages', *Journal de l'Empire*, 27 June 1806.

²⁰³ *La Mort de Henri IV*, III. 5, pp. 38–40.

²⁰⁴ *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 296.

Princesse de Condé and the letter from Henriette d'Entragues in IV. 5. Indeed, both Henri and Égée recognise their role in their wives' misery and jealousy. Henri admits: 'J'ai souvent de l'amour suivi la volupté' and 'Et sans doute, aux plaisirs trop souvent accessible, | J'ai trop peu ménagé ce cœur fier et sensible'.²⁰⁵ This echoes Égée's statement in *Thésée* that 'L'amour fit ses malheurs ; il a causé les miens'.²⁰⁶ Likewise, the letter where Henri promises to make his lover, d'Entragues, queen is more than unfitting for a French king: 'Je t'en fais le serment : tu seras souveraine! | Vois en moi ton amant, ton époux...'.²⁰⁷ After the French Wars of Religion and centuries of political alliance through marriage, France's best king risks all on illegitimate passion. Furthermore, the change in Henri's countenance from act IV to act V, from confident king to a ghostlike figure, was considered superbly tragic.²⁰⁸ Whereas a character's inconsistency should create *invraisemblance*, the superhuman virtue as a heroic ruler of France that imbues the masculine Henri created *admiration* in the audience, one of Lemer cier's key conditions.²⁰⁹ The comparison between Marie de Médicis and Henri in the case study of *La Mort de Henri IV* alongside that of Médée and Égée in *Thésée* has demonstrated the primacy of the contemporary audience's standards, underlining the importance of reception and the tension between tragedy's objective and subjective aesthetic rules.

Therefore, certain elements of these compositions violate Lemer cier's principles of *vraisemblance*, such as the unfeminine behaviour of Marie and Médée, and the inconsistency of character in Henri, Marie, and Brune haut. However, the depiction of the passions is the *nécessaire*, and *vraisemblance* lies in reception. Thus, Legouvé was denounced for *invraisemblance* when it should have been ensured by his adherence to the 'classique' rules and framework. Similarly, the playwrights' periodic departure from the 'classique' rules such as the consistency of character and the portrayal of *mœurs* can be received as *vraisemblance*. The analysis of the characters' *invraisemblance* according to

²⁰⁵ *La Mort de Henri IV*, II. 5, p. 29 and I. 2, p. 6.

²⁰⁶ *Thésée*, II. 3, p. 30.

²⁰⁷ *La Mort de Henri IV*, IV. 5, p. 54. Although some might argue that Armurat transfers the power of his realm to Roxane in *Bajazet*, this handover is not explicit, and moreover, he is not a modern French monarch.

²⁰⁸ *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 298.

²⁰⁹ Lemer cier, pp. 290–301.

their gender transgression has revealed the evolving notion of character based on behaviour rather than rank alone, but as *Le Roi et le laboureur* and *Omasis* have shown, tragedy was still governed by the *bienséance* of ‘grands’ characters. Whereas Lemer cier tended towards d’Aubignac’s dual notion of *vraisemblance*, where the desired effect can be achieved through concentrating on the audience or the aesthetic composition, in the Napoleonic era it is clear that the audience and its expectations were paramount.

e. Pitié and Terreur

The arousal of ‘pitié’ and ‘terreur’ and their combination are the ‘conditions les plus importantes du genre tragique’.²¹⁰ This was how tragedy had been envisaged since Aristotle, although Lemer cier concedes that pity is more effective for the French population than Ancient Greek terror.²¹¹ Originally, it was the combination of pity and fear which led to catharsis, the *raison d’être* of tragedy, and Lemer cier remained aware of tragedy’s ability to ‘purger la terreur et la pitié.’²¹² However, the concepts of pity and terror were not wholly stable: the translation of *phobos* allowed for some flexibility, as did the evolution of the French language.²¹³ Seventeenth-century theorists such as Corneille and Charles de Saint-Évremond (1614–1703) spoke of ‘crainte’ rather than ‘terreur’;²¹⁴ Crébillon then became famous for the ‘horreur’ his tragedies produced; and Voltaire argued people watched tragedy to ‘frémir et pleurer’, and it was the passions of the characters that must be purged of their excess not those of the

²¹⁰ Ibid., p. 235.

²¹¹ Aristotle, p. 10 (49b); Lemer cier, p. 235.

²¹² Lemer cier, p. 235.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 237.

²¹⁴ Pierre Corneille, ‘Discours de la tragédie et des moyens de la traiter selon le vraisemblable ou le nécessaire’, in Corneille, *Œuvres complètes*, III, 142–73 (p. 142); Charles de Saint-Évremond, ‘De la tragédie ancienne et moderne’, in Charles de Saint-Évremond, *Œuvres en prose*, ed. by René Ternois (Paris: Société Française des Textes modernes, 1962–69), IV (1969) 166–84 (pp. 155–58, and p. 161), available at <http://obvil.paris-sorbonne.fr/corpus/haine-theatre/saint-evremond_de-la-tragedie_1740/saint-evremond_de-la-tragedie_1740_1> [accessed 25 March 2016].

public.²¹⁵ For Lemer cier, sympathy created pity: ‘elle nous fait un malheur d’autrui un malheur de nous-mêmes’.²¹⁶ This nineteenth-century view is corroborated by Lehoc who in 1807 attempted to write prescriptions for the best tragic emotions and effects. Lehoc’s recipe for success stemmed from the ‘genre mixte’ (a label simultaneously denoting tragedy’s superiority over *drame*), citing examples such as Racine’s *Iphigénie* and *Mithridate*.²¹⁷ Playwrights should ‘[f]ondre ensemble ces intérêts sans qu’ils se nuisent ou se séparent’, so that a spectator could admire one character and pity another.²¹⁸ *Pyrrhus* was the case study of terror, which, Lehoc believed similarly to Lemer cier, must be accompanied by tenderness.²¹⁹ Accordingly, this pushes the audience to come together as a body against the guilty for the sake of the oppressed.²²⁰ In *La Mort de Henri IV* the people, both at Henri’s assassination and in the audience, unite in the image of the popular king,²²¹ and the tears of the characters of *Omasis* mirror those of the Parisian audience at the celebration of the belated and emotional family reunion.

The impact of ‘pitié et terreur’ was fortified because the tragedy was caused by a fault, not a crime, which not only excused the guilty character, but made such a fall potentially possible for all.²²² Henri’s fall comes from the rumour he loves the Princesse de Condé, a rumour credible given his past behaviour, his fault not a heinous crime; Marie is driven by the blinding passion

²¹⁵ Lemer cier, p. 227 and p. 237.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p. 238.

²¹⁷ Louis-Grégoire Lehoc, ‘Réflexions sur la tragédie de Pyrrhus et sur l’art dramatique’, in Louis-Grégoire Lehoc, *Pyrrhus, ou les Æacides, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Lecouvreur, 1807), pp. 79–94 (pp. 83–84).

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 84.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ *La Mort de Henri IV*, v. 7, p. 74. The audience was recorded as bursting into tears, Ernst Barts, *Gabriel-Jean-Baptiste Legouv   ein vergessener Dichter der Revolutionszeit* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1939), p. 67.

²²² Lemer cier, p. 240:

Il faut donc que le malheur soit grand et m  rit   par une faute et non par un crime ; et s’il arrive par un forfait, il est n  cessaire qu’une fatalit   du sort ou d’une passion extr  me l’excuse dans le coupable[.]

of jealousy and d'Épernon by that of ambition. Likewise, in *Les Templiers*, Philippe-le-Bel realises his mistake in listening to fanatics and the Inquisitor, yet too late; in *Hector* it is Pâris's love of Hélène that rekindles the combats and leads to the tragedy. Similarly, in *Artaxerce*, Artaban is driven by love for his son to murder the King so that he can replace him, only to be forced to try his own progeny who refuses to defend himself. However, it is worth noting that pity could be overworked by the playwright: between the manuscript and the performance of *Polyxène*, much of Hécube's self-pity as mother of Hector and widow of Priam was removed, as was that of her daughter Polyxène.²²³ The tragedy additionally warns against pity, which can unite, but it can also be used to trick: Hécube believes the soldier, sent by Ulysse to take Polyxène ostensibly to 'safety' but actually to her death, because he invokes the name of Hector (III. 3–4).

The terror of the tragedy comes from the horror of the crime which is increased by the hero being in danger, through fate, or through passions.²²⁴ The outcome of these tragedies was known to the audience; many read up on the story before attending the performance and publications such as the *Annales dramatiques, ou dictionnaire général des théâtres* permitted any spectator to be *au fait* with a tragedy's plot and hypertextuality. Thus, the terror of the crime is omnipresent throughout. However, Lemerrier stipulated that terror is really fortified in the opening acts where the characters are developed.²²⁵ This could explain why so many Napoleonic tragedies focus on the domestic setting or open with a council scene where the traits of the primary characters are rapidly exposed. For instance, in *Pierre-le-Grand* (1804) after a scene revealing the bishop Glebkoff's political manoeuvres to launch a coup there is a council scene in I. 2 where he announces the Tsar Pierre's death to a frenzied crowd. Glebkoff details how Pierre has corrupted the country with new customs and presents

²²³ For example, Paris BMCF, *Polyxène*, Ms 25079 (4), pp. 39–41, p. 47; BMCF, Ms 439, p. 16, p. 51; and Étienne Aignan, *Polyxène, tragédie en trois actes et en vers* (Paris: Chez les marchands des nouveautés, 1804), pp. 21–23.

²²⁴ Lemerrier, p. 266 and p. 277.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

Alexei, Pierre's rebel son from a former marriage, as Russia's true heir.²²⁶ This develops two key moments of horror in the tragedy, the first being Alexei's attempted assassination of Pierre. The *Mercure* records that although Séide had killed his father unknowingly in *Zaïre*,

[U]n fils courant l'épée à la main sur son père, en s'écriant *c'est lui*, offre un spectacle si horrible, qu'il est étonnant qu'on en ait pu concevoir même l'idée, et qu'on ait espéré d'en faire soutenir la vue à une nation polie.²²⁷

The result is the second moment of horror: Pierre must pass his own son's death sentence. This horror was not 'convenable'.²²⁸

The effect of many tragedies in reception was to produce tears, *Omasis* was considered particularly tear jerking, and even Joséphine famously cried at *La Mort de Henri IV*.²²⁹ Lemerrier, citing Voltaire, had questioned the suitability of crying at tragedies, arguing it limited catharsis during the eighteenth century and a *Mercure* review declared tears to be the means of *dramas* and novels.²³⁰ Nevertheless, contemporary critics begrudgingly realised that tears were becoming a nineteenth-century way.²³¹ Therefore, in the matter of pity and terror, these tragedies generally abide by the 'classique' rules, albeit with a tearful effect on the audience that was slightly more modern in fashion: tragedy was in a state of evolution.

²²⁶ Although Pierre remains the monarch at the end of the tragedy, this play is very different to a comic hypotext from 1790: 'Pierre le Grand avait dédaigné l'éclat & les délices du Trône, pour se livrer entièrement [*sic*] au bonheur de ses peuples ; comme Louis XVI le fait aujourd'hui pour le bonheur des Français', 'Avant-propos', in Jean Nicolas Bouilly and André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Pierre le Grand: comédie en quatre actes, et en prose, mêlée de chants* (Paris: Brunet; Tours: Letourmy le jeune, 1790), pp. 1–2 (p. 1).

²²⁷ *Mercure*, vol. 16, no. CLII, May 1804, p. 465.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ For *Omasis*, see *L'Abeille littéraire*, 22 September 1806; *Le Courrier français*, 8 October 1806 and for *La Mort de Henri IV*, see *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 294; Jean Nicholas Bouilly, 'Notice sur Legouvé', in Legouvé, *Œuvres complètes*, III (1827), pp. i–xvi (p. xi).

²³⁰ Lemerrier, p. 237 and *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. CCLXXVIII, November 1806, p. 294.

²³¹ Ibid. and Fontanelle also supports the power of tears, p. 388.

f. Acts and Scenes

After the subjective stimulation of *vraisemblance*, pity, and fear come the more objective conditions relating to acts and scenes. Lemerrier stated that a tragedy may have either three or five acts, a departure from d'Aubignac's requirement of five.²³² The three-act schema is also an affirmation of the 'classique' heritage since during the Revolution three-act tragedies became a common form, as Henry Lancaster confirms.²³³ All Napoleonic tragedies performed at the Comédie-Française between 1799 and 1815 followed the 'classique' five- or three-act structure. Most maintain the teleological development of beginning, middle, and end through exposition, *nœud*, and *dénouement* with peripeteia.²³⁴ A notable exception to this is Chénier's *Cyrus*. Geoffroy remarked: 'chose à remarquer, le premier acte n'a que deux scènes' and the exposition is repeated at the end of act IV and the start of act V.²³⁵ Indeed act V is very brief at 165 lines, only ten lines longer than I. 1, despite being a whole act with four scenes. Given the brevity of act V and the padding of the repeated exposition it is possible to consider *Cyrus* as an attempt towards a four-act schema, a form which was not sanctioned by tragedy's rules in 1804.

The characters' entrances and exits, the boundaries of a scene, must always be logical: there must be a reason for the characters' coming and going, and this must be expressed.²³⁶ In doing so, there is 'un lien imperceptible qui enchaîne la pièce entière comme un seul et même tout.'²³⁷ Napoleonic playwrights were not always faultless in relation to this. It is relatively common for a character to exit without invoking a scene change. Sometimes this might be because of the difficult nature of defining what the 'stage' actually is: when Agamemnon goes into his tent in *Polyxène* in I. 3 he technically leaves the stage

²³² Lemerrier, p. 207; Abbé d'Aubignac, p. 277.

²³³ Henry Lancaster, *French Tragedy in the Reign of Louis XVI and the Early Years of the Revolution, 1774–1792* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953), p. 159.

²³⁴ Lemerrier, pp. 311–15 and p. 447.

²³⁵ *Journal des débats*, 11 December 1804.

²³⁶ Lemerrier, pp. 311–15 and p. 447.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

where the performance occurs but his exit and return do not entail a new scene. Sometimes, in a Diderotian vein, there is no scene change because the character is perceived as being unimportant, for example, an officer coming to give a letter in *Tippo-Saëb* in I. 4, or the exit of Aldeir, Tippo's daughter, in II. 3. Elsewhere, in *Ninus II* the extras seem to have no influence on the scene changes. In the same tragedy Zorame, the king Ninus's protégé, 'entre en rêvant' but the new scene III. 2 does not start for another four lines. Indeed, from consulting Talma's individual parts it appears that a span of several lines was the generally accepted grey-area when one scene could overlap with another.²³⁸ Sometimes, though, more important characters' exits were not marked by a scene change. In IV. 11 Zorame leaves to fight but IV. 12 does not commence for another eleven lines. In *Hector* when Polydamas, the Trojan prince and warrior, leaves in I. 5, I. 6 does not start for another three and a half pages. This delay occurs elsewhere in Napoleonic tragedies, such as the double exit of the officer and Raymond in *Tippo-Saëb* in IV. 6, which does not trigger a new scene. Indeed, *Tippo-Saëb*'s printed edition proudly claimed to have transcribed the character's positions on-stage and therefore the neglect of the scene changes bears witness to their decreasing importance.²³⁹

A tragedy is composed of mediocre and capital scenes, which must be included within the structure of the tragic work, according to Lemerrier.²⁴⁰ To be a capital scene there must be a beginning, middle, and end, like the tragedy itself, and ideally each act should have one or two.²⁴¹ There are many examples of this throughout the corpus of Napoleonic tragedies. One example is II. 5 of *Pyrrhus*. The titular character begins the scene with the Queen Amestris ignorant of his heritage under the name Agénor. He declares that he loves her daughter Iphise, which Amestris says she knew already through his body language. However, the King has promised both the crown and Iphise to Pyrrhus, at which point Agénor becomes incredibly angry, only to be told by Amestris 'Oui, seigneur, oui vous

²³⁸ Talma's entrance for IV. 2 is six and a half lines before the start of IV. 3: Talma's role is marked at 'Hector est cher aux Dieux', Paris, BMCF, Ms Rôle d'Hector, CF Ar TAL 5, p. 30.

²³⁹ *Tippo-Saëb*, p. xxviii.

²⁴⁰ Lemerrier, pp. 447–48.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

l'êtes': Agénor is Pyrrhus, and he thus finally acquires the family he has been dreaming of. A similar case is that of III. 8 when Pyrrhus meets Phanès who has just conquered the city. Pyrrhus believes his father to be lost until Phanès reveals he is in fact Æacide. Pyrrhus has gained a biological father but his parent demands vengeance: they must kill the current king, and Pyrrhus's protector, Alcétas. Within the space of a scene Pyrrhus had changed paternal camps from his adoptive to his biological father. Another example is that of *La Mort de Henri IV*, where in IV. 5 where the Queen is pushed from loving Henri, with whom she is nonetheless angry, to ordering the assassination of the Princesse de Condé, before cancelling this and licensing the fatal blow to Henri. Other instances can be found in V. 3 and most famously the final scene, V. 7 when the Queen moves from ignorance of Henri's death, to hearing Sully's *récit* of the assassination, which leaves her realising her isolation at the helm of France. This final scene also complies with Lemer cier's preference for a fully tragic, disastrous *dénouement*.²⁴² However, it is worth noting that several Napoleonic tragedies have 'happy' endings, such as *Omasis* and *Cyrus*. However, as Racine reminds us in the 'Préface' to his tragedy *Bérénice* (1671) which did not end with death either, it is the 'tristesse majestueuse' which traditionally forms the tragic element.²⁴³

g. Language

The generic framework then progresses to the crux of the tragedy's execution: language. The tragedy must be written in a clear high style, which either expresses things simply or adorns them with local colour.²⁴⁴ This chapter has already detailed the contemporary dissatisfaction with the portrayal of Henri in *La Mort de Henri IV*: fellow playwright Alexandre Duval reproached Henri's high language and the *Épître à M. Legouvé* criticised the author for his formal register, though this criticism was not universal and some critics praised the man

²⁴² Ibid., p. 453. This was also accepted by the Napoleonic critic, Fontanelle, p. 402.

²⁴³ Jean Racine, 'Préface' to *Bérénice*, in Racine, *Œuvres complètes*, I, 450–53 (p. 450).

²⁴⁴ Lemer cier, p. 458.

of the *poule-au-pot*.²⁴⁵ This high language was a demand of the ‘classique’ model, by which Legouvé abided despite the well-known, familiar persona of Henri IV. Legouvé also tried to introduce a sense of local colour: asterisks dotted throughout the printed text highlight ‘historique’ language to make the play more authentic.²⁴⁶ However, not all playwrights were as successful as Legouvé: Arnault was viciously attacked for using the word ‘citoyenne’ in a tragedy despite its use by Voltaire;²⁴⁷ Aignan was chastised for his inclusion of ‘chiens’ despite three mentions of it in Racine’s *Athalie* (1691);²⁴⁸ and in *Polyxène* Aignan included proverbs such as ‘Autant en emporte le vent’ much to the parterre’s displeasure.²⁴⁹ The Napoleonic playwrights tried to capitalise on the authority of pre-existing models for greater poetic freedom but their rejection by the public indicates the how parts of the ‘classique’ model were becoming increasingly restrained by its reception.

The high style of tragedy should be rendered eloquent through the use of verse, the alexandrine in the French tradition.²⁵⁰ The ‘romantique’ school particularly opposed this point, and although Constant recognised the need for the alexandrine when he adapted Schiller’s *Wallenstein* (1798–1799) into French, he maintained that the iambic or free verse of German could allude to many more facets of the character.²⁵¹ The alexandrine was openly attacked by other ‘romantique’ partisans such as Mercier with his publication of Schiller’s ‘tragédie’ in prose, or Schlegel who claimed the alexandrine was never a

²⁴⁵ Duval, pp. i–viii (p. vi); *Épître*, p. 5; *Mémorial européen*, 27 June 1806.

²⁴⁶ Asterisks signal vocabulary as being ‘historique’, in *La Mort de Henri IV*, I. 6, p. 15, IV. 3, p. 50, p. 51. In V. 3, p. 66, ‘Ces pressentiments et ces craintes sont historiques’ and ‘Ce fait et tout le récit sont historiques’, V. 7, p. 74.

²⁴⁷ The *Citoyen français* records: ‘l’on a beaucoup ri quand le laboureur a recommandé à sa fille d’être bon *citoyenne*’, *Le Citoyen français, journal politique, commercial et littéraire*, 20 prairial X (9 June 1802). Arnault defends his choice of words, *Le Roi et le laboureur*, p. 117.

²⁴⁸ Lanzac de Laborie, p. 179.

²⁴⁹ The parterre stood up at this line, *Journal du théâtre françois*, 22 January 1804, p. 212.

²⁵⁰ Lemerrier, p. 476.

²⁵¹ Constant, pp. v–lii (p. xvii).

successful verse.²⁵² Nonetheless, Napoleonic playwrights employed the alexandrine demanded by the ‘classique’ rules. However, they also departed from ‘l’alexandrine classique’ as identified by Maurice Grammont through a consistent use of enjambment which in theory should only be used rarely.²⁵³ In the opening ten lines of *Omasis* there are four enjambments and one question within two sentences. Significantly, the verse of *Omasis* appears more like natural speech. This point is also demonstrated by the fact that instead of the tetrameter with each measure being three syllables, there are many lines where in the first half there is a measure of two syllables, and then one of four: for example, ‘Seigneur, loin d’Azaël précipite vos pas?’ and ‘Vos soins, sur l’orient par la faim tourmenté’ (I. 1). This is not just limited to *Omasis*, but occurs in many other Napoleonic tragedies. Although the playwrights could maintain the ‘classique’ division of the line between the two sections of six syllables, contemporary declamation was far from traditional. As the ‘l’inconnu du parterre’ reported to Talma personally, the actor’s diction was:

[U]ne injure faite à la Poésie française, c’est à dire, à la nature de la versification adoptée par nos Poètes [*sic*], et à son caractère distinctif ; conséquemment un abus formel des Règles de l’Art dramatique et de celui de la déclamation : en un mot une subversion manifeste de la Théorie.²⁵⁴

Indeed, *Les Templiers*’s dialogue was perceived in performance as being like prose, riddled with enjambments and pauses in the middle of the line.²⁵⁵ This renders the language much closer to the trimetric ‘alexandrine romantique’ rather than the classical tetrameter.²⁵⁶ Therefore, the Napoleonic alexandrine is simultaneously ‘classique’ and modern in the printed text. In performance it would seem that this verse could be thoroughly contemporary, once again

²⁵² Schlegel maintains that alexandrines ‘dans aucune langue ne sont un mètre heureux’ though they are excellent for parody, Schlegel, *Cours*, III, 283.

²⁵³ Maurice Grammont, *Petit Traité de versification française*, 19th edn (Paris: Armand Colin, 1962), p. 110.

²⁵⁴ Paris, BMCF, letter from the anonymous ‘l’inconnu du parterre’ to Talma, 7 prairial an VIII (27 April 1800).

²⁵⁵ *Lettres champenoises*, I, 39 and 53.

²⁵⁶ Grammont, p. 53.

reiterating the tension between composition and reception.

There are even times when the alexandrine was pushed to its limits. The omen in *Hector* is not in the alexandrine:

Celui des deux peuples rivaux
Qui vit naître l’auteur d’un lâche stratagème,
Par qui la paix n’est plus, perdra, dans ce jour même,
Le plus brave de ses héros.²⁵⁷

This change of metre highlights the omen’s importance, since its misinterpretation leads to the tragedy. Likewise, in *Artaxerce* Arbace breaks the alexandrine as he takes the oath of fidelity to his ruler and brings the poisoned cup to his lips before his father who had sentenced him for treason:

O toi qui punis l’imposture,
Si je suis criminel, soleil! fais à l’instant
Que cette coupe...²⁵⁸

This oath disrupts the alexandrine at the line which directly involves Artaban: ‘O toi qui punis l’imposture’. Artaban now has the choice of saving his son and revealing his guilt, since it was he who killed the king, or letting his own offspring die only to face his trial before the Gods. Altering the verse at moments of significant tension was not wholly novel: for instance, Corneille’s tragedy *Héraclius* (1647) used stanzas in V. 1, but this was not performed at the time.²⁵⁹ Moreover, Delrieu consciously opted to insert the non-alexandrine line into the body of the text as a stylistic effect which can be considered a departure from the ‘classique’ rules.

The Tragedy is ultimately expressed through dialogue, preferably through discourse with other characters rather than through the long tirades which had come to symbolize French tragedy.²⁶⁰ Lemerrier classifies dialogue as either

²⁵⁷ *Hector*, IV. 1, p. 58.

²⁵⁸ *Artaxerce*, V. 6, p. 110.

²⁵⁹ Paris, AN, MS Changemens proposés pour la tragédie d’Héraclius, F/7/4233, p. 12.

²⁶⁰ Lemerrier, p. 484.

‘soutenu’ or ‘coupé’. In the ‘soutenu’ form, the character can develop an idea at length as is often the case in Racine. An example of this in Napoleonic tragedy, as highlighted by Autrand, is Pierre’s tirade in *Pierre-le-Grand* where ‘[l]e tsar expose, dans une audience solennelle, les grandes vues de son règne.’ What is more, ‘[s]on discours annonce structurellement, dans cette pièce qui n’a rien d’antique, les grandes tirades de *Ruy Blas* ou des *Burgraves*’.²⁶¹ This ‘soutenu’ speech must be juxtaposed against ‘dialogue coupé’ as in Corneille where replies of one word or one line allow the action to be expressed.²⁶² This was a tried and tested effect in Napoleonic tragedy. *Les Templiers* contained speeches at forty-eight lines long (I. 4) but also ‘dialogue coupé’ which often encapsulated the play’s most famous lines, such as Marigni fils’s confession:

MARIGNI FILS: Oui, je suis templier.

GRAND-MAITRE: Je le savais.

MARIGNI FILS: Qu’entends-je?²⁶³

The brevity of these replies worked powerfully after the almost sermon-like exchange of ideas earlier in the play. However, even though there were tragic precedents which did not survive into the ‘classique’ heritage,²⁶⁴ the importance of ‘dialogue coupé’ was not to everyone’s liking, and the *Lettres champenoises* believed that the way in which one character finished off another’s lines was more fitting for a melodrama than a tragedy, reiterating the contemporary limits of what was acceptable within the genre.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, a similar occurrence can also be found in *La Mort de Henri IV*. The longest speech is that of Sully in III. 5 at forty-five lines. This is positively short compared to seventeenth-century examples such as Theramène’s *récit* of Hippolyte’s death, which lasts seventy-two lines in *Phèdre*, v. 6. The ‘dialogue coupé’ is also commonplace and successful with staccato exchanges emphasising surprise as in II. 2:

²⁶¹ Autrand, pp. 821–47 (p. 832).

²⁶² Lemercier, pp. 484–86.

²⁶³ *Les Templiers*, III. 2, p. 54.

²⁶⁴ See Vincenzo De Santis, ““Nourri dans le sérail, j’en connais les détours” II. Specificità stilistiche nel teatro di Racine, l’esempio di “Bajazet””, *Rivista di letteratura moderne e comparate*, 67 (2014), 321–36 (pp. 330–34).

²⁶⁵ *Lettres champenoises*, I, 39 and 53.

LA REINE: Comment?
D'ÉPERNON: Le roi remet l'empire entre vos mains.
LA REINE: A moi!
D'ÉPERNON: N'en doutez pas.
LA REINE: Se pourroit-il?
D'ÉPERNON: Lui-même,
 Il l'a dit au conseil.
LA REINE: Quoi! le pouvoir suprême!...

This 'dialogue coupé' also reflects the power d'Épernon holds over the Queen:

LA REINE: On dit?
D'ÉPERNON: Que cette guerre a l'amour seul pour cause.²⁶⁶

The sheer extent of Legouvé's 'dialogue coupé' is demonstrated in IV. 5 where in one 166 lines there are sixty-two changes of speech between the Queen and d'Épernon alone. As with the alexandrine, Raynouard and Legouvé obeyed the 'classique' model for dialogue but, particularly in Legouvé's case, they pushed its boundaries to new levels.

h. Tableaux and Symmetry

Finally, to make a tragedy really succeed, Lemerrier argues that it must have dramatic tableaux and symmetry.²⁶⁷ For the tableaux there should be a change in the number of characters on-stage, and these characters should alternate, rather than the same two or three appearing frequently together.²⁶⁸ Some Napoleonic playwrights were positively Ancient Greek in their character formation where the actors on-stage were limited to three.²⁶⁹ Legouvé only presents more than two characters on-stage in three of his thirty-two scenes: nineteen are between two

²⁶⁶ *La Mort de Henri IV*, II. 2, p. 21.

²⁶⁷ Lemerrier, p. 457.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 489–90.

²⁶⁹ Originally Ancient Greek tragedy had only one actor, this was increased to two by Aeschylus, and three by Sophocles, see Aristotle, *Poetics*, p. 8 (49a).

characters and there are ten monologues.²⁷⁰ On the other hand, in a Greek-inspired tragedy, Luce had a relatively sparse stage for the first three acts in terms of speaking parts, with only one scene containing over three talking actors in III. 4, yet in act IV the stage is full, with up to seven characters plus thirty-five extras.²⁷¹ Baour-Lormian in *Omasis* barely repeats a character formation and several characters which dominate the beginning of the tragedy, such as Almaïs and Rhamnès who are Omasis's future family, disappear after act III to be replaced by a new set of characters from Omasis's biological family. Lemerrier recommended that for dramatic effect the same characters should not appear more than twice together in the same formation.²⁷² Here, Napoleonic playwrights were not so efficient: in Legouvè's scenes between two characters, d'Épernon and the ambassador appear alone five times together, Henri and Sully four times, and there are three scenes between the Queen and d'Épernon.²⁷³ Recurring character formations were common throughout Napoleonic tragedy: Artaban and Megabise appear three times together in *Artaxerce*, as do Brunehaut and Audovere in *Brunehaut*.

Lemerrier likewise advocated a tableau where many different characters with varying motives appear on-stage together, as in Racine's *Iphigénie*.²⁷⁴ Key examples of this are council and religious scenes. The first new Napoleonic tragedy *Montmorenci* opens with a scene where the people are divided into three blocks: 'du parlement, des capitouls et du clergé'. This contrasting tableau can also be made up of individuals, as in III. 4 of *Tippo-Saëb* where Tippo sits in the centre, flanked by the faithful French Raymond on the one side, and the treacherous native Narséa on the other: they are political and moral opposites.

²⁷⁰ More than three characters on-stage: *La Mort de Henri IV*, I. 1, V. 2 and V. 3. Scenes between two characters: I. 2, I. 3, I. 4, I. 6, II. 2, II. 4, II. 5, III. 1, III. 2, III. 4, III. 5, IV. 1, IV. 2, IV. 4, IV. 5, IV. 7, V. 1, V. 5, and V. 7. Monologues: I. 5, II. 1, II. 3, III. 3, III. 6, III. 7, IV. 3, IV. 6, V. 4, and V. 6.

²⁷¹ *Hector*, IV.4, p. 61. Thirty-five extras are recorded in the 'Etat des hommes employés au théâtre français le mois mai 1810 1ere quinzaine', Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 10 Figuration.

²⁷² Lemerrier, p. 489.

²⁷³ The ambassador and d'Épernon: *La Mort de Henri IV*, I. 6, III. 2, IV. 4, IV. 7, and V. 1; Henri and Sully: I. 2, II. 5, III. 4, and IV. 1; Marie de Médicis and d'Épernon: II. 2, IV. 5, and V. 5.

²⁷⁴ Lemerrier, p. 491.

Another example is *La Mort de Henri IV* which opens with the central figure of the King, flanked with the virtuous Sully and the opposing d'Épernon, surrounded by 'plusieurs membres du conseil', exposing the play's balance.²⁷⁵ This opening scene also reflects the condition of symmetry: like Raymond and Narséa, the good in Sully is balanced against the bad in d'Épernon. Similarly, I. 1 balances against II. 1: the King is departing for military glory supported by lots of men whereas in II. 1 the Queen is alone in a jealous frenzy.²⁷⁶ In IV. 3 of *Pierre-le-Grand*, the rival sides are united in Pierre's presence, the head of Pierre's men are in the same room as Gleboff, who masterminds the rebellion under Alexis. The relevant tribes are also there 'Boyards, Popes, Strélits, etc.' in IV. 4 the traitor is brought in to this tableau: Pierre surrounded by his people faces his enemy, his son, dressed 'en Strélits' to accentuate his opposition and the refusal of his father's rank. A slightly happier example is that of *Omasis*, where the stage positions were recorded by the *Correspondance Perlet*. For example, act IV ends with this formation:

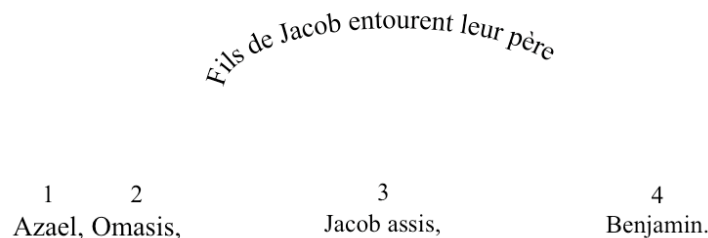


Figure 2. Paris, BnF, transcription from *Costumes des Comédiens Français dans Omasis tragédie* (Paris: Perlet; Fain et Compagnie, [1807]), p. 14. The names are reproduced as printed.

Those representing the State, Omasis and Azael, stand on the opposite side of the stage to the hostage Benjamin, yet Omasis and Benjamin are linked through the central figure, and their father, Jacob. Jacob is additionally seated and

²⁷⁵ *La Mort de Henri IV*, I. 1, p. 1.

²⁷⁶ This gender contrast can be found in other tragedies such as *Montmorenci*, where male characters dominate the first two acts, whereas in act III women are the major characters on-stage.

surrounded by his sons, focusing the attention on the family unit, which both Benjamin and Omasis had left but will be reintegrated into. Whereas the other children are guilty, Omasis was the victim of their actions since he was sold into slavery, and Benjamin was too young to partake in their deed. The unity of these two brothers is then accentuated in the final tableau, where they take centre stage side by side:

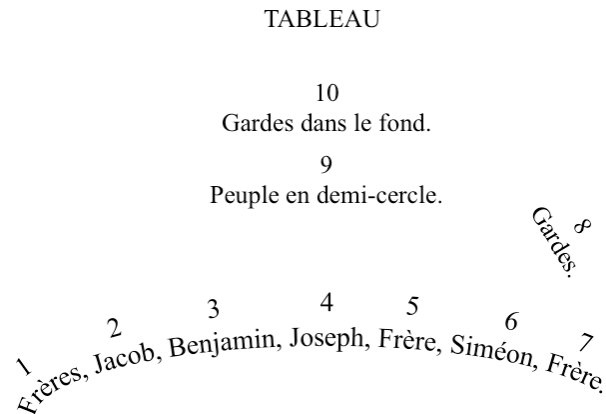


Figure 3. Paris, BnF, transcription from *Costumes des Comédiens Français dans Omasis tragédie* (Paris: Perlet; Fain et Compagnie, [1807]), p. 16.

Joseph, formerly Omasis, stands in the centre of his reunited family, backed by the people and the military guards, visualising the unity he had achieved. Several Napoleonic tragedies therefore demonstrate strong symmetry throughout, following the demands of the ‘classique’ model, though given the role of the extras, this is often much more evident in performance rather than in the printed text.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter we have seen where these new Napoleonic tragedies obeyed and departed from the inherited and contemporary ‘classique’ model derived from the ‘classique’ tragic inheritance. The lens of genre has proved a fruitful means to reconsider the evolution of French theatre history. On the one hand, my analysis has used Melai’s findings for Restoration tragedy to comprehend Napoleonic tragedy in the evolution of the tragic genre in general.

This later tragedy still obeyed the structure proposed by Lemer cier but interestingly in some respects Restoration tragedy was stricter generically than that of the preceding era. For instance, through reading contemporary criticism Melai has revealed how extending the unities was received as tragic treason and how the subject's temporal distance was reinforced, digressions that the Napoleonic era allowed, indeed celebrated. On the other hand, Napoleonic tragedy paved the way for Restoration developments. Genre theorists recognise that genre is in a constant state of transformation, and that the reception of exceptions to the established model 'necessarily presupposes a rule; [...] no sooner is it recognised in its exceptional status than the work becomes a rule in turn, because of its commercial success and the critical attention it receives.'²⁷⁷ The significant increase in modern and national historical subjects at the Comédie-Française is a novelty introduced by the Napoleonic era,²⁷⁸ and, although it was not to Napoleon or Geoffroy's liking, the critical success of tragedies such as *Les Templiers* and *La Mort de Henri IV*, which were performed alongside Voltaire and Belloy's earlier variants on the *tragédie nationale*, meant that this model became increasingly accepted. Other examples include the freedom of the alexandrine, the expansion of the unities, and the portrayal of multiple layers of society on-stage. These liberties were a crucial legacy for the development of later nineteenth-century tragedy. Indeed, Stendhal himself advocated 'la *tragédie en prose* : une *mort de Henri III*, par exemple, dont les quatre premiers actes se passent à Paris et durent un mois [...] et le dernier acte à Saint-Cloud.'²⁷⁹ Following this disunity of place '[l]'art changera de face',²⁸⁰ though it is worth noting that '[i]l se peut cependant y avoir telle tragédie

²⁷⁷ Todorov, pp. 13–26, p. 15.

²⁷⁸ Certainly, tragedies portraying national and modern history were performed at the Comédie-Française during the Revolution (notably *Marie de Brabant* (1789), *Charles IX* (1789), *Louis XII*, *Père du peuple* (1789), *Jean Calas* (1790), and *Washington, ou la libération du nouveau monde* (1791)), but from 1791, despite the freedom of the theatres, there was a decided turn towards the portrayal of ancient subjects with new tragedies such as *Rienzi* (1791), *Marius à Minturnes* (1791), *La Mort d'Abel* (1792), *Lucrèce* (1792), and *Virginie, ou la destruction de Décemvirs* (1791).

²⁷⁹ Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare* (1825), p. 25.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

romantique dont les événements soient resserrés, par le hasard, dans l'enceinte d'un palais et dans une durée de trente-six heures.'²⁸¹ These statements allow us to shed light on the position of Napoleonic tragedy in the evolution of French theatre. Certainly Napoleonic tragedy did not allow the performance of actions over several months, but it did allow the disunity of place (*Le Roi et le laboureur* and *Octavie*, for instance) and crucially it pushed the use of modern and national historical settings, such as the death of Henri III in *Les États de Blois*. It was a vital transition period between the two theatrical movements and for the generic development of tragedy.

Furthermore, the field of nineteenth-century French history has been disproportionately weighed down by the *drame romantique*, but what Stendhal and even Vigny in 1829 desired, like Madame de Staël and Constant, is 'tragédie': it is the genre, albeit updated and transformed, which counts. Stendhal and Vigny theorised about and reflected on what Staël and Constant had discussed twenty years beforehand. Therefore, whereas scholars are currently contesting the *drame romantique* through the study of earlier Restoration drama, by relating it to the wider theatrical life of the time, or linking it to the impact of boulevard genres such as melodrama,²⁸² it is fundamental to realise that Napoleonic tragedy also has its role to play in this scholarly rewriting of theatre history. Napoleonic tragedy was the first tragedy to be performed in the post-revolutionary and reformed theatrical structure; much of the 'romantique' thought which was to foreshadow the *drame romantique* was advanced during

²⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 42–43.

²⁸² See Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique*; Naugrette, pp. 27–41; Florence Naugrette, 'La Périodisation du romantisme théâtral', in *Les Arts de la scène à l'épreuve de l'histoire. Les Objets et les méthodes de l'historiographie des spectacles produits sur la scène française (1635–1906), Actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université de Nice-Sophia Antipolis, les 12, 13 et 14 mars 2009*, ed. by Roxane Martin and Marino Nordera (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), pp. 145–54; Roxane Martin, *La Féerie romantique sur les scènes parisiennes, 1791–1864* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007); Sylvain Ledda, *Hernani et Ruy Blas. De flamme ou de sang. Préface de Florence Naugrette* (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2008); and Roxane Martin, 'Introduction', in René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt, *Mélodrames, sous la direction de Roxane Martin*, 10 vols (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), I: 1792–1800, pp. 11–79 (p. 13).

this period; and these Napoleonic tragedies were the compositions that later theorists saw in their youth or engaged with in their own theories. Given the role of this period's productions in the later developments, the current disregard of Napoleonic tragedy is even more staggering. As existing scholarship has shown, Napoleonic tragedy is denounced as *classique*, although it partly departed from the accepted model, evolving the genre.

To conclude then, we must tackle why Napoleonic tragedy has been denounced as *classique*. I say denounced because *classique* has not been used in a reasoned sense, it has been used to justify these tragedies' disregard. There is a problem with terminology. Owing to the extensive field of scholarship on seventeenth-century theatre, especially in the twentieth century, *classique* has been used in the scholarly world primarily to refer to seventeenth-century productions, at a stretch to those of *ancien régime* France. Despite the raging *classique/romantique* debate in nineteenth-century France, Melai is the only recent scholar to analyse the tragedy of this later period as a whole.

Subsequently, because of the absence of other works on tragedy during this period, today *classique* still chiefly refers to seventeenth-century works when used within French theatre history. Returning to the nineteenth century, many Napoleonic tragic playwrights did join the *classique* camp in the Romantic battle, but this sense of *classique* is not that of the seventeenth-century.²⁸³ Later nineteenth-century scholars such as Merlet who had experienced the immediate post-*drame romantique* period thus use *classique* in a specific sense; its repetition by later scholars has been misunderstood and taken out of context. My analysis of Napoleonic tragic productions through the contemporary generic framework for tragedy has shown how many of these new tragedies did step beyond the established norms whilst obeying by others. Consequently, these

²⁸³ With regards to Lemerrier, see Vincenzo De Santis, 'Introduction', in Népomucène-Louis Lemerrier, *Christophe Colomb*, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Vincenzo De Santis (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015), pp. 1–49 (pp. 44–49); for Jouy see Michel Faul, *Les Aventures militaires, littéraires et autres de Étienne de Jouy de l'Académie française, préface de Jean Tulard* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2009), p. 119; for Arnault's role in attempting to ban *drame romantique* from the Comédie-Française, see Trousson; and for Brifaut see Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique*, p. 137.

productions evolved the generic limits, underlining how genre must be understood in its historical specificity, something the scholarly use of *classique* denies.

Chapter 3

The Rewriting of History in Napoleonic Tragedy

Introduction

The previous two chapters have investigated tragedy in the early nineteenth century to reveal that there was not a stable *héritage classique* for the Napoleonic era and that new tragedies departed somewhat from their inherited ‘classique’ model. This review of French theatre history has helped liberate Napoleonic tragedy from the denunciatory terms of *classique*, propaganda, and censorship, by resituating this production within its own context. Napoleonic tragedies’ major difference to the ‘classique’ structure was the use of modern national history as tragic subject matter. During the Revolution, the subgenre of *tragédie nationale* developed, using history in tragedy to comprehend the past within the present. This was effective: Pierre Frantz has argued that audiences could not always separate this depicted fiction from reality during the Revolution and even into the Consulate.¹ From 1799 then, history was an important vehicle for interaction with the present. Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to understand how new tragedies rewrote history, and what this signified for contemporary audiences.

The study of French historical theatre has benefitted from renewed interest in Revolutionary theatre, Restoration drama, and *drame romantique*,² although Kirsten Posert has established the presence of the structural link between the past and the present in French historical tragedy as early as 1550.³

¹ Pierre Frantz, ‘Naissance d’un public’, *Europe*, 703–04 (1987), 26–32 (p. 27).

² For illustrative examples see Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution, Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Maurizio Melai, *Les Derniers Feux de la tragédie classique au temps du romantisme* (Paris: Presses de l’université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015); Florence Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique en France. Histoire, écriture, mise en scène* (Paris: Seuil, 2001).

³ Kirsten Postert, *Tragédie historique ou histoire en tragédie? Les Sujets*

Yet the Revolution brought change: the collected volume on the historical characters edited by Ariane Ferry has exposed how from 1789 historical theatre created a mythology for specific characters, each with their own hypo- and hypertexts, and how these histories were rewritten for each context with a pedagogical force.⁴ The tragedies of the Napoleonic era occur within this evolution and must be accounted for.

Napoleon and his regime considered history to be didactic, as June Burton's survey of historical writing and thinking under Napoleon and Annie Jourdan's cultural analysis of his rule have both established.⁵ For Napoleon, Jourdan argues, '[l]a réécriture [de l'histoire] a pour tâche de légitimer le souverain et sa politique.'⁶ Therefore, tragedy might treat any period but, in Napoleon's words, it should 'perpétu[er] le souvenir de ce qui s'est fait depuis quinze ans'.⁷ Burton explains that 'the Emperor frequently merged the past and the present into an inseparable whole'⁸ and Jourdan stresses that Napoleon 'incite par conséquent à la représentation de l'actualité' through both ancient and modern history.⁹ History meant education, but as Burton has indicated, it was often taught through other media than professional histories.¹⁰ The *Mercure* corroborated this when it exclaimed: 'Combien de gens ne savent l'histoire que par la tragédie !'¹¹ Tragedy can thus be viewed as an alternative, and encouraged,

d'histoire moderne dans la tragédie française (1550–1715) (Tübingen: Narr Francke, 2010).

⁴ *Le Personnage historique de théâtre de 1789 à nos jours*, ed. by Ariane Ferry (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014).

⁵ June K. Burton, *Napoleon and Clio: Historical Writing, Teaching, and Thinking During the First French Empire* (Durham, North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 1979) and Annie Jourdan, *Napoléon : héros, imperator, mécène* (Paris: Aubier, 1998).

⁶ Jourdan, p. 34.

⁷ Napoleon's correspondence quoted in *ibid.*, p. 230. The letter is dated 6 August 1805, Napoleon, *Correspondance générale de Napoléon 1^{er} publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III*, 32 vols (Paris: Plon, 1858–70), XI (1863 [BnF has 1862 stamped over it]), 65–67.

⁸ Burton, p. 11.

⁹ Jourdan, p. 230.

¹⁰ Burton, p. 40.

¹¹ 'La Mort de Henri IV', in *Mercure*, vol. 26, no. XXVI, November 1806, pp. 293–301 (p. 293).

historical medium; in performance, publication, reviews, and criticism, tragedy educated the new, revolutionised public. This is especially important for post-revolutionary society because it offered a renewed common culture to a heterogeneous public from differing social, political, and educational backgrounds.¹² The variety of allusions offered by the tragedies aided the public to mediate the Revolution—a recent real life tragedy¹³—to settle its heritage, and to assist an understanding of past actions. This in turn helped the public to (re)imagine the French community and to reconstruct the nation.¹⁴ Secondly, discussing the tragic past evokes key *lieux de mémoire* for the French, allowing for both remembrance and celebration.¹⁵ The past acted as an example and as a deterrent, emphasising the peace of the present.¹⁶ Additionally, the recollection of glorious eras allowed France to commemorate its past glory, underlining how much it was capable of in the present and the near future. The use of theatre to link symbolically with the present was very much alive under Napoleon: it

¹² Scholars like to emphasise the ignorance of Napoleonic society. Charles-Marc Des Granges states that ‘Les spectateurs du Consulat et de l’Empire, nous l’avons dit, ont besoin qu’on leur explique tout.’ Charles-Marc Des Granges, *Geoffroy et la critique dramatique sous le Consulat et l’Empire* (Paris: Hachette, 1897), p. 147 and Maurice Descotes observes that ‘[l]es spectateurs de la génération de la Révolution et de l’Empire sont peu instruits’, Maurice Descotes, *Le Public de théâtre et son histoire* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), p. 217.

¹³ ‘[T]he French Revolution is [...] in every sense a tragedy.’ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 425.

¹⁴ David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France, Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London; New York: Verso, 2015); and Heiko Feldner, ‘The New Scientificity in Historical Writing Around 1800’, in *Writing History, Theory & Practice*, ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Arnold, 2003), pp. 3–22 (p. 7).

¹⁵ On *lieux de mémoire*, see *Lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92)

¹⁶ Julien Louis Geoffroy, ‘De la tragédie de Charles IX, et de la liberté que prennent les poètes dramatiques de falsifier l’Histoire’, *Année Littéraire*, II (1800), 3–27 (p. 26).

neither stopped with the end of the Revolution nor commenced only under the Restoration.

The link between the depiction of history and its constructive effects for the present inevitably leads to the topic of tragedy as a vehicle for propaganda. Whereas Maurizio Melai manages to disassociate the Restoration tragedy *Sylla* (1821) from the notion of ‘propaganda’ despite its use of ancient history to depict Napoleon on-stage, which was especially opportune for the Bonapartists,¹⁷ scholars contend that Napoleonic tragedy remains ‘propagande’.¹⁸ Yet as the introduction underlined, we must question this term. Sheryl Tuttle Ross has taken an artistic and historical approach to understanding propaganda using the communication model Sender-Message-Receiver. In doing so, Ross frees propaganda from its modern negative connotations and proposes to investigate the mechanics of the process rather than the Message alone. The propaganda Message, Ross argues, must be ‘epistemically defective’, permitting an ambiguity which allows the reader to believe the Message.¹⁹ Given the Message is inherently indistinct it might be better to speak of Messages. This plurality accentuates the role of reception. As such, it is worth recalling Hans-Robert Jauss’s explanation that in reception ‘[t]he work is a work and lives as a work for the reason that it demands an interpretation and “works” [influences, *wirkt*] in many meanings.’²⁰ The plurality of meanings here is important, and was very much the case in the Napoleonic era, as Cyril Triolaire maintains: ‘[n]ombreuses sont des pièces pouvant se prêter à une lecture politique, indépendamment parfois de la propre volonté de leurs acteurs.’²¹ The reception of plays and their Messages is necessarily a subjective and contingent process; the public does not

¹⁷ Maurizio Melai, ““Sylla” d’Étienne Jouy, ou “le lendemain de Waterloo” : régimes tragiques de symbolisation de l’histoire”, *Études littéraires*, 43 (2012), 41–56.

¹⁸ Patrick Berthier, *Le Théâtre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986), pp. 30–31.

¹⁹ Sheryl Tuttle Ross, ‘Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art’, *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 36 (2002), 16–30 (pp. 23–26).

²⁰ Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. by Timothy Bahti (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), p. 15.

²¹ Cyril Triolaire, *Le Théâtre en province pendant le Consulat et l’Empire* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2012), p. 385.

passively receive. These effects can act on behalf of or backfire on the Sender (here the Regime, its supporters, or those of the opposition), occasioning a site of contestation, or they might be appropriated by the audience as a means of mediating the Revolution. This is not a Napoleonic novelty: the situations above are also the case for Revolutionary and Restoration theatre. The twenty-first-century understanding of ‘propaganda’ is consequently an obstructive term when investigating early nineteenth-century theatre; it denies the subjectivity of the audience and how this theatre is of its time. Taken historically, this communication model can be an enlightening lens to reassess Napoleonic tragedy.

It is imperative to consider how these new Napoleonic tragedies rewrote history, modern or ancient, for their contemporary audience, and how this heterogeneous audience and its press mouthpieces interpreted this rewriting for society. Certainly, the link between tragedy and history is well established. History—in its wider sense of both myths and events—is inherent to the genre. However, contemporary critics realised that there was something specific about these new tragedies. Evoking Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald’s maxim that literature is the expression of society,²² the critic Jean-Joseph-François Dussault (1769–1824) argued in 1807 that tragedy is related to its own time of performance to a greater extent than that of the era portrayed. As such, Dussault questioned whether tragedies such as *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806) or *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte* (1806) would have aroused as much curiosity fifty years beforehand.²³

This chapter has two principal axes of investigation. Firstly, I will consider how these tragedies rewrote history as a means of mediating the Revolution, through the adaptation of the grand narratives and the process from

²² *Journal de l’Empire*, 14 March 1807 cited in Gérard Gengembre and Jean Goldzink, ‘Introduction’, in Madame de Staël, *De la littérature, édition établie par Gérard Gengembre et Jean Goldzink* (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1991), pp. 7–47 (p. 46).

²³ *Journal de l’Empire* 12 January 1807 and in Jean-Joseph-François Dussault, *Annales littéraires, ou Choix chronologique des principaux articles de littérature insérés par M. Dussault dans le ‘Journal des débats’, depuis 1800 jusqu’à 1817 inclusivement, recueillis et publiés par l’auteur des Mémoires historiques sur Louis XVII*, 4 vols (Paris: Maradan et Lenormant, 1818), II, 194.

manuscript to performance then publication. Secondly, I will examine how this rewriting differs between the epochs portrayed. As Frédéric Mazoyer explained, even ancient myths were considered to have a historical basis, and the Bible was increasingly studied as a historical source.²⁴ Consequently, the case studies portraying antiquity are both historical and mythological.²⁵ This first section on antiquity will commence with the study of the Trojan myth *Hector* (1809) and a rewriting of a biblical story, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte*. These tragedies had a profound effect upon contemporary audiences, acting as adaptations of the founding texts of Western civilisation which aided the mass education of the Parisian public. Progressing to more traditionally ‘historical’ topics, I will study the ancient oriental tragedies *Cyrus* (1804) and *Artaxerce* (1808), and how they employ their ancient settings to address themes such as power and the family for the post-revolutionary audience. Moving forward in time and returning to France and French characters, the examples analysed for the ‘modern’ period are *Les Templiers* (1805), *La Mort de Henri IV*, *Tippo-Saëb* (1813), and *Les États de Blois* (1810/1814). Here I will investigate how these tragedies use the depiction of national history as a means to retry recent events, especially the Revolution. Finally, I will turn to some consequences of turning the theatre into a court and observe how the audience itself used historical tragedies to judge and pass sentence on their playwrights. My examination will show how Napoleonic tragedy is far more complex than the modern label ‘propaganda’ allows for and will reveal how tragedy helped contemporary society to negotiate the experience of social and political turmoil.

1. Antiquity

Culture was a vital way of responding to the Revolution, and the rewriting of ancient histories in tragedy allowed the contemporary audience to mediate this event: after all, it was not the first time that political chaos had struck

²⁴ Thomas Römer, ‘The Horns of Moses. Setting the Bible in its Historical Context’, *Leçons inaugurales du Collège de France*, 206 (2013), available at <<http://books.openedition.org/cdf/3048>> [accessed 11 March 2016].

²⁵ Frédéric Mazoyer, *Thésée, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Huet, 1801), p. iii.

humanity.²⁶ The primary focus of these tragic rewritings was the investigation of family relationships. The preeminent cultural historian Lynn Hunt has established the importance of the family during the Revolution, and how it was increasingly depicted in art after its destruction through political events, before the Napoleonic era and the *Code civil* cemented the family's protection and defence.²⁷ In tragedy's inherent hypertextual and intertheatrical manner, these rewritings served as prequels and sequels to some of France's most famous tragedies from the likes of Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine. These early nineteenth-century tragedies thus depicted ancient history and evoked the glorious heritage that this history supplied to the Napoleonic era, but they did so additionally via the memory of their seventeenth-century hypertexts. Through a wide domain of allegory, they recall France's roots within ancient civilisation as the heirs of the Ancient Greeks and as the progressive descendants of Louis XIV's France, allowing the new nation to overcome the disorder of the Revolution.

a. Rewriting the Myth: The Trojan War in *Hector*, 1809

The Trojan War was a popular source of tragedies throughout the Napoleonic era, with tragedies such as Étienne Aignan's *Polyxène* (1804), Halma's *Astyanax* (1805), Louis-Grégoire Lehoc's *Pyrrhus, ou les Æacides* (1807), and Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival's 1809 tragedy *Hector*. This was arguably the most successful Napoleonic tragedy, with twenty-five performances in its inaugural year: more than any other tragedy of this period at the Comédie-Française.²⁸ It represented the success of Napoleonic tragic patronage, and its

²⁶ Regarding culture and Revolutionary trauma, see Katherine Astbury's study of the novel, Katherine Astbury, *Narrative Responses to the Trauma of the French Revolution* (London: Legenda, 2012).

²⁷ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (London: Routledge, 1992). Hunt notes the destruction of the father and fraternal discord, not to mention the 'bad mother' during the Revolution. However, she notes that from 1793 to 1799, the number of family scenes in the Salon doubled, p. 164. On the *Code civil* and the family see pp. 66–67.

²⁸ Paris, BMCF, R 332 and R 333.

author was rewarded with a pension of 6000 francs and the Légion d'honneur.²⁹ This five-act tragedy is largely based on the *Iliad*: in *Hector* we find that Greece and Troy have been at war for years and their two respective greatest warriors are Achille and Hector. The Greeks propose peace to the Trojans, but as the two parties go to meet, a Greek attempts to attack Hector and fighting erupts. Achille then demands to fight Hector; the Trojans believe that they will be triumphant since the oracle stated that the hero of the side who broke the peace will perish. Unbeknownst to Hector, it was the Trojan Antimaque disguised as a Greek who scuppered the peace, and thus the tragedy ensues with Hector's death.

Luce and his audience were more than aware of the cost of war. *Hector* was accepted by the Comédie-Française on 4 June 1807 prior to the peace treaty of Tilsit, and the first performance on 1 February 1809 was just after the Battle of Corunna on 16 January 1809 and during the second siege of Zaragoza.³⁰ War was thus very much present, and peace fleetingly short. After decades of fighting, Hector's Trojans could very much have been Parisians: 'Un peuple triomphant entoure le palais ; | Et tous, à mon aspect, ont répété : La paix !'³¹ Social cohesion is promoted in *Hector*, as in *Polyxène*, by the ability to empathise with the opposing side. Andromaque originally rejects the Greek Patrocle shouting 'Traître ! fuyez : d'un Grec l'aspect me fait frémir !'³² Andromaque spurned him simply because he was Greek. However, when they converse Andromaque discovers she can sympathise and unite with Patrocle

²⁹ *L'Opinion du parterre*, VIII (1811), 165. 'Sur Luce de Lancival', in *Œuvres de Luce de Lancival, précédés d'une notice par M. Colin de Plancy, et des discours prononcés sur sa tombe par MM. Deguerle, Lacretelle et Roger de l'Académie française*, 2 vols (Paris: Brissot-Thivars, 1826), I, pp. i–xv (p. xi).

³⁰ François Jacob has argued that Luce wrote his tragedy in 1808 when France was bringing European peace. François Jacob, 'Fin de la tragédie et tragédie de la fin : à propos de l'"Hector" de Luce de Lancival', in *Regards sur la tragédie 1736–1815*, ed. by Karine Bénac-Giroux and Jean-Noël Pascal (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2010), pp. 159–73 (pp. 166–67). However, this is contradicted by archival evidence in the *Registre du Comité de lecture*, Paris, BMCF, Ms R 450.

³¹ Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, *Hector, tragédie en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs fragmens imités de l'Iliade, et d'une scène du rôle d'Hélène que l'auteur a supprimé* (Paris: Chaumerot, 1809), I. 6, p. 21.

³² *Ibid.*, II. 9, p. 36.

through their common interest to avoid bloodshed, with Patrocle stating: ‘Grec, Troyen, quel qu’il soit, mon honneur offensé | A percer ce mystère est trop intéressé’.³³ Likewise, in *Polyxène*, Agamemnon and Hécube should be enemies but they bond through the common threat of their daughters’ sacrifice. Crucially, these tragedies portray not just the unification of different sides, but their focus on the heroes underlines how even those with opposing opinions can come together through their common interests, terminating the conflict, whether that conflict be the Trojan War or the French Revolution.

Love is another major theme in this rewriting, both that of couples and that of the family. Luce rewrote his own tragedy to remove the character of Hélène who had been acting as Andromaque’s confidante in earlier versions.³⁴ The tragedy opens with a domestic scene between Hector and Andromaque, though Hector’s military uniform demonstrates his private and public character. Similarly, their status as a public couple is underlined by the fact that they have as many scenes between the two of them alone as they do before their subjects.³⁵ Andromaque is the virtuous wife, the support of her husband, echoing the Napoleonic marriage model: ‘Tu sais que, pour moi, la vie est mon époux’.³⁶ The tableau of Hector and Andromaque’s separation in act V is poignant: it ends at ‘Adieu, chère Andromaque!...’ extended by the ellipsis, then her embrace of Hector, and her seclusion on-stage as she ‘le suit long-temps des yeux’, allowing a juxtaposition between the tableau of the couple and that of her isolation.³⁷ This was the climactic moment of the tragedy and the image of Hector managing both

³³ Ibid., II. 9, p. 38.

³⁴ Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, ‘Variantes et Fragments’, in Luce de Lancival, *Hector*, pp. 81–88 (p. 81).

³⁵ The text indicates that they are alone as a couple in I. 1, I. 6, and III. 2, but in III. 5 they are joined by a ‘troupe de guerriers’, in IV. 2 Céphise, Polydamas, Euphorbe, and the ‘suite’ are on-stage, and finally in V. 1, the scene of their final separation is before Céphise and the suite.

³⁶ *Hector*, V. 1, p. 71. Owing to the *Code civil* where women were under the tutelage of either their father or later their husband, in the Napoleonic era ‘La femme est avant tout une épouse et une mère’, see Emmanuelle Papot, ‘Petit Point sur le statut de la femme en France au XIX^e siècle’, available at <http://www.napoleon.org/fr/salle_lecture/articles/files/femme_papot_2007.asp> [accessed 17 March 2016].

³⁷ *Hector*, V. 1, pp. 72–73.

his family and country was extended further by the print of the noble couple which adorned printed copies of *Hector*.³⁸ Here, Andromaque embraces Hector, one hand on his heart, the other on his shoulder bringing him closer to her, her eyes closed in suffering, whilst Hector dressed in his military uniform opens his arms to accept his fate and narrate the future glory of his people, eyes and hand pointed toward the heavens.



Figure 1. Coventry, University of Warwick Modern Records Centre, Marandet Collection, *Hector*, p. ii. Reproduced with permission.

The powerful effect of this couple can be seen in a copy of *Hector* at the Bibliothèque nationale de France once belonging to ‘Mde du Chambge’, potentially the widow of Pierre Joseph du Chambge d’Elbhecq (1733–1793), a general of the Revolutionary army. Du Chambge annotated her copy extensively with the same pen as that used to write her name, focusing on scenes between

³⁸ Ibid., p. ii.

Hector and Andromaque. She remarked upon Hector's love for his wife, in lines such as 'Pour moi, ton regard seul a payé mes travaux. | Ton regard seul m'anime à des succès nouveaux...'.³⁹ Family had a profound impact: du Chambge highlighted the lines Hector utters to Pâris at the height of fraternal tensions 'Mais, en te condamnant, je suis encore ton frère',⁴⁰ and she was taken by Hector's triple duty to his father, wife, and son at the end of act I.⁴¹ It is striking to see how du Chambge underlined, with urgency in the pen pressure, Andromaque's double cry in IV. 1 'Je ne le verrai plus!' and how by V. 1 she had come to embody Andromaque's role, marking nearly all of Andromaque's lines in V. 1, the scene where she and Hector separate before the latter's death. Du Chambge's annotations reveal quite how extensively *Hector*'s depiction of love served to mediate social relationships and loss. Likewise, the fact that a tragedy entitled *Les Adieux d'Hector et d'Andromaque* was presented to the Comédie-Française in 1813 proves how the subject was still deemed relevant to members of Napoleonic society.⁴²

Although love can be a tricky subject within tragedies and some Napoleonic tragedies such as *Annibal* (1811) decided to ignore it entirely, the legitimate love between Hector and Andromaque is emphasised as the right mode of love by its comparison to that of Pâris and Hélène. The danger of this love is exposed through this opposing dialogue between the selfish male lover and the virtuous female wife:

PARIS:	Hélène fuit Pâris !
ANDROMAQUE:	Elle suit son époux.
PARIS:	Elle retourne à Sparte !
ANDROMAQUE:	Elle sauve Pergame.
PARIS:	Amour, inspire-la !

³⁹ Paris, BnF, Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, *Hector, tragédie en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs fragmens imités de l'Iliade, et d'une scène du rôle d'Hélène que l'auteur a supprimé* (Paris: Chaumerot, 1809), Z ROTHSCHILD-10843, I. 1, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., I. 5, p. 19.

⁴¹ Ibid., I. 6, p. 22.

⁴² Registre du comité d'administration du Théâtre Français de S. M. Empereur et Roi, 17 March 1813, Procès-verbaux des séances du comité, Paris, BMCF, R 416.

The opposition of 'Pâris' and 'époux', 'Sparte' and 'Pergame', in addition to the double noun and imperative combination means that the juxtaposition between these two visions could not be clearer. This exchange is followed by a melancholic, desperate speech 'avec transport' from Pâris filled with exclamations which contrast heavily with the heroic and rational Hector.⁴⁴ Indeed, it is Hélène and Pâris's illegitimate love, love as a passion, which leads to the tragedy; Pâris dispatches Antimaque in disguise as a Greek to halt the peace, and his feigned attack on Hector causes the new combat and the misreading of the oracle. Talma rewrote the lines he spoke as Hector to take out the political ramifications of Pâris's love, and the latter's expression of his entrapment between father and lover.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, Pâris realises his mistake and at the news of Hector's death he declaims 'voilà mon ouvrage !': passionate love fatally overcame that of the family.⁴⁶

Familial love is central to *Hector*. Even as Hector leaves to fight he must say goodbye to his mother as well as to Andromaque. Both Andromaque and Hector are very conscious of their place within their heritages. Andromaque recounts how her parents and her brothers were killed by Achille: 'Toujours Achille ! Achille abreuvé de mon sang!...'.⁴⁷ Whereas this intertextual family tree had been perceived as boring in *Polyxène* and *Astyanax*,⁴⁸ here it is welcomed,

⁴³ *Hector*, II. 6, p. 33.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 6, p. 34.

⁴⁵ The lines removed included the following:

Tyndare en la domaine au second fils d'Atrée
Malgré la foi peut-être à son amant jurée,
A donc forcé Pâris d'opposer à son tour,
Au pouvoir paternel le pouvoir de l'amour.

Paris, BMCF, Ms Rôle d'Hector, CF Ar TAL 5, p. 9 (making reference to *Hector*, I. 3, p. 11).

⁴⁶ *Hector*, V. 5, p. 80.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 1, p. 70.

⁴⁸ Étienne Aignan, 'Avant-Propos', in Étienne Aignan, *Polyxène, tragédie en trois actes et en vers* (Paris: Chez les Marchands de nouveautés, 1804), pp. 1–7

potentially because the heroic Hector was not yet defeated, whereas in *Polyxène* and *Astyanax* Priam and his son Hector are already dead before the start of the play. In *Hector*, Andromaque makes reference to what will become of her: ‘Songe au moins, cher époux, | Songe, si tu pérís, que c’en est fait de nous.’⁴⁹ In this sense Luce rewrote the myth to act as a prequel to Racine’s *Andromaque* (1668). *Hector* thus increased the shared knowledge of the Trojan war, an event deemed by contemporaries to be central to their common culture, a project Luce was familiar with from his role in the imperial university where the aim was ‘donne[r] naissance à une Éducation nationale, entendu comme une éducation contribuant à la construction de la nation.’⁵⁰ Luce was very mindful of the national reconstruction project and as such it is no surprise that *Hector* was taken on military campaigns and Napoleon branded it a ‘pièce de *quartier général*’.⁵¹ Moreover, *Hector* not only played upon the memory of the ancient world and the fact that Napoleonic France saw itself as the heirs of the Greeks, the founders of Western civilisation, but *Hector* additionally invokes one of France’s most renowned tragedies composed under the patronage of Louis XIV during the heyday of French cultural glory. The invocation of this multi-layer memory, therefore, increased France’s glory in the present: it was an asset which foreigners such as Britain and the German lands were considered not to possess, and it indicated what France could achieve in the future.

(p. 2); *Journal du théâtre françois*, 22 January 1804, p. 207; *Journal de Paris*, 10 August 1805, pp. 2260–61.

⁴⁹ *Hector*, III. 5, p. 50.

⁵⁰ Jacques-Olivier Bourdon, ‘Napoléon organisateur de l’université’, *Revue du souvenir napoléonien*, 464 (2006) available at <http://www.napoleon.org/fr/salle_lecture/articles/files/universite_Boudon_RSN_464_mai2006.asp> [accessed 4 March 2016] (paras 29 and 33).

⁵¹ The following copy was taken from the carriage of Joseph Bonaparte after the Battle of Vitoria in 1812: Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, *Hector, tragédie en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs fragmens imités de l’Iliade, et d’une scène du rôle d’Hélène que l’auteur a supprimé* (Paris: Chaumerot, 1809), Windsor, Royal Collection, RCIN 1078998. With regards to Napoleon’s remarks, see Emmanuel Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou Journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu’a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois*, 2nd edn, 8 vols (Paris: Dépôt du Mémorial, 1824), II, 337.

In terms of memory within the tragedy's action, Hector is aware of his celebrated status, the glorious heritage, and his memory that he is passing onto his son:

Mais je veux à mon fils laisser un grand exemple.
Il peut n'avoir un jour ni sceptre, ni trésor :
Pour l'héritage, au moins qu'il ait le nom d'Hector !⁵²

This passage is vital in the context of the performance because certainly these lines refer to Astyanax, their son, but at the same time 'l'héritage d'Hector' becomes an abstract entity, an 'exemple', which could in theory be applicable to others apart from Hector's immediate descendants: symbolic descendants like Napoleon. Hector continues:

Mille fois tu m'as dis, en contemplant ses traits,
Qu'ils offroient à tes yeux le plus doux des portraits ;
Tu l'aimeras !... Et vous, dieux, prenez sa défense !
D'un Hector au berceau, dieux ! protégez l'enfance !
Si l'ordre du destin nous sépare aujourd'hui,
Pour vous servir encor, que je revive en lui !
S'il règne, qu'il soit juste, et s'il le faut, sévère ;
Qu'il fasse tout le bien que j'aurois voulu faire !
Qu'il voue à la Patrie et son bras et son cœur !
Qu'armé pour elle seule, il soit toujours vainqueur !⁵³

Hector now lives on through 'traits', 'portraits', and an independent 'lui'. Contemporary periodicals, such as the *Journal de l'Empire* in April 1815, recorded how these lines and imaginary were received as direct *applications* for Napoleon.⁵⁴ Another such *application* was Hector's declaration 'Quel que soit, à mes yeux, l'attrait de la victoire, | Rendre heureux mon pays est ma première gloire.'⁵⁵ In the mouth of Hector these words directly symbolise Napoleon, but interestingly for a couplet so associated with the propaganda message of the play,

⁵² *Hector*, V. 1, p. 72.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, V. 1, p. 72.

⁵⁴ *Journal de l'Empire*, 23 April 1815.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Hector*, I. 3, p. 12.

they are not Luce's words; they are Talma's.⁵⁶ Napoleon's on-stage double rewrote his part to create lines which were to become associated with the favourable image of his patron. Intended or not, the tragedy's Message was received.

The new tragedy's references were prepared by intertheatrical programming. Despite its reception in June 1807 and Luce's hopes for a performance to take place in October 1808,⁵⁷ *Hector* was not performed for nearly another six months. When it was finally announced it was delayed by a 'circonstance particulière' and replaced by Racine's *Iphigénie* (1675).⁵⁸ As the *Gazette nationale* explained, 'c'était mettre les spectateurs sur le chemin de Troye, de ces lieux à jamais célèbres qu'ils allaient visiter de nouveau.'⁵⁹ This intertheatrical preparation was a tried and tested intertheatrical technique: Corneille's *Médée* (1639) was performed on 22 November 1800 where verses in favour of Mazoyer were read,⁶⁰ so that the critic Julien Louis Geoffroy immediately termed Mazoyer's *Thésée* (1800) '[u]ne seconde Médée' when it was performed on 25 November 1800 and the character of Médée reappeared.⁶¹ This intertheatricality does not entail the simple indebtedness of Napoleonic compositions to pre-existing tragedy, but it exposes the meaningful, living, and immediate dialogue between Napoleonic tragedies, their hypotexts, and French cultural memory.

⁵⁶ 'Quelque espoir dont l'orgueil ait pu flatter mon âme | Je desire [illegible] Quelque soit à mes yeux l'attrait de la victoire | rendre heureux mon pays est ma première gloire.' BMCF, CF Ar TAL 5, p. 10. The struck through type symbolises the words which have been crossed out on the original document, and italics indicate the new handwritten revisions.

⁵⁷ BMCF, R 450; Letter Luce de Lancival to Lafon 9 July 1808, Luce apologises to Lafon for making his role a secondary character and mentions he thinks the tragedy will be performed in October 1808. Paris, BMCF, Dossier Luce de Lancival.

⁵⁸ *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, 3 February 1809, pp. 133–34.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ The performance is documented in the registre des feux, Paris, BMCF, R 324. The audience support of Mazoyer is recorded in *Journal des arts, de littérature et de commerce*, 26 December 1800, p. 14.

⁶¹ *Journal des débats*, 27 November 1800.

There is another possibility to explain this performance's intertheatricality. Mara Fazio investigates the relationship between Talma and Napoleon. She cites Louis-François-Hilarion Audibert (1797–1861), who recalls that during a performance of *Iphigénie* an account of a battle was passed about and when Talma came on-stage as Achille: 'On crut voir Achille lui-même ; plus encore qu'Achille, celui dont on venait de dire les exploits.' As Fazio explains, '[a]insi la présence de Talma se mêle à une victoire nationale.'⁶² Napoleon was likewise associated with Achille in *Polyxène*, who 'a paru dans sa loge au moment où Talma prononçait le nom d'Achille'.⁶³ As we saw in Chapter One, the association of Talma and Napoleon was developed through performance, especially within this ancient setting. Indeed, as the contemporary Joseph Lavallé (1747–1816) recorded in 1803, antiquity was a fluid space in the theatre since theatrical costume carelessly mixed Spartans and Babylonians.⁶⁴ Therefore, even within the specific settings of each tragedy, all of these tragedies could fall into the same imagined space within performance. Looking at the 1815 review when *Hector* was revived during the 100 Days, Napoleon could at once embody Hector on-stage through Talma and the imaginary of Achille who never appears, but whom Talma symbolised in the frequently performed *Iphigénie*. Thus when Hector cries 'Il reparoît enfin!!' in 1815 the audience 'en détournant le sens qu'ont ces trois mots dans la bouche du personnage, les a reportés, dans une acception de respect et d'enthousiasme, vers le monarque [Napoleon]'.⁶⁵

⁶² Fazio is citing Louis-François-Hilarion Audibert, 'Talma', in *Le Plutarque français, vies des hommes et femmes illustres de la France*, 8 vols (Paris: Crapelet, 1835–41), VIII (1841), 1–28 (pp. 20–21), in Fazio, p. 117. Audibert does not reference which battle he is referring too, but at the beginning of the paragraph he speaks of Austerlitz (1805) and Jena (1806).

⁶³ *Journal de Paris*, 15 January 1804, p. 709.

⁶⁴ Joseph Lavallé, quoted in *Romantic and Revolutionary Theatre, 1789–1860*, ed. by Donald Roy (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 395. Another example of mixed costume is the use of ancient Greek costume in *Mithridate*, although it was meant to be set in Asia Minor, *Journal du théâtre français*, 22 January 1804, p. 195. Details of the Comédie-Française's use of authentic elements such as lace can be traced through Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 17 habillement a. factures de costumes 1799–1839. Tippo-Saëb's costume reputedly came from India, Lanzac de Laborie, p. 166.

⁶⁵ *Journal de l'Empire*, 23 April 1815.

Therefore, although Hector and Achille occupy very different sides, and Luce and Racine are of different periods, the theatre acts as a dynamic space where the fluidity of antiquity combined with the presence of the actor Talma allowed the figure of Napoleon to metamorphose into the supreme hero. Moreover, despite its heterogeneity France can unite in this champion, in its post-revolutionary ruler. Indeed, the Napoleonic nationalistic nature of this play can be seen by the fact that Napoleon was listed by hand as the author in one copy.⁶⁶ *Hector* might constitute propaganda, but it is far from being a simple act of persuasion, as the use of ‘propagande’ by theatre historians often implies. Propaganda relies upon a nexus of parallels and ambiguity, and thus its reception cannot be guaranteed. The intricacy of these associations is evident when in 1814 the Bourbons only had to retouch Pierre-Antoine Lebrun’s *Ulysse* (1814) to make the allusions fit the monarchy rather than the Napoleonic regime it had been prepared for.⁶⁷ The epistemic defectiveness allows the Message to be appropriated by different factions, contesting the success of propaganda but letting society work through its post-revolutionary tensions.

b. Rewriting the Bible: *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte*, 1806

Turning now to other sources, Pierre Baour-Lormian adapted an *histoire* from the Bible, a text which had been reintegrated into French life by the Concordat of 1801, for his tragedy *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte* which premiered on 13 September 1806 and which was revived for the *prix décennaux* in 1810. The rewriting of this biblical story from the Book of Genesis features a poignant family reunion and had the Parisian public in tears.

The theme of the family is of the utmost importance in this play. As in other tragedies, family is a key site of transmission, and Omasis (Joseph) can cite ‘Abraham, mon aïeul’ and how he is ‘issu des premiers rois du monde’, despite having been a slave.⁶⁸ The scene of the reunion between Jacob and Omasis and his other sons was significantly rewritten. Originally this occurred at the end of

⁶⁶ Royal Collection, RCIN 1078998.

⁶⁷ Fazio, p. 178.

⁶⁸ Pierre-Marie-François Baour-Lormian, *Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Vente, 1807), I. 1, p. 8 and I. 2, p. 12.

act III but the 1806 rewriting in the prompt book delays this event until act IV, extending the dramatic interest.⁶⁹ The importance of the moment is emphasised by a tableau where everyone kneels down at Omasis's entrance in IV. 3, except for Jacob, who cannot. When Jacob hears Omasis's voice he stops crying: 'Vos accens [*sic*] pleins de charmes | Pour la premiere [*sic*] fois ont suspendu mes larmes.'⁷⁰ Jacob still does not know Omasis to be Joseph, but Jacob's declaration shows the power of non-verbal communication and the inherent familial bond that other Napoleonic tragedies also present. It is striking to note that this too is a rewriting added by the theatre rather than the author alone in the prompt book, tailoring the tragedy to audience expectations. Similarly, the full recognition scene between Jacob and his family and Joseph was rewritten to increase its emotive impact.⁷¹ Originally three lines followed the declaration 'Je suis Joseph' but in the final printed version it became:

OMASIS :	Il vous parle ; il revoit son vieux pere [<i>sic</i>] ! Je suis Joseph !
TOUS :	Joseph !!!
JOSEPH :	Oui, Joseph, votre frere [<i>sic</i>] [.] ⁷²

The triple repetition of 'Joseph' occupies half of the line's syllables and the change of the interlocutor's name emphasises this revelation to readers. Baour-Lormian's tragedy, therefore, not only rewrote the biblical *histoire* to focus on the family reunion, but it was again rewritten through performance, revealing the significance of this theme for Napoleonic audiences.

Omasis also investigates the passions that led to the division of this family, namely Siméon's jealousy. Indeed, Omasis actually voices how frequently such division occurs:

On a vu bien souvent des freres [*sic*] divisés
Par un orgueil jaloux l'un et l'autre opposés ;
Bien souvent leurs débats, excités par l'envie,

⁶⁹ Paris, BMCF, *Omasis* prompt book, Ms 463, p. 81 onwards.

⁷⁰ *Omasis*, IV. 3, p. 56.

⁷¹ BMCF, Ms 463, pp. 150–53.

⁷² BMCF, Ms 463, p. 154 and *Omasis*, V. 4, p. 67.

The ensuing conversation with Siméon was also heavily amended in the prompt book, highlighting that this was a moment of particular dramatic tension. The inability of brothers to live happily together was a reality during the Revolution as Lynn Hunt has observed, and thus its inclusion and importance in such a successful and emotive post-revolutionary tragedy can hardly go unnoticed.⁷⁴ Siméon's hateful monologue against Omasis was toned down for 1810, and the family was brought on-stage earlier at the end of act III, hinting at a sense of healing which was not possible in 1806.⁷⁵ In both versions Omasis and Siméon's embrace at the end of the tragedy suggests that reconciliation is possible. Yet there are limits to fraternity: theatre critics praised the rewriting whereby Almaïs, Omasis's betrothed, no longer came on-stage asking for forgiveness for her brother Rhamnès; by attempting to assassinate Omasis he had gone too far.⁷⁶ Significantly, the power struggle between Rhamnès, a prince of royal blood and a disgraced minister, and Omasis, in addition to the engagement of Omasis with Rhamnès's sister, Almaïs, was an invention in Baour-Lormian's adaptation of the biblical text. Whilst portraying the reunification of Joseph's clan, this rewriting thus allowed Baour-Lormain to stress how families are destroyed. It is not just Siméon who succumbs to jealousy and breaks his family by selling Joseph into slavery, but Rhamnès devastates his family by attempting to murder Omasis: such division occurs in all layers of society.

The inclusion of Rhamnès also accentuated the social mix of the tragedy: a former slave, Omasis, occupies a higher position in the Pharaoh's court than a royal prince. A letter to the *Journal de Paris* from Monsieur Fitz-Adams records how popular this social diversity was in reception. The line which encapsulated this phenomenon was 'L'âge de ses aïeux touche au berceau du monde'.⁷⁷ The

⁷³ *Omasis*, III. 5, p. 41.

⁷⁴ Hunt, pp. 62–88.

⁷⁵ BMCF, Ms 463, pp. 62–63 and end of act III; *Mercure*, vol. 40, no. CCCXLVII, pp. 367–368.

⁷⁶ *L'Abeille littéraire*, 22 September 1806.

⁷⁷ Letter from Fitz-Adams to the Rédacteurs du Journal, *Journal de Paris*, 27 September 1806, p. 1983. The line in the printed edition of *Omasis* runs 'La gloire de leur nom touché au berceau du monde', *Omasis*, II. 4, p. 24.

Journal de Paris confirmed that this line ‘ne contient qu’une pensée commune’, and Fitz-Adams regaled how in true nobility ‘l’esclave peut se vanter comme monarque. L’Egyptien *Rhamnès* comme l’Israélite Jacob, et le savetier du coin comme le magistrat !’.⁷⁸ Post-revolutionary society welcomed the depiction of a world where merit and integrity rivalled rank. Furthermore, Fitz Adams’s immediate transposition of Ancient Egypt onto contemporary France reiterates how the past served to comprehend the present. The transformation of Joseph from slave to the Pharaoh’s advisor is in the Book of Genesis, but it is the rewriting of the tale to include Rhamnès, like the rewriting of the family reunion and separation scenes, which allows this tragedy to resonate to a greater extent with contemporary audiences.

c. Rewriting Ancient History: *Cyrus*, 1804 and *Artaxerce*, 1808

i. *Cyrus*, 1804

Besides *Hector*, the rewriting of Ancient Greek and Roman history in the tragedies *Octavie* (1806), *Antiochus Épiphanes* (1806), and *Vitellie* (1809) was less successful than that of Oriental history, in tragedies like *Cyrus* and *Artaxerce*. The earlier of these is *Cyrus* by the Revolutionary playwright Marie-Joseph Chénier, and it premiered on 8 December 1804. It was tipped to be a success and chosen to coincide with Napoleon’s coronation.⁷⁹

Once again, family is at the heart of tragedy in *Cyrus*. Mandane is grieving for her son, Cyrus, whom her father, King Astyage, had condemned to death before he was born, fearing his grandson would usurp him. Although the pastor Mithridate had rescued Cyrus, the young warrior in the palace, Éléonor (who unbeknownst to himself is actually Cyrus) appears to have killed him.

⁷⁸ Letter from the Rédacteurs du Journal to Fitz-Adams and letter from Fitz-Adams to the Rédacteurs du Journal, *Journal de Paris*, 27 September 1806, p. 1983.

⁷⁹ Arnault suggests that *Cyrus* was commissioned by Fouché, Antoine-Vincent Arnault, ‘Sur M. J. Chénier à l’éditeur’, in Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Œuvres de M. J. Chénier, membre de l’Institut, précédées d’une notice sur Chénier par M. Arnault, revues, corrigées, et mises en ordre par D. CH. Robert*, 5 vols (Paris: Guillaume, 1824–26), I (1826), pp. vii–xl (p. xxvi). It should be noted that *Cyrus* was fast-tracked: it was received on 6 November 1804 and performed only a month later, whilst other tragedies waited years, BMCF, R 450.

Before the murder is revealed, Mandane was peculiarly interested in Éléonor: there is the sense that a familial bond cannot be hidden and it is revealed by non-verbal communication. When Mandane beholds Éléonor (Cyrus) she questions ‘D’où vient mon trouble extrême ?’ and she describes how ‘l’instinct maternel, un ascendant suprême | Défendait Elénor’.⁸⁰ Indeed, *Cyrus* presents a double recognition when the titular character recognised his adopted father, Arabcès, whom Mandane knows to be Mithridate, allowing for the reunification of mother and son, the biological family, and the guardian and ward, the social family.

It is not the family nucleus alone which is reunited. Astyage, realising his error, crowns Cyrus himself in act V, and so power passes from the biological grandfather to grandson and from a tyrannical to a just leader. Furthermore, this coronation would later lead to the great Achaemenid Empire. However, the family is not simply looking forward to the future. As in tragedies such as *Hector* and *Astyanax*, ancestors live on through their descendants in Cyrus: Mandane can see ‘Cambyse respirant dans chacun de ses traits’, the c’s and the s’s echoing the sound of Cambyse’s name.⁸¹ History was used to investigate the contemporary themes of power and family, offering a heritage and a multitude of allusions to public.

Consequently, *Cyrus* was intended to be a superb Napoleonic tragedy, timed to correspond with Napoleon’s coronation on 2 December 1804. It was supposed to support the Emperor; subsequently it was closely monitored and heavily funded, leading to great local colour. Antoine-Marie Peyre (1770–1843),⁸² the architect at the Comédie-Française created a fantastic set based on drawings from Persia, and it was visited before the performance by the

⁸⁰ Marie-Joseph Chénier, ‘Cyrus’, in Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Œuvres posthumes de M-J Chénier, membre de l’Institut, revues, corrigées, et augmentées de beaucoup de morceaux inédits, précédées d’une notice sur Chénier par M. Daunou, membre de l’Institut*, 3 vols (Paris: Guillaume, 1824–25), I (1825), 7–88, II. 2, p. 34 and IV. 2, p. 73.

⁸¹ Ibid., V. 2, p. 84.

⁸² Antoine-Marie Peyre was known as ‘Peyre Neveu’ at the Comédie-Française or ‘Peyre fils’ elsewhere. He was the son of Marie-Joseph Peyre (1730–1785), known as ‘Peyre l’ancien’ who designed the Théâtre-Français, now the Théâtre de l’Odéon with Charles de Wailly (1730–1798) and nephew of Antoine-François Peyre (1739–1823).

Surintendant des Spectacles, the Comte de Rémusat, and the government administrator of the Comédie-Française, Jean-François-René Mahéault, amongst others.⁸³ What is more, from the administrative archives it is clear that the set was created to make a direct allusion to Napoleon: the throne was to be placed on the left of the spectators, echoing and looking at the box where Napoleon sat on public display.⁸⁴

However, despite the huge cost and the careful preparation, *Cyrus* was not to Napoleon's liking, and it did not grace the stage again.⁸⁵ Against the ancient oriental backdrop the play advances a very precise image of power. Those in authority are presented as despots and cut off from the people, and there is much repetition of how one should only rule within law, with act I ending 'Qu'il règne par la loi ; qu'elle règne sur lui', the equality of the hemistichs mirroring that of the scales of Justice.⁸⁶ Chénier's depiction of fair ruling is reiterated by the tragedy's final couplet, the rhyme of which is composed of 'lois' and 'rois'.⁸⁷ Napoleon had directly violated his original legal right to power by crowning himself Emperor six days beforehand. Although several lines created allusions to Napoleon, such as 'Que tout soit au monarque, à l'empire, à l'armée',⁸⁸ Chénier advocated a power limited by the Gods, 'par leur bonté'.⁸⁹ He additionally used the space of the oriental tragedy to allow Cyrus to lecture on what type of ruler people wanted:

Le prince ait des amis plutôt que des sujets ;
 Sans craindre les combats, qu'il chérisse la paix ;
 Que les pleurs des vaincus désarment sa victoire :
 Qu'il aime le mérite, et permette la gloire ;
 L'estimer dans autrui, c'est déjà l'obtenir :

⁸³ 'Bordereau des Surnumerrair [*sic*] pour le mois de nivôse an 13', Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux chef machiniste, Boulet 1799–1806.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Henri Welshcinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire* (Paris: Perrin, 1887), p. 227. The *Journal des débats* was still waiting for a new performance of *Cyrus* on 4 January 1805, a month after its first performance.

⁸⁶ *Cyrus*, I. 2, p. 31.

⁸⁷ Ibid., V. 4, p. 88.

⁸⁸ Ibid., II. 2, p. 35.

⁸⁹ Ibid., II. 4, p. 41.

Prompt à récompenser, qu'il soit lent à punir !
Tels sont les vœux publics ; j'ose les faire entendre[.]⁹⁰

Now this was not as direct an attack on Napoleon as the exhortation to reign within the law, but such a sermon was not in keeping with tragedy as State propaganda. Despite the careful preparation, this was arguably the failure of propaganda. As the police recorded:

Plusieurs personnes, mieux intentionnées que bien instruites, se sont refroidies, parce qu'elles n'ont pas trouvé que la personne et la situation de Cyrus eussent assez de rapport avec Sa Majesté l'Empereur. Elles ont plutôt vu dans Cyrus un duc d'Angoulême, ou tel autre semblable, et trouvaient de l'inconvenance à ce tableau[.]⁹¹

This report reveals how the public was trained to read into epistemic defectiveness, to capitalise upon intertheatricality, hypotextuality, and *applications*. However, in *Cyrus* this had the reverse effect: not only did the public *not* see the Emperor but its metaphorically trained perception extended the ambiguity to link it to the royalist camp, the opposite of the desired effect.

Intertextuality played a large part in critical responses to the play. In the words of Geoffroy *Cyrus* was essentially a copy of Voltaire's *Mérope* (1743), others saw similarities with Racine's *Athalie* (1691), and the name Mitridate recalls Racine's *Mithridate* (1673).⁹² In case this were not sufficient intertextuality, Harpage quotes 'les fils de Ninus et de Sémiramis', referencing Voltaire's *Sémiramis* (1748), and the set of *Cyrus* incorporated elements of that of *Sémiramis*.⁹³ As with *Astyanax* and *Polyxène*, intertextuality did not guarantee audience satisfaction: the public was uninterested in seeing a tragedy which was a version of one they knew so well, it only produced 'mécontentement' and

⁹⁰ Ibid., II. 2, p. 37.

⁹¹ Bulletin du 19 Frimaire an XIII (10 December 1804), in Ernest d'Hauterive, *La Police secrète du Premier Empire, bulletins quotidiens adressés par Fouché à l'Empereur*, 3 vols (Paris: Librairie Académique, 1908–22), I (1908), 201.

⁹² *Journal des débats*, 11 December 1804 and 'Analyse de Cyrus', in Chénier, *Œuvres posthumes*, I, 9–18 (p. 16).

⁹³ *Cyrus*, I. 2, p. 29 and 'Bordereau des Surnumerrair [*sic*] pour le mois de nivose an 13', BMCF, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux chef machiniste, Boulet 1799–1806.

‘injustice’.⁹⁴ This demand for surprise was instead met better by Étienne-Joseph-Bernard Delrieu’s *Artaxerce*.

ii. *Artaxerce*, 1808

The family—both biological and political—is central to another rewriting of ancient history, *Artaxerce*, which premiered on 30 April 1808 and had twenty-two performances within the first year and forty by 1815.⁹⁵ This tragedy is set in Persia where Arbace and (another) princess Mandane are to be married as his reward for saving Persia but Artaban, Arbace’s father, fears that the tyrannical King, Xercès, will not honour his promise and might even banish Arbace.⁹⁶ Artaban, therefore, conspires with a fellow army captain, Mégabise, to revolt with their men against Xercès, so that Arbace can become a just ruler and continue Cyrus’s Persian kingdom which, along with the intertextuality of the name Mandane, situates this tragedy within the intertextual family of *Cyrus*.

⁹⁴ *Le Courrier français*, 19 frimaire an XIII (10 December 1804).

⁹⁵ The tragedy was truly spectacular, using fly boards, fifty-four extras, costume changes and a stage filled with props, see ‘Bordereaux du moi de maiy [*sic*] 1808’ and ‘Bordereaux du mois de decembre 1810’ BMCF, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux chef machiniste, Brision 1806–25; for the extras see ‘Etat des hommes employés au théâtre français’ première quinzaine juin 1808, BMCF, 3 AC 10. Elements of the costume are indicated in the text, for example when *Artaxerce* comes on in V. 3 with a ‘diadème’ on his head and prints were circulated, for example ‘Lafon dans le rôle d’*Artaxerce*’ and ‘S^t-Prix dans le rôle d’*Artaban*’ (Paris: chez Martinet, 1808). The spectacular element and the poignant *tableaux* even conserved in the printed text which took care to state where the actors were placed on-stage. *Artaxerce* was also strikingly short, at ninety-five minutes when performed at St Cloud on 18 August 1808, compared to the average tragedy at two hours, Paris, BMCF, *Artaxerce*, prompt book, Ms 478.

⁹⁶ Xercès in *Artaxerce* correlates with Xerxes I of Persia. He was the great-grandson of Mandane of Media (590?–559 BC), who was the mother of Cyrus (otherwise known as Cyrus the Great) (600 or 576–530 BC). These are characters which we have already met in Chénier’s *Cyrus*. Xerxes’ son was *Artaxerce* (465–424 BC) and Xerxes is possibly Assuérus from the Book of Esther and Racine’s eponymous tragedy (1689), *Encyclopaedia perthensis, or, Universal dictionary of the arts, sciences, literature &c*, 2nd edn, 24 vols (Edinburgh: John Brown, 1816), II, 568.

Artaxerce used history as a means to discuss rulers, family relationships, and judgement.

Artaxerce rewrote history to explore the political family and the exercise of power. Xercès is portrayed as a tyrant and Mégabise argues:

L'injustice révolte et rend tout légitime...
Le tyran n'est pour toi qu'une faible victime.
Pour son peuple opprimé qui le craint, qui le hait,
Sa vie est un fléau, sa mort est un bienfait...⁹⁷

The balance of these lines is striking: 'l'injustice' and 'légitime', the next line's opposition of 'Le tyran' and 'victime', and the repetition of 'qui le' and 'sa' indicate a control, a rationality for the hatred of Xercès as king. Therefore, although the play's plot does not legitimise regicide, as Artaban's death proves, a ruler's right to power is portrayed as dependent on his people's happiness. Indeed, Xercès, like Pyrrhus in *Polyxène* and Achilles in *Hector*, is rendered even more tyrannical in the audience's minds by his absence from the stage, and even his chamber is out of the public's view.⁹⁸

In contrast to Xercès, Arbace, who is proclaimed King by the army in I. 3, is described as follows:

Il a sauvé l'empire, il doit le gouverner...
Il faut aux grands un chef qui tienne sa parole,
Aux guerriers un modèle, aux mages une idole ;
Non un prince avili, vain fantôme du roi,
Sans force, sans vertu, sans honneur et sans foi[.]⁹⁹

These lines are filled with allusions. The lexical field of 'empire', 'chef', and 'guerriers' echoes the discourse which surrounded Napoleon, especially since it is juxtaposed against the 'prince avili' and the 'fantôme du roi', like Louis XVI since his execution. Arbace therefore directly juxtaposes Xercès and is supported

⁹⁷ Étienne-Joseph-Bernard Delrieu, *Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Giguet et Michaud, 1808), I. 1, p. 10.

⁹⁸ BMCF, Ms 478, p. 9 and p. 29.

⁹⁹ *Artaxerce*, I. 1, p. 8.

by the people, in one sense he is presented as the rightful ruler. However, the tragedy is a careful negotiation between inheritance of and ascension to power. Arbace himself recognises the superiority of a dynasty: ‘Un guerrier né sujet peut-il être honoré | Comme le fils d’un roi dans l’Asie adoré ?’¹⁰⁰ Again, the contrast between ‘guerrier’ and ‘roi’ underlines the two opposing sources of power. Arbace’s punishment of those who wanted to make him King underlines the unacceptability of this alternative power. Yet, whereas Xercès was a tyrant king, popular monarchy is now possible: Artaxerce saves Arbace and Arbace leads the people on-stage at the spectacular dénouement of Artaxerce’s coronation. This final scene was incredibly powerful since everyone believed Arbace dead.¹⁰¹ This reunification of popular support in Arbace and monarchy in Artaxerce reconciles social struggles in both the ancient and the contemporary empires since a coded reading could see the figure of Napoleon in Arbace, and Artaxerce as the desired monarchy which had failed after 1793 but was still possible through Louis XVIII. Or, since the fraternal had replaced the paternal, Napoleon could embody these two stances as Chénier had attempted in *Cyrus*. *Artaxerce* accepted multiple political standpoints to unite behind the country’s leader.

The generational difference between father and son is another binary that crosses over between power and family. *Artaxerce*’s success lay in its novel portrayal of the father-son relationship, principally that of Arbace and Artaban, but also the contrast between the injustice of Xercès and the fairness of Artaxerce.¹⁰² Indeed, the play is resolved through a rejection of the paternal, of the older generation, and a belief in the fraternal in its social sense. The scene lasting six pages between Artaban and Arbace in II. 7 was considered particularly touching.¹⁰³ It is the reunion of son and father, after the former’s victory and therefore starts with joy, but Artaban quickly reveals the news that Xercès has turned against Arbace, and calls Arbace to act, which Arbace refuses:

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., I. 2, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ ‘Éditeurs’, ‘Notes’, in Delrieu, *Artaxerce* (Paris: Giguët et Michaud, 1808), pp. 113–39 (p. 135).

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 118 and pp. 124–25.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp. 124–25. This is echoed in the *Journal de l’Empire*, 1 May 1808 and 4 May 1808.

‘ARTABAN: Ainsi l’ambition n’a sur toi nul pouvoir! | ARBACE: Je sais borner la mienne à remplir mon devoir.’¹⁰⁴ The generational and stylistic contrast between ‘pouvoir’ and ‘devoir’ underlines the differences between the generations. Throughout this scene Artaban abuses his position as a father, though he believes that he is doing right by his son, an ambiguity perceived in *Artaxerce*’s reception.¹⁰⁵ In act III Artaban kills Xercès in his chamber out of filial love, but wanting to save his father Arbace takes the blood-drenched sword, flees, and is arrested. The different interests of the generations—although well-intentioned for the family—conflict and lead to the tragedy after Artaxerce, Xercès’ son and the new King, orders Artaban to avenge Xercès and judge Arbace. Lest he accuse his father, Arbace refuses to defend himself or flee because of his ‘devoir’.¹⁰⁶ The generational tension is exacerbated since the audience must watch Artaban try his son for regicide when he was really the treacherous perpetrator. Artaban sentences his son to death, realising what his paternal protection has led to: ‘Pour mon fils j’osai tout ; sans lui je ne veux rien. | Couronne ! ambition ! vous n’avez plus de charmes !’.¹⁰⁷ The father-son relationship is still at the heart of act V, in the very tableau when Arbace takes the oath of allegiance. Artaxerce gives Arbace the sacred (but as Artaban knows, poisoned) cup from the ‘grand Pontife’. At this moment Delrieu breaks the alexandrine verse to highlight the tension of whether the father will rescue his son, extended by the broken line ‘Que cette coupe...’ before Artaban interjects, spares his son, reveals Arbace’s innocence and his own guilt, and kills himself.¹⁰⁸

The death of Artaban, like that of Xercès, is significant. The ambitious father and tyrant King are symbolic of the old order which has now been replaced by the next generation, Arbace and Artaxerce, or, to continue the revolutionary reading, post-revolutionary society and Napoleon. As Hunt argues in her analysis of the family of the French Revolution, here we can see ‘the new

¹⁰⁴ *Artaxerce*, II. 7, p. 39.

¹⁰⁵ The *Lettres champenoises* declared that they did not know whether Artaban was a tender father or an ambitious man. Jean-Francois Ruphy, *Lettres champenoises, ou observations critiques sur quelques tragédies et comédies modernes*, 2 vols (Paris: Chamerot, 1809), II, 44.

¹⁰⁶ *Artaxerce*., III. 10, p. 67.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 2, p. 99.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, V. 6, pp. 109–10.

family romances of power and especially by the romance of fraternity in which the band of brothers replaced the father-king.¹⁰⁹ Hunt's reading of the Revolutionary body politic allows for another family interpretation of *Artaxerce*. For Hunt, the Republic was defined as a woman to avoid its confusion with the father or king,¹¹⁰ and here it is the lover and sister Mandane who drives the action. It is thus important that Arbace only gives in to acting with his father when Artaban has recourse to the leverage of Mandane: 'Enfin, grâce à l'amour, [Arbace] est devenu rebelle!...' ¹¹¹ Mandane becomes the voice of reason after Arbace's arrest, declining to believe Arbace's guilt, challenging Artaxerce's assumptions, and she reproaches Artaban for not defending his son, which he should do out of paternal duty. Mandane highlights the flaws of the old family, or as a Republic she reveals the abuses of the *ancien régime*. But crucially, it is she who saves innocence: Artaxerce finally believes Mandane and Arbace, who unites popular support with the monarchy, is declared innocent.

On the topic of justice, we have seen *Artaxerce*'s suggestion that tyranny causes regicide, and Delrieu himself maintained that Artaban commits the crime 'par excès de tendresse' which 'rend la conjuration raisonnable et presque légitime'.¹¹² After the regicide per se, there is then a large discussion of the proof of guilt. Peter Szondi has argued that in tragedy the characters look to confirm their doubts rather than questioning the evidence they are presented with.¹¹³ This is present in tragedies such as *La Mort de Henri IV* where Marie accepts an undated letter as proof of her husband's treachery, but in *Artaxerce* evidence is both accepted and questioned. Mandane heartily defends Arbace:

MANDANE, <i>avec énergie</i> :	Il ne l'a point commis.
ARTAXERCE:	Tout parle contre lui.
MANDANE:	La trompeuse apparence
	Coûta plus d'une fois la vie à l'innocence.... ¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Hunt, p. 198.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 83.

¹¹¹ *Artaxerce*, II. 8, p. 42.

¹¹² 'Notes', pp. 113–39 (p. 117).

¹¹³ Peter Szondi, *An Essay on the Tragic*, trans. by Paul Fleming (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), p. 81.

¹¹⁴ *Artaxerce*, III. 7, p. 56.

Mandane's warning encapsulates Szondi's theory. Moreover, Artaban vocalises the issue of conflicting innocence and proof:

On te croit criminel. Une fausse apparence,
Le temps, le lieu, le fer, ta fuite, ton silence,
Tout t'accuse¹¹⁵

The change from the definite article of 'le' in the first hemistich to the possessive pronoun of 'ta' in the second emphasises how Arbace's own actions are not helping justice. The moral of the play, however, comes in act V. Whereas in act IV it was the physical objects that condemned Arbace, by act V both Mandane and Artaxerce see that he is innocent; words and character are enough: 'Je n'en demande pas une preuve nouvelle.'¹¹⁶ The rejection of doubt, a central constituent of tragedy, leads to the overturn of a false trial and justice is restored.

As *Hector*, *Omasis*, *Cyrus*, and *Artaxerce* amongst other tragedies have shown, Napoleonic playwrights contorted ancient history, traditional texts, and myths to discuss contemporary themes, particularly those of the family, social cohesion, justice, and power. These four elements are interconnected, for Hunt since the family is also related to the larger political family, with the (restored) patriarch at its head.¹¹⁷ Consequently, these tragedies can be seen as partaking in the project of national reconstruction. Given their generic intertheatricality they are able to evoke French glory with the ancient world and with the France of Louis XIV to a much greater extent than *tragédies nationales*. Nevertheless, owing to the ambiguity of the Message, this does not necessarily guarantee successful propaganda as theatre historians have claimed. Indeed, the Message of intended propaganda could be so ambiguous that it could fail to reach its Receiver.

2. Modern French History

¹¹⁵ Ibid., III. 10, p. 62.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., V. 6, p. 109.

¹¹⁷ See Hunt, p. 15 and p. 64.

As the previous chapter established, whilst some Napoleonic tragic playwrights remained within the realm of antiquity, others had a distinct taste for national history. However, the performance of ‘modern’ French history, largely from the Middle Ages onwards, was not an easy matter for Napoleonic society, as the critic Geoffroy reveals:

[A]rrachons ces feuillets sanglans de notre histoire, effaçons entièrement de notre souvenir l’image de ces désastres ! ou si quelquefois nous les retraçons à notre pensée, que ce soit uniquement pour mieux sentir le prix du calme dont nous jouissons ; que ce soit pour bénir davantage la main qui nous a sauvés, et nous attacher plus fortement encore au gouvernement protecteur, qui a détruit toutes les factions, rendu à la France le bonheur, la liberté, la gloire, et à chaque citoyen l’exercice paisible de ses facultés et de son industrie.¹¹⁸

The distress of Geoffroy exposes just how sensitive historical theatre was. Yet his change from horror to utility is noteworthy because it unveils how the performance of the collective memory of terror could be interpreted: inversely it encouraged support of the post-revolutionary regime and Napoleon. Geoffroy’s reaction demonstrates how *tragédies nationales* could act as propaganda. This argument is ratified by Napoleon’s letter to Fouché expressing his satisfaction that his patronage had been used to support the representation of the transition from one dynasty to another.¹¹⁹ rewriting history allowed ‘invented traditions’ to solidify support in the national reconstruction project.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, the tragic representation of history was problematic, and Napoleon soon urged Fouché to ensure that tragedies were set far enough away from the present. Recent history in tragedy had been a trait of the Revolution, thus *tragédie nationale* was

¹¹⁸ Geoffroy, ‘De la tragédie de “Charles IX”’, pp. 3–27 (pp. 26–27).

¹¹⁹ Letter Napoleon to Fouché, 12 prairial an XIII (1 June 1805), cited in Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon: le Théâtre-Français* (Paris: Plon, 1911), p. 203.

¹²⁰ Eric Hobsbawm identifies ‘semi-fiction’ through monarchs such as Boadicea as one of the ways in which nationalism can support itself – ‘even historic continuity had to be invented,’ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction’, in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1–14 (p. 7).

inherently linked to this period.¹²¹ Upon consultation of contemporary documents relating to the performance of these tragedies it is clear that, even if they were set as far back as the Middle Ages, the Revolution was ever present: the rewriting of national history served as a retrial of the Revolution. The depiction of national history on the tragic stage both supported and destabilised the State.

a. Retrial for the Royalists: *Les Templiers*, 1805

Arguably the most successful of the twelve Napoleonic tragedies depicting French history was François-Just-Marie Raynouard's *Les Templiers* from 1805. It treats the arrest, trial, and sentencing of the Knights Templar under Philippe-le-Bel in October 1307. This was a delicate subject matter and had caused some difficulty for the play to reach performance.¹²²

France had seen *tragédies nationales* before but *Les Templiers* occurred at a specific time after the Revolution when the relationship between history and fiction was being rethought, resulting in a greater 'scientificity' of history.¹²³ Likewise, theatre critics were keen to protect their territory and stressed that taking a plot from history did not instantly make it theatrical.¹²⁴ In the 1805 edition, Raynouard's play is accompanied by a seventy-six-page treaty 'Des Templiers', frequently using primary sources. The tragedy's text itself is then adorned with historical footnotes before being followed by the 'Pièces justificatives', including the transcription in Latin of an archival document on papal bulls, a letter from Clement V to Philippe-le-Bel about the Templiers, and the Templiers' prayer when they were refused their religious rites.¹²⁵ This led to

¹²¹ Lanza de Laborie, p. 207.

¹²² *Les Templiers* had been received on 12 Fructidor an XI (30 August 1803), Paris, BMCF, R 450.

¹²³ Heiko Feldner, 'The New Scientificity in Historical Writing Around 1800', in *Writing History, Theory & Practice*, ed. by Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Arnold, 2003), pp. 3–22.

¹²⁴ *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, 16 May 1805, pp. 983–84.

¹²⁵ François-Just-Marie Raynouard, 'Pièces justificatives', in François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers, tragédie, par M. Raynouard* (Paris: Giguet et Michaud, 1805), pp. 104–18.

a critical debate as to what history was and how it varied from one medium to the next.¹²⁶ On-stage, the Comédie-Française ordered new costumes designed by Dublin to fit the bill and prints of these outfits circulated outside the theatre to show their detail.¹²⁷ However, Raynouard's artistic licence to fit the action of several years into twenty-four hours highlighted the inconvenience of the unity of time, with Madame de Staël declaring (like Geoffroy amongst others):

[Q]u'y-a-t-il de plus étrange que la nécessité où l'auteur s'est trouvé de représenter l'ordre des templiers accusé, jugé, condamné, et brûlé, le tout dans vingt-quatre heures ? Les tribunaux révolutionnaires alloient vite ; mais quelle fût leur atroce bonne volonté, ils ne seroient jamais parvenus à marcher aussi rapidement qu'une tragédie française.¹²⁸

Although *Les Templiers* was set in 1307 Staël instantly compared it to the Revolution, and she is not a lone case, exhibiting how the tragic representation of the past was intrinsically linked to the present.

Raynouard's rewriting of history in *Les Templiers* as a retrial was seized upon by spectators, critics, and even Napoleon himself.¹²⁹ Raynouard proclaimed in his preface that '[l]a justice des siècles est enfin arrivée pour eux,' a sentiment echoed in the press, and the structure of the Templiers' trial is questioned throughout the play.¹³⁰ Firstly, there is the idea that they are being accused

¹²⁶ *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, 18 May 1805, pp. 991–92.

¹²⁷ *Registre des Procès-verbaux des séances du comité*, 11 floréal an XIII (1 May 1805), BMCF, R 415. For examples of the prints, see *Lafon, le rôle de Philippe-le-Bel dans Les Templiers* (Paris: Martinet, 1805); *Talma dans le rôle de Marigni fils dans Les Templiers* (Paris: Martinet, 1805); *Grand Maître des Templiers* (Paris: Martinet, 1805). Neither the Comédie-Française nor the BnF have a full name or dates for Dublin. One Dublin is an actor, and (potentially another) as the 'dessinateur' but only from April 1813 in the 'appointements du personnel', Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 2.

¹²⁸ Madame de Staël, *De l'Allemagne, seconde édition*, 3 vols (Paris: H. Nicolle; Mame Frères, 1814), II, 9.

¹²⁹ Louis-François-Joseph de Bausset, *Mémoires anecdotiques sur l'intérieur du palais et sur quelques événements de l'Empire, depuis 1805 jusqu'au 1^{er} mai 1814, pour servir à l'histoire de Napoléon*, 4 vols (Paris: Baudouin frères, 1827), I, 45.

¹³⁰ François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, 'Des Templiers', in *Les Templiers*, pp. vii–lxxxii (p. lxxxiii). In the press, the *Archives littéraires de l'Europe* wrote: 'c'est aux talens de M. Raynouard que les Templiers doivent l'avantage de voir leur

simply because they are despised, a hatred supported by popular fanaticism (IV. 3). The Queen emphatically insists upon this: ‘L’erreur, le mensonge, la haine | En imposent souvent à la justice humaine.’¹³¹ The Connétable is an evil courtier who wants ‘veiller sur le danger’ lest the Templiers do not meet their intended fate and from as early as I. 1 he states that the Templiers cannot escape—justice is secondary.¹³² Their judge is not the King but the Inquisitor, imbued with extremist beliefs, and the Pope is presented in the preface as omnipotent, not even bothering to secure a *procès-verbal*. The Templiers’ interrogation is additionally more than suspect: ‘la torture interroge, la douleur répond’.¹³³ Therefore, both the Church and the monarchy abuse justice. The final act solidifies the message of the play, when the leader of the Templiers, the Grand-Maître, declares ‘Contre nos oppresseurs nous aurons attesté | Et le siècle présent et la postérité’ and ‘Nous sommes innocents, nous mourrons innocents’.¹³⁴ The anaphora of ‘nous’ and ‘innocents’ in each hemistich underlines the Templiers’ guiltlessness and the injustice of the trial, whilst the assonance of the vowel ‘o’ is almost like a chant, foreshadowing the récit of the Templiers’ death and their singing as they head to the scaffold, only their death stopping the music.¹³⁵

This retrial was not just limited to the Templiers. The Revolution was integral to *Les Templiers*, as Staël’s analysis suggests, and contemporary memoirs and periodicals attest the huge social catharsis that the play brought.¹³⁶ *Les Templiers* invoked parallels with the recent past. For instance, the English are presented as the enemy not only at home but with their meddling in the East, as during the Revolutionary Wars. Likewise, the depiction of justice was destroyed in *Les Templiers*, as that of the Revolutionary tribunals had been. The

procès en quelque sorte révisé.’ Ch. Vg., ‘Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard’, *Archives littéraires de l’Europe*, VII (1805), 105–20 (p. 107).

¹³¹ *Les Templiers*, V. 7, p. 92.

¹³² *Ibid.*, IV. 7, p. 80.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, IV. 2, p. 66.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, V. 1, p. 82, ‘Nous sommes innocents, nous mourrons innocents’ is repeated V. 8, p. 96.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, V. 8, p. 99.

¹³⁶ Claire-Elisabeth-Jeanne Gravier de Vergennes, Madame de Rémusat, *Lettres de Madame de Rémusat (1804–1814)*, 2 vols (Paris: C. Lévy, 1881), I, 151–52 and 199; ‘Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard, second article’, *Archives littéraires de l’Europe*, VII (1805), 211–34 (p. 231).

Revolutionary nature of *Les Templiers* is uncovered by contemporary documents. In a copy of the play given by Raynouard himself, the following handwritten annotation can be found at the end of the 'Des Templiers': 'Pour juger plus sainement de la culpabilité ou de l'innocence des templiers voyez l'ouvrage intitulé Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme par M^o. l'abbé Barruel, tome 2^e. pages 255 à 276.'¹³⁷ Here, Augustin Barruel (1741–1820) recounts how on 12 August 1792 Louis XVI was taken to the Temple, the former palace of the Templiers, where the action of the play occurs.¹³⁸ In 1800, the Boulevard du Temple and the prison of the Temple had been a site of remembrance for Louis XVI where Parisians dressed in mourning attire came to grieve for their lost king.¹³⁹ Furthermore, travellers like K. G. de Berkeim recorded how the Temple was heavily guarded at the time of the performances in Paris.¹⁴⁰ The presence of the Temple was reinforced for the Parisian public when the shared site of Louis XVI and the Templiers' incarceration was demolished in 1808, symbolically relegating the conception of the history of 1793 to that of 1307. Periodicals publically recorded how spectators visualised the play geographically on modern Paris, mapping out the distance between the Temple and the Pont Neuf compared to the time passed on-stage.¹⁴¹ The action of the Middle Ages was thus very much experienced within contemporary Paris.

The allusions to the Revolution are intentionally signalled in both the text and performance. Raynouard made history come full circle, setting the afterlives of the Templiers and Philippe-le-Bel in the Revolution. When the King speaks of his victories against the English, Raynouard used a historical footnote to explain to his readers that Philippe-le-Bel had an equestrian statue made of himself for

¹³⁷ François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers, tragédie* (Paris: Guiget et Michaud, 1805), Paris, BnF, 8-RF-33009, p. lxxxii.

¹³⁸ Augustin Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme*, 5 vols (Hamburg: P. Fauche, 1798), II, 255–76.

¹³⁹ Ministère de la Police, 'Tableau de la situation de Paris du 2 pluviôse an VIII (21 January 1800)', in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat : recueil de documents pour l'histoire de l'esprit public à Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: Cerf; Nobelet, Quantin, 1903–09), I (1903), 113.

¹⁴⁰ K. G. de Berkheim, *Lettres sur Paris ou Correspondance de M*** dans les années 1806 et 1807* (Heidelberg; Paris: Mohr et Zimmer; Marchand des Nouveautés, 1809), p. 253.

¹⁴¹ *Lettres champenoises*, I, 22–23.

Notre Dame after the military campaigns against the English, but that this was destroyed ‘depuis peu d’années’ during the Revolution.¹⁴² For the performance’s audience Talma’s incarnation of Marigni fils can be seen to symbolise Louis XVI and his supporters when he appeared in act V ‘couvert du manteau blanc, au milieu de ses frères’.¹⁴³ The white of Talma’s cloak invokes a correspondence between the colour of the royalty and the wrongful execution, questioning whether Louis XVI was as guilty as he was found to be. This reading is supported by the critic Bonald who decries how:

[N]ous avons vu aussi une grande et mémorable tragédie dénouée par la résignation d’un chef qui n’a su que mourir, et qui a entraîné dans sa ruine, non un ordre d’individus, mais l’ordre social même dont il était le grand-maître.¹⁴⁴

Here it is the Grand-Maître, whose costume was almost entirely white,¹⁴⁵ who embodies Louis XVI and consequently Marigni fils can be seen as a young royalist defiant of his father, despite being sentenced to death. Once again the tragedy acts as a means of working through the aftermath of the Revolution. Moreover, whereas Raynouard left a private key, the actors were able to increase the allusion through costume, and Bonald was even able to print this decryption and its political argument in the *Mercure de France*.¹⁴⁶ *Les Templiers* acted as a means of mediation in both the private and public domains.

¹⁴² *Les Templiers*, p. 22.

¹⁴³ *Le Courrier français*, 21 May 1805, p. 3.

¹⁴⁴ Louis de Bonald, ‘Observations morales sur quelques pièces de théâtre’, in Louis de Bonald, *Œuvres choisies, édition de Gérard Gengembre et Jean-Yves Pranchère*, 2 vols (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010), I: *Écrits sur la littérature*, pp. 107–31 (p. 127).

¹⁴⁵ Paris, BnF, *Grand Maître des Templiers [costume de Saint-Prix]* (Paris: Martinet, 1805).

¹⁴⁶ The above was published in the *Mercure de France*, 2 November 1805, vol. 22, no. CCXXV, pp. 245–75.



Figure 2. Paris, BnF, *Grand Maître des Templiers [costume de Saint-Prix]* (Paris: Martinet, 1805), Gallica.fr.



Figure 3. Paris, BnF, *TALMA, rôle de MARIGNI FILS, dans Les Templiers* (Paris: Martinet, 1805), Gallica.fr.

As in the Revolution, *Les Templiers* enacts how different sides of the family supported different causes. Marigni's father is the prime minister yet his son is a Templier, visualised from the second performance on by a change of costume,¹⁴⁷ and whose declaration of belonging to the order was widely printed in reviews. This leads to the absurd situation where the father prepares for the greatness of himself and of his family, only to be undermined by his son perishing on the scaffold. This point of post-revolutionary retrial is corroborated by the rewritings that can be found on the prompt book at the Comédie-Française. For example, 'Au jugement des hommes' is reworked to 'Au tribunal des hommes',¹⁴⁸ which echoed Raynouard's inclusion of Revolutionary language such as 'souillé' and the legal rather than subjective emphasis he put on the tragedy.¹⁴⁹ The potential rebellion of part of the Templiers at the beginning of act III was removed from performance, a gesture indicating that it could be seen to question the limits of the Templiers' (or royalists') innocence and their unity.¹⁵⁰

The rewritings contained in the prompt book reveal how memory is an increasingly important element of the play. For instance, 'Et qui meurt innocent, meurt toujours avec gloire' becomes 'Et la postérité vengera notre gloire':¹⁵¹ glory moves from being attached to the person at the moment of death to the more abstract notion of posterity. This memory can be constantly reinterpreted and debated as one critic indicated: 'M. Raynouard a voulu ménager la mémoire du roi.'¹⁵² The later addition of eight statues of the Templiers as a physical incarnation of their memory which remain on-stage next to the pictures of knights and battles even after their death emphasises the role of commemoration.¹⁵³ In this vein, *Les Templiers* was judged novel because it

¹⁴⁷ *Gazette nationale, ou le moniteur universel*, 18 May 1805, pp. 991–92.

¹⁴⁸ *Les Templiers*, v. 4, p. 86; *Les Templiers*, prompt book, BMCF, Ms 449, p. 125.

¹⁴⁹ 'Des Templiers', pp. vii–lxxxii (p. xx).

¹⁵⁰ Paris, BMCF, Ms 449, pp. 61–63.

¹⁵¹ *Les Templiers*, III. 1, p. 49, BMCF, Ms 449, p. 68.

¹⁵² 'Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard, second article', pp. 211–34 (p. 220).

¹⁵³ The set was originally adorned with 'les tableaux de plusieurs Grands Maîtres et les tableaux des batailles des chevaliers' BMCF, Ms 449, p. 2 whereas in the printed edition there are eight statues on-stage, *Les Templiers*, p. 3.

encouraged the spectators' continued admiration for virtue which can overcome torture and execution.¹⁵⁴ the Grand-Maître has no fear of death, it brings no dishonour. Such a portrayal could bring catharsis for those members of the public who had lost close ones in the Revolution.

Justice is portrayed as effectively null and void, a situation supported by the monarchy, the Church, and popular fanaticism which allows for a mediation of fanatics of the *ancien régime* and the Revolution. In using the tragedy and the space of the theatre to explore the Templiers' trial, Raynouard reversed the dominant narratives of history to allude to the Templiers' (and for those who wished to see it the royalists') innocence. There is no unified interpretation of this play and Raynouard did not pronounce on the innocence or guilt of the Templiers: the audience is left to judge, in an albeit guided reading. This created considerable debate. Everyone discussed *Les Templiers*, according to the Comtesse de Rémusat, who was at the heart of the theatrical and government circles,¹⁵⁵ and it launched a flurry of publications on the innocence or the guilt of the Templiers in multiple media, again increasing the teaching of history to the new nation.¹⁵⁶ However, various understandings were possible and the political opposition quickly adopted the play.¹⁵⁷ The tragedy's malleability can be seen from the fact that it required very few changes in March 1815 after having been

¹⁵⁴ 'Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard', *Archives Littéraires de l'Europe*, VII (1805), 105–20 (p. 116) and 'Sur la tragédie des Templiers, de M. Raynouard, second article', pp. 211–34 (p. 228).

¹⁵⁵ Rémusat, I, 151–52.

¹⁵⁶ For example, *Précis historique du procès et de la condamnation des Templiers* (Paris: Debray, an XIII [1805]); Philippe-Antoine Grouvelle, *Mémoires historiques sur les Templiers, ou éclaircissements nouveaux sur leur histoire* (Paris: F. Buisson, 1805); J.-A. J., *Histoire des Templiers, ouvrage impartial recueilli des meilleurs écrivains, par J.-A. J.....* (Paris: Pillot jeune, 1805); Noël-Laurent Pissot, *Procès et condamnation des Templiers, d'après les pièces originales et les manuscrits du temps, servant d'introduction à la tragédie des 'Templiers', par M. Raynouard* (Paris: Gervais et Maison, 1805); Guillaume Eugène Joseph de Wal, *Recherches sur l'ancienne constitution de l'Ordre teutonique et sur ses usages, comparés avec ceux des Templiers, suivies de quelques éclaircissements sur l'histoire de l'Ordre et de réflexions sur l'abolition de celui du Temple, par l'auteur de l' 'Histoire de l'Ordre teutonique'* (Mergentheim: imprimerie de J. C. Thomm, 1807).

¹⁵⁷ Lanza de Laborie, p. 212.

performed during the First Restoration.¹⁵⁸ This plasticity establishes how the tragedy could metamorphose to meet contemporary needs, serving to rethink the Revolution and to reiterate that despite varied past actions, the public can unite for the new French nation.

b. Rewriting Regicide: *La Mort de Henri IV*, 1806

Like *Les Templiers*, Gabriel-Marie Legouvé's *La Mort de Henri IV* rewrote history to act as a retrial but with a more didactic tone. With lines such as 'La croix dans une main, et le glaive dans l'autre' (I. 4), Henri's calamitous feeling recalling 'la nuit fatale' (V. 3), and the name Médicis, *La Mort de Henri IV* fell directly into the hypotextuality of other *tragédies nationales*, notably Chénier's *Charles IX* (1789) and later *Les États de Blois*. These Napoleonic plays continued the audience's education of the events after *Charles IX*, serving almost as a sequel. However, as he would be in 1814, Henri IV was updated to fit contemporary opinions of the King and his achievements: consequently he is presented as a monarch about to bring peace to a divided Europe. This was a new vision of Henri IV, according to Burton, which appeared around 1800 and was incorporated into the educational curriculum in 1805.¹⁵⁹ As Burton continues, '[i]t was part of Napoleon's official policy to revitalise the memory of Henry IV among the French people.'¹⁶⁰ Therefore, the transcription of this new didactic vision of Bourbon history into tragedy allowed it to be accessed through a different medium, a tactic common at the time.¹⁶¹ Consequently, through publication and performance, not to mention the readership of the reviews, this vision of Henri IV could be spread to a greater proportion of French society and increase the common narratives of its history for national reconstruction.

¹⁵⁸ Paris, BMCF, *Les Templiers*, prompt book, Ms 450 bis.

¹⁵⁹ Burton, p. 42.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁶¹ History was taught notably through stories and card games, see *ibid.*, p. 40. Jouy also worked on educational card games, focusing on history among other subjects, see Michel Faul, *Les Aventures militaires, littéraires et autres de Étienne de Jouy de l'Académie française, préface de Jean Tulard* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2009), p. 63.

Like his peers, Legouvé employed history to retry the characters via historical documents included as paratexts:

Les imputations faites à ces deux personnages [d'Épernon et Médicis] sont si nombreuses, si fortes, si précises, qu'un jury chargé de prononcer sur eux craindrait peut-être de les absoudre ; comment donc ne m'auroient-elles pas donné le droit de les accuser dans une pièce de théâtre ?¹⁶²

Legouvé's defence confirms the use of tragedy as a medium for a new legal hearing but crucially underlines how the jury of a court is different to that of a theatre; the latter is as sterner, with different demands. Furthermore, it reveals the dynamics of tragedy retrial: although the play exposes Marie and d'Épernon to be guilty, Legouvé says all he has done is 'accuser'. The retrial's final element, the judgement, occurs through the audience; the public has an active role in digesting this rewriting of history. Given the active participation of the audience, it is no surprise that critics were not happy at the depiction of such a recent event, with the *Spectateur français* declaring 'comment a-t-il osé, sans guide, se lancer dans notre histoire, et mettre sur scène un événement si voisin de nous[?]'.¹⁶³ Even Napoleon worried about the proximity between the tragedy's setting and the present.¹⁶⁴ These criticisms support the interpretation of Legouvé's statement, corroborating that the tragic rewriting of modern history was employed to retry the more recent past.

Silence plays a crucial role in Legouvé's adaptation of history, both within the tragedy and in his treatment of the historical sources. Legouvé directly tackled the proverb 'Qui ne dit mot consent' and the legal argument that 'silence vaut consentement'.¹⁶⁵ In III. 1 the Spanish ambassador, referring to the decision to assassinate Henri, states: 'Puisque le roi se tait, on peut la décider.' Silence's ability to condemn is reiterated by Marie de Médicis in III. 5 when Henri does not reply to her hysterical accusations that he is waging war just to reach his alleged lover, the Princesse de Condé, in Belgium. Marie mistakenly understands this as

¹⁶² *La Mort de Henri IV*, p. 108.

¹⁶³ *Spectateur français au XIX^e siècle*, VII (1810), 324.

¹⁶⁴ Letter Napoleon to Fouché cited in Lanzac de Laborie, p. 207.

¹⁶⁵ François Bourjon, *Le Droit commun de la France et la coutume de Paris, réduits en principes*, 2 vols (Paris: Brunet, 1770), II, 39.

proof of his adultery. Legouvé then uses a similar logic in the general narratives of French history:

On cite pour Marie de Médicis comme pour d'Épernon le silence de l'histoire ; mais en supposant que ce silence existât, ce qui n'est pas, il ne prouveroit rien en sa faveur aux yeux de quiconque réfléchit sur les circonstances.¹⁶⁶

In a post-revolutionary society where people reinvented themselves, as François-René de Chateaubriand's shock upon returning to Paris attests,¹⁶⁷ this silence is not only a contestation of the narratives of France's longer history, but also those of the present.

Consequently, *La Mort de Henri IV* tells a specific version of the historical event. As in *Les Templiers*, tragic power games are realised through popular fanaticism; though it is really the behaviour of those at the heart of the system, the ruling nobility, which is on trial. Therefore, Legouvé deleted scenes from his early drafts which originally showed François Ravaillac, Henri IV's assassin, preparing for the fatal act, and chose instead to focus on the advisor the Duc d'Épernon and Henri's second wife, Marie de Médicis, and their role in allowing this murder to take place at all.¹⁶⁸ In the prompt book used for performances, Henri's fate is set from act I when the Spanish ambassador's monologue alludes to Ravaillac.¹⁶⁹ In contrast to this, the Spanish ambassador uses the conditional 'si' regarding Henri's death in act I of the printed edition and Ravaillac is not mentioned until IV. 7. This printed edition, used later for performances and which could circulate easily both geographically and temporally, removes the certainty of Henri's assassination. Since tragedies were constantly reworked during their early performances to comply with public and

¹⁶⁶ *La Mort de Henri IV*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁷ François-René de Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe, édition du centenaire intégrale et critique en partie inédite, établie par Maurice Levaillant, préface par Julien Gracq*, 2 vols (Paris: Flammarion, 1982), II, 17.

¹⁶⁸ Gabriel Legouvé, 'Scène de Ravaillac', in Gabriel Legouvé, *Œuvres complètes de G. Legouvé membre de l'Institut*, 3 vols (Paris: Louis Janet 1826–27), II (1826), 339–50.

¹⁶⁹ Paris, BMCF, *La Mort de Henri IV*, prompt book, Ms 460, p. 23.

critical expectations, we can see this rewriting of *La Mort de Henri IV* as responding to a contemporary need to expand the trial element.

The rewriting of history for popular demand in tragedy can similarly be witnessed when Marie consents to Henri's death. Contemporary criticism from the *Gazette universelle* discloses that in early performances prior to the tragedy's publication Marie went mad and exited the stage—logically approving Henri's murder off stage, more fitting for *bienséance*—before coming back on begging d'Épernon to halt the assassination.¹⁷⁰ However, in the printed version, act IV very carefully demonstrates the full lengths d'Épernon goes to in order to drive Marie to her fatal decision when she is faced with imposing divorce, a cheating husband, limited power, and a disinherited son, thus finally licensing the execution of her husband herself. Crucially she does so on-stage—there can be no doubt. In this sense the rewritten tragedy is a far greater exploration of what determines the Queen of France to allow the murder of her husband and king, although the very style of the tragedy alludes to who is actually responsible, as the following line shows:

D'ÉPERNON: Ainsi donc...

LA REINE: C'en est fait... oui, duc... je veux...

D'ÉPERNON: Sa Mort!¹⁷¹

Not only does d'Épernon encapsulate Marie's decision at either end of the line, emphasising his control over her, but his sheer manipulation can be seen by the fact that it is he who literally puts the words of Henri's death in the Queen's mouth. For the highly attuned ears at the time, d'Épernon's role is also mirrored by the rhythmic disintegration of the line. The first hemistich of the twelve-syllable line is nicely broken into two parts of three syllables: 'Ainsi donc/C'en est fait', but the second hemistich falls apart with three two syllable sections 'oui, duc/je veux/sa mort'. However, the comma in between 'oui' and 'duc' could actually move the caesura of the line to after the seventh syllable, destroying the poetic integrity and reflecting not only Marie's irrationality but the extent to which she is controlled and destroyed by d'Épernon. This reveals the double

¹⁷⁰ *Gazette universelle*, XI (1806), pp. xxii–xxiii.

¹⁷¹ *La Mort de Henri IV*, IV. 5, p. 59.

action of the play: the Queen's actions are driven by d'Épernon's ambition, fully detailed in the 'Observations historiques', and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, these two separate actions unite and result in the death of Henri IV.¹⁷²

This double action, Marie's jealousy and d'Épernon's ambition, is not a reading extrapolated in commentaries of the play at the time, which focused on Marie. Perhaps after the Revolution it was easier publically to blame one figure who was proven to be guilty rather than question what or who pushed them to that decision: there was after all a foreign female precedent for this in the form of Marie-Antoinette.¹⁷³ However, Legouv   explored what compelled Marie through the first four acts, and it is not until she is presented with the triple threat of her powers being limited, divorce, and her children's disinheritance in IV. 5, combined with her jealousy and her manipulation by d'  pernon, that she surrenders. The presence of d'  pernon's ambition in the 'Observations historiques' demonstrates the multiple readings this tragedy allows for through its epistemic defectiveness. Nevertheless, *La Mort de Henri IV* has been denounced simply as propaganda.¹⁷⁴ Certainly, the *applications* were understood by the contemporary audience, as the *  p  tre    M. Legouv  * (1806) testifies.¹⁷⁵ Along with the other simultaneous plays lauding the King in different genres such as the opera *Gabrielle d'Estr  es, ou les Amours de Henri IV*, the Comtesse de R  musat records: 'il serait impossible, en ce moment, en applaudissant Henri IV, de ne pas penser tout de suite    l'empereur', a reaction witnessed by the

¹⁷² For the unity of two actions in Jean Racine's *Andromaque*, see N  pomuc  ne-Louis Lemerrier, *Cours analytique de litt  rature g  n  rale : tel qu'il a   t   profess      l'Ath  n  e de Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: Nepveu, 1817), I, 208.

¹⁷³ See Chantal Thomas, *La Reine sc  l  rate: Marie-Antoinette dans les pamphlets* (Paris:   ditions du Seuil, 1989) and Lynn Hunt, 'The Many Bodies of Marie-Antoinette: Political Pornography and the Problem of the Feminine in the French Revolution', in *Marie-Antoinette: Writings on the Body of a Queen*, ed. by Dena Goodman (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 117–38.

¹⁷⁴ Naugrette, p. 53.

¹⁷⁵ *  p  tre    M. Legouv  , membre de l'Institut, sur la trag  die intitul  e 'La Mort de Henri IV', repr  sent  e pour la premi  re fois sur le Th   tre Fran  ais le 25 juin 1806* ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]), p. 7.

Police.¹⁷⁶ Significantly Henri-Napoleon could be seen to be reconnecting with the people, and re-occupying the place of the father of the nation: ‘De ce peuple qui m’aime ah ! je me sens le pere [sic] !’¹⁷⁷ This was one view: the parody *Les Quatre Henri* (1806) commented that the political make-up of the parterre was changed to fit the allusions.¹⁷⁸ Subsequently, as with *Les Templiers*, the rewriting of history through tragedy could not guarantee propaganda’s success, but it allowed for different political standpoints to interact with the position of father-king. Whereas this had once been a Bourbon, Hunt has illustrated that this function was performed by Napoleon, aiding the public to engage with the post-revolutionary French nation.¹⁷⁹

c. Proxy Wars: *Tippo-Saëb*, 1813

Étienne de Jouy’s *Tippo-Saëb*, which can qualify as a *tragédie nationale* in the Voltairean sense that it portrays a French character abroad,¹⁸⁰ premiered during an era when France’s military prowess was on the wane. *Tippo-Saëb* is the most extreme Napoleonic tragedy in its treatment of adapting the past. This event was still within recent French memory and it portrayed a head of State with whom Napoleon had personally corresponded.¹⁸¹ Jouy’s rewriting of both the British

¹⁷⁶ Rémusat, I, 401; ‘Bulletin du 26 Juin [1806]’, in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire : recueil de documents pour l’histoire de l’esprit public à Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: Cerf; Nobelet; Quantin, 1912–23), II (1914), 592.

¹⁷⁷ *La Mort de Henri IV*, IV. 1, p. 47.

¹⁷⁸ Michel Dieulafoy, *Les Quatre Henri, ou le jugement de Meunier de Lieursain, parodie sans parodie, en un acte mêlé de vaudevilles* (Paris: Madame Masson, 1806), I. 9, p. 17.

¹⁷⁹ Hunt, p. 153.

¹⁸⁰ In *Zaïre*, Voltaire introduced ‘sur la scène les noms de nos rois et de nos anciennes familles du royaume’ hoping to create ‘un genre de tragédie qui nous est inconnu jusqu’à ici, et dont nous avons besoin.’ Voltaire quoted in Jean Pierre Perchellet, *L’Héritage classique. La Tragédie entre 1680 et 1814* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), p. 296. This led to the rise in ‘national’ subjects, which were given even greater licence with Chénier’s *Charles IX* during the Revolution, Perchellet, p. 296–97.

¹⁸¹ For example, Letter Bonaparte to Tippo-Saïb, 25 January 1799 in Napoleon, *Correspondance inédite, officielle et confidentielle de Napoléon Bonaparte, avec*

and the French historians and eyewitnesses whom he cites in his lengthy ‘Précis historique’ enables considerable slander of the British: ‘l’occasion qui m’était offerte d’exposer sur notre scène les crimes les plus avérés du cabinet britannique’; ‘une nation constamment ennemie, même au sein de la paix.’¹⁸² Consequently, India becomes a proxy battlefield for both the English and the French. The Indian minister Narséa and the French general Raymond argue who detests the British more,¹⁸³ a useful source of patriotism for the French audience which was facing military defeat, and Tippo frequently cites his hatred for Britain. Accordingly, the past setting of the tragedy allows for the arousal of contemporary patriotism.

Jouy’s Orientalist vision in *Tippo-Saëb* also serves to portray a weak, imploding East and in contrast, a strong and virtuous France. Jouy’s India is ‘l’empire ou plutôt la tyrannie’.¹⁸⁴ Tippo-Saëb’s glorious father who was ‘à la fois législateur, guerrier, | Dans la poudre des camps élevé des l’enfance,’ is presented as an Indian Germanicus, and Tippo is proud of this heritage.¹⁸⁵ Unlike his father, however,

Tippô n’a recueilli que l’amour de la guerre,
L’ardente ambition qui dévorait son cœur,
Et pour le nom des anglais son invincible horreur.¹⁸⁶

Tippo is ‘[a]veugle en sa fureur’¹⁸⁷ and his excessive pride leads to the French withdrawing their support when Tippo’s minister Narséa accuses the French Raymond of betrayal, although it is actually Narséa who later lets the English into the capital, leading to the tragedy. Like other playwrights, Jouy exposes the abusive position of courtiers. As we saw in Chapter Two, Narséa’s explicit

les cours étrangères, Égypte, 7 vols (Paris: Panckoucke, 1819–20), II (1819), 192.

¹⁸² Étienne de Jouy, ‘Préface’, in Étienne de Jouy, *Tippo-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Barba, 1813), pp. v–xii (p. viii).

¹⁸³ *Tippo-Saëb*, I. 3, p. 11.

¹⁸⁴ Étienne de Jouy, ‘Précis historique’, in *Tippo-Saëb*, pp. xiii–xxvii (p. xxiv).

¹⁸⁵ *Tippo-Saëb*, I. 1, p. 4.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, V. 1, p. 68.

opposition to Raymond is visualised in a tableau in III. 4 when Narséa and Raymond stand on different sides of Tippo's throne. It is inferred that the French Raymond, on the left, is superior to the native Narséa, strengthening the Orientalist image of the tragedy.

Combined with anti-English sentiment and an Orientalist vision strengthening the West, Jouy additionally used *Tippo-Saëb* as a space to glorify France further. Raymond's confidant, Lalley, narrates how great the French are:

Chez ce peuple aux combats par la victoire instruit,
Que l'obstacle encourage et que l'honneur conduit ;
C'est là que brilleraient, auprès du rang suprême,
Ces vertus d'un héros que j'honore et que j'aime.¹⁸⁸

Indeed, in III. 4 a whole section where Tippo glorifies France in front of the English envoy Weymour was added in between the manuscript and the prompt book, making its way into the printed edition.¹⁸⁹ Those at the heart of the theatrical institution were actively using the tragedy and its rewriting of history as a space for national glorification.

However, Jouy's greatest rewriting of the past is in Tippo's dying moments. British historians claimed that Tippo died in combat, but Jouy modified this to show that, in Tippo's words: 'Ils ne pouvaient me vaincre; ils m'ont assassiné.'¹⁹⁰ Britain is portrayed as not only killing France's former ally, and of planning it since the opening scene, but of doing so out of cowardice, which stands in juxtaposition to the honour that the French Raymond embodies. Lest this anti-English message be mistaken, Tippo's last lines clarify the situation: 'Je meurs. Mes enfans, conservez à jamais | Le souvenir d'un père, et l'horreur des Anglais.'¹⁹¹ The final word of 'Anglais' indicates how the hatred of the English should be greater than the memory of their father to Tippo's children. To accentuate the message, the English soldiers originally came on-stage and

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., II. 4, p. 26.

¹⁸⁹ Paris, BMCF, *Tippo-Saëb*, manuscript, Ms 25080 (7), p. 43; BMCF, Ms 503, pp. 65–66; *Tippo-Saëb*, III. 4, pp. 39–40.

¹⁹⁰ *Tippo-Saëb*, V. 8, p. 76.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., V. 9, p. 77.

surrounded Tippo and his family in a tableau ending.¹⁹² In the printed edition Jouy has recourse to the following historical footnote to reiterate the guilt of the British: ‘Tippô n’est pas mort dans son palais ; mais il a été assassiné en cherchant à y rentrer pour y mourir avec ses enfans et ses femmes’.¹⁹³ The Police recorded with interest quite how fervently the audience partook in the anti-English sentiment.¹⁹⁴ Jouy’s rewriting of history told a different version of Tippo’s death than that commonly advanced. This was a useful debate to bolster morale and unite the nation but also to distract it; only a year before the censor Pierre-Édouard Lémontey argued that debate stemming from literature and art was needed to divert the public and the rewriting of history via tragedy offered a key opportunity.¹⁹⁵

d. Rewriting Regime Change: *Les États de Blois*, 1810 and 1814

Returning to France, Henri de Bourbon was never far from the stage: by 1806 Raynouard had his next tragedy, *Les États de Blois*, ready and it was being read in the salons.¹⁹⁶ Crucially in this version the Comtesse de Rémusat indicated that the weak Henri III was a character, whereas he is absent from the rebellion and his mother’s orchestration of assassination of the Duc de Guise in the version performed at court in 1810 and publically during the First Restoration in 1814.¹⁹⁷ Raynouard rewrote his tragedy to remove the King from the stage, underlining his feebleness. Henri III cannot even appear in the preparations for the Estates

¹⁹² The prompt book notes that as Tippo dies: ‘Les Anglais entrent de toutes parts sur la scène avec des armes et des flambeaux. Les fils de Tipus à genoux des pieds, près de leur père lui baisent les mains. Aldëir est tombée évanouie sur le lit même. Les Français font face aux Anglais en présentant la bayonette, Raymond arrête ce mouvement, Les Anglais s’arrêtent avec douleur et surprise.’ BMCF, Ms 503, p. 125.

¹⁹³ Étienne de Jouy, ‘Notes’, in *Tippo-Saëb*, pp. 79–84 (p. 84).

¹⁹⁴ Lanza de Laborie, p. 218.

¹⁹⁵ Pierre-Édouard Lémontey, quoted in Welschinger, p. 125.

¹⁹⁶ Rémusat, II, 126.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. The 1810 version of the tragedy was not printed but can be traced through the prompt book BMCF, Ms 511. For the 1814 version see François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Les États de Blois, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Mame frères, 1814).

General of 1588, his speech and desires are conveyed by the Queen Mother, Catherine de Médicis. Raynouard's character is an intertheatrical echo of Chénier's portrayal of the same queen. In her own words Catherine is:

Reine par son époux, reine par ses trois fils :
Tous les quatre ont régné tout à tour ; et la France
A vu ses rois changer, et non pas ma puissance.¹⁹⁸

Lest the audience had forgotten, the enjambment of these lines recalled Catherine's power, evident in the opening scenes as she attempts to convince Crillon to kill Guise and later she oversees the latter's murder. Consequently, the absence of the King concentrated the tragedy's investigation on the influence of the court and political life in general. Guise's fights can 'détrône[nt] aussi les rois',¹⁹⁹ and Raynouard nearly broke the alexandrine to uncover the extent of the Duc's power: he 'Commande au peuple, aux grands, aux prélats, même aux princes'.²⁰⁰ Guise embodies the fanaticism of the people: the extremist plotter Bussy's signal for the attack against Henri is 'LE PEUPLE ET GUISE'.²⁰¹ As in *Les Templiers*, this depiction was instantly linked to the Revolution: the Comtesse de Rémusat described the Ligue's supporters as 'les jacobins du commencement de la Révolution'.²⁰² Additionally, in the chaos of the Estates General of 1588 'Au nom de la loi même, on transgresse la loi' and 'Chacun commande et règne enfin... hormis le roi'.²⁰³ These lines were evocative of France's recent turmoil.

As in *Les Templiers*, Raynouard used tragedy as a means to discuss the Revolution. The ligueur and representative for the États, d'Aineville, launches a debate on revolution in II. 1, listing its advantages and disadvantages. Bussy, the governor of the Bastille, asks 'Pourquoi, me suis-je dit, garder la royauté?' wanting 'sur les débris du pouvoir monarchique, | S'élevât une grande et forte

¹⁹⁸ *Les États de Blois*, I. 1, p. 199.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 4, p. 209.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 1, p. 200.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 2, p. 263.

²⁰² Rémusat, II, 126.

²⁰³ *Les États de Blois*, I. 1, p. 200.

république.²⁰⁴ There is then the question of popular responsibility. D'Aineville reflects how 'Tout un peuple est puni du malheur de ses rois',²⁰⁵ and they debate the titles and division of society between the nobles, Church, and the people. Charles Nodier (1780–1844) notes that the lines 'Que font ces députés ? Tous trahissent la France, | Ceux-ci par leur discours, ceux-là par leur silence' were particularly seized upon for *applications*.²⁰⁶ Nodier, on behalf of his readership, declares how this situation is highly evocative of the 1789 Estates General.²⁰⁷ However, interestingly, in 1814 the 'révolution' Nodier associates with the *Les États de Blois* is not simply that of 1789–99, but the combined period from 1789 to 1814 and the fall of 'Buonaparte'.²⁰⁸ Not only does this confirm how Raynouard used tragedy as a means of discussing the Revolution but how this discussion extends the 'Revolution' into the present in reception. These *applications*, 'nombreuses, frappantes, et [...] avidemment [*sic*] saisies' which the public link to the abuses of Napoleon in 1814, were originally included in the version of 1810.²⁰⁹ The public modified the tragedy to link the period represented symbolically with the present. It was the public who was in charge of the received Message.

Nevertheless, changes were made to update the tragedy for the 1814 context. In 1810 there were two extra scenes of Guise plotting at the end of act IV, and act V opened with Guise and Catherine, whereas he does not enter until V. 6 in 1814. These alterations lessen the threat to the monarchy and the confrontation between political factions. Likewise, Henri de Bourbon appears saddened at Guise's death in 1814, inciting social catharsis and the reunification of enemies, whereas in 1810 Henri was triumphant. In this earlier form the tragedy ended with four extra lines from Henri which were removed from the 1814 edition:

Si je n'achève pas mes desseins généreux,
Qu'un monarque, après moi, plus grand et plus heureux,

²⁰⁴ Ibid., II. 1, pp. 221–22.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., II. 1, p. 222.

²⁰⁶ *Journal des débats*, 2 June 1814.

²⁰⁷ *Journal des débats*, 2 June 1814 and 9 June 1814.

²⁰⁸ *Journal des débats*, 2 June 1814.

²⁰⁹ *Journal des débats*, 2 June 1814 and BMCF, Ms 511, p. 23 and p. 49.

Fasse pour les Français ce que je voudrais faire ;
Qu'il les guide en héros, qu'il les gouverne en père !²¹⁰

The omission of these lines in 1814 demonstrates the weight of the epistemic defectiveness: although it would have been a welcome *application* for the returned monarchy, these lines could not be guaranteed to reference the newly restored Louis XVIII.

On the note of sovereignty, in 1814 Guise and Mayenne contest whether the King or the people is supreme, as they had done in 1810, but in 1814 they debate whether collective guilt is possible: 'GUISE: Si le peuple m'accorde un suffrage unanime..... | MAYENNE: Le peuple entier sera complice de ton crime'.²¹¹ In Mayenne's eyes, nothing can be higher than a king, but the exposition of Guise's thinking permits a negotiation of past actions. Nodier's second review of *Les États de Blois* corroborates this interpretation. Instead of focusing on the tragedy, Nodier reflects upon revolutions and the restoration of the monarchy and is keen to underline how

Les révolutions sont des tems d'exception où l'on ne pense pas toujours pour soi. Les hommes modifiés malgré eux par la véhicule au milieu duquel ils sont placés, obéissent sans le savoir à son impulsion, et la communiquent involontairement comme ils l'ont reçue.²¹²

Ambition and destruction were possible during Revolution—either 1789–99 or 1789–1814—but now that a legitimate and stable government had returned everyone could find a rightful place under the King.

Raynouard's hypotexts of the main characters additionally expose how his rewriting of history adapted the narrative for the post-revolutionary audience. Although Catherine de Médicis's past is recalled, Raynouard presents her as supportive of Henri, consolidating the transformation from the Valois to the Bourbon dynasty. Despite his readiness for combat, Guise admits he is now ashamed of St Bartholomew's Day, a past bloodshed Henri also regrets. In combination with the final lines of the tragedy which start 'Voilà donc les effets

²¹⁰ BMCF, Ms 511, p. 102.

²¹¹ *Les États de Blois*, III. 3, p. 253.

²¹² *Journal des débats*, 9 June 1814.

des discordes civiles !'²¹³ it is clear that Raynouard recalled a prominent event of the French collective memory as a way of working through the contemporary political situation. Raynouard attempts to heal society's wound through the debate of the two opposing parties and by increasing people's awareness of the assassination and the transition from one royal house to another. Therefore, the modifications made and the rewriting of history in general certify that those in the theatre world desired to use historical tragedy to present a certain viewpoint. The reception of the tragedy's Message exposes how *Les États de Blois* was not just used to mediate revolutionary tensions in *Les Templiers* and when the play was received, but to digest the current political revolution at the time of performance.

We should remark upon the evolution of the use of historical tragedy for retrial. In 1805 Raynouard did not overtly pronounce on the guilt of the Templiers but he used historians who were long dead as a means to negotiate the Revolution, admitting a sense of closure. In 1806 the culprit was Marie de Médicis pushed by d'Épernon but Legouvé allowed for a psychological investigation as to what forces them to make these decisions. The narratives used in the tragedy formed part of the history of France sanctioned by the Napoleonic regime and thus *La Mort de Henri IV*'s rewriting was bound up with the national reconstruction project to a greater extent. Like *Les États de Blois* which was composed at a similar moment, the figure of Henri IV prompted a reflection on the Revolution, its excesses, and how people can become uncontrollable. Then, *Tippo-Saëb* actively rewrote historians and eyewitnesses who were still alive, yet the 'trial' element had practically vanished and the rewriting of history through tragedy was used to pass sentence. Yet this is not a retrial designed to divide: the tragedies offer plenty of examples which warn against being influenced, such as Philippe-le-Bel, Marie de Médicis, and Tippo, and the earlier historical tragedies allow for a sense of catharsis through the debate of opposing historiographical (and political) points of view. The continued hypertexts of *Charles IX* also permitted a myth to form around characters such as Henri IV, allowing the nation to unite and reconstruct. However, as *Les États de Blois* has shown, the characters were moulded to the specific climate of their performance, often

²¹³ *Les États de Blois*, v. 12, p. 297.

supporting the nation but simultaneously contesting the dominant narratives and the silences of history, urging people to rethink the actions of the past and investigate a common culture.

3. Rewriting the Playwrights' History

Up until now, it has been a combination primarily of playwrights, actors, and audiences which has shaped how historical tragedy was used to retry the past. This nexus of theatrical forces in the creation of meaning is a far cry from the top-down model of propaganda espoused by some.²¹⁴ Furthermore, this model can actually be reversed: the audience—traditionally the Receiver—can use the Message to reject the Sender—traditionally the playwright supported by the theatrical institution and thus the government. Having turned the theatre into a court to retry history, and encouraging the retrial of the recent past, the theatre-court could try the playwrights themselves and sentence them for their actions by making his tragedy fall.

Many a lamentation against the excesses of the parterre can be found in the prefaces of the Napoleonic tragedies. Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc even had recourse to the judicial style, setting out the 'faits' of the incident and calling himself a victim of the audience's reaction to his activities during the Directory. Apparently, the fall of *Octavie* had been decided the previous day by Parisian students, and an officer overheard a member of the crowd declaring: '[b]onne ou mauvaise, il faut la siffler impitoyablement, il faut qu'elle tombe'.²¹⁵ As the *Opinion du parterre* remarked, this was not to do with the tragedy per se, but the author: Saint-Marc 'ne voit dans ceux qui ont sifflé la pièce que des *jacobins* (tranchons le mot), qui ne lui pardonneront jamais une chanson trop fameuse', which the same publication identifies as 'Le Réveil du peuple' (1795), a royalist and anti-Jacobin alternative to 'La Marseillaise' (1792).²¹⁶ Crucially, *Octavie* failed because of its author's past; it was the author and his political

²¹⁴ Hans Speier quoted in Ross, pp. 16–30 (p. 18).

²¹⁵ Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc, 'Préface', in Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc, *Octavie, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Vente, 1806), pp. v–x (p. vii).

²¹⁶ *L'Opinion du parterre*, IV (1807), 70 and 114.

orientation that were rejected, not the tragedy per se. Consequently, even though periodicals such as the *Magasin encyclopédique*, *Le Glaneur littéraire*, *L'Abeille littéraire*, and *Le Courrier français* saw some beauty in the play and parts which should have been applauded,²¹⁷ *Octavie* fell since 'c'étoit visiblement l'esprit du parti qui dirigeoit la cabale'.²¹⁸ This in turn meant that other periodicals did not bother to analyse *Octavie* and it disappeared into the folds of history.²¹⁹ Right from their conception, Napoleonic tragedies have been subjected to an ideological rewriting.

Octavie is not a lone case and reputation wars were common. In his preface to *Polyxène*, Aignan, who had been imprisoned during the Terror, cites the '[f]ables absurdes et contradictoires, pamphlets, lettres anonymes' which bore down on him prior to the tragedy's performance and he uses the preface to defend his actions during the Revolution.²²⁰ Likewise, members of the audience attended Antoine-Vincent Arnault's *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur* with the aim of preventing the play from being heard: they were discontent with Arnault's role in the coup of 18 Brumaire and his transition from royalist to demagogue.²²¹ Népomucène-Louis Lemer cier's tragedy *Isule et Orovèse* (1802) was similarly condemned before performance, cemented through the 'articles diffamatoires qu'on imprimait contre elle' and the discussions in *lycées*, salons, and at dinners.²²² Lemer cier stopped his tragedy in the third act and he only felt safe once he had Joséphine's patronage, which combined with the novel effects of the tragedy, did little to help his cause with the opposition in the parterre.²²³

²¹⁷ *Magasin encyclopédique*, I (1807), 173–74; *Le Glaneur littéraire* 30 December 1806; *L'Abeille littéraire*, 15 December 1806; and *Le Courrier français*, 11 December 1806; *Mémorial dramatique ou Almanach des théâtres*, 1808, p. 57.

²¹⁸ *Magasin encyclopédique*, I (1807), 173–74 (p. 174).

²¹⁹ 'Octavie', in *Gazette universelle*, X (1806), pp. lxx–lxxi.

²²⁰ Aignan, 'Avant-Propos', pp. 1–7.

²²¹ J. B. Wallez, 'Avertissement', in Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Œuvres complètes de M^r. Arnault*, 4 vols (The Hague: Imprimerie Belgique, 1817–19), III (1818), 3–8 (p. 3).

²²² Népomucène-Louis Lemer cier, 'A Mde Bonaparte', in Népomucène-Louis Lemer cier, *Isule et Orovèse, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Barba, 1803), pp. i–xiv (p. ii).

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. iv.

Chénier's ability to be a chameleon was not much appreciated: *Le Courrier français* recorded how some of the disturbances in performance of *Cyrus* were due to Chénier as an author.²²⁴ The Revolutionary playwright who had destabilised the monarchy with *Charles IX* was now celebrating the restoration of hereditary power. Even if *Cyrus* could be considered a veiled attack on Napoleon, the audience was angered by the rumour Chénier had been promised a seat in the Senate in exchange for this play.²²⁵ 1804 saw another prime example of this trial of playwrights through performance with Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas's (1767–1841) *Pierre-le-Grand* (1804). This tragedy was comprehensively rejected by the audience, according to Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, because one of Carrion-Nisas's recent speeches in the Tribunat had been too harsh.²²⁶ The *Magasin encyclopédique* declared *Pierre-le-Grand* to be one of the stormiest performances of modern times and twenty people were arrested.²²⁷ Carrion-Nisas had been 'averti à l'avance de ces projets et de cette burlesque conspiration' and even published letters, showing how this fall was premeditated.²²⁸ Indeed, Carrion-Nisas adopted revolutionary judicial language, stating: '[c]'est ainsi à peu près, si l'on peut comparer les grandes choses aux petites, que tant qu'on eut l'aire d'entendre les accusés au tribunal révolutionnaire, les hommes simples crurent qu'on les jugeait encore.'²²⁹ The theatre space became a courtroom: cases had been made and presented in advance and it was the audience who sentenced *Pierre-le-Grand*. The fall of the tragedy and the author was thus political, not poetic. Indeed, we might extend this case, and ask whether the 'fall' of Napoleonic tragedy and its belittlement in French theatre history is not because of its content but for similar extra-textual reasons.

Conclusion

²²⁴ *Le Courrier français*, 10 December 1804.

²²⁵ Lanzac de Laborie, p. 194.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

²²⁷ *Magasin encyclopédique*, v (1804), 562 and Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, 'Préface', in Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, *Pierre-le-Grand, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Baudouin, 1804), pp. i–vii (p. v).

²²⁸ 'Préface', pp. i–vii (p. i and p. iv).

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. iii.

In response to Dussault's question evoked at the beginning of this chapter, asking whether tragedies such as *La Mort de Henri IV* or *Omasis* would have been so popular in 1757, the answer is simply 'no'. I have shown how tragedy evolved to meet contemporary needs and one of those needs in post-revolutionary France was a means to mediate the Revolution. The Revolution was coming to a definitive close and from a socio-political stand point the role of the dead father-king had been filled for the first time since 1793 by Napoleon.²³⁰ Tragedy allowed for an understanding of the past through the rewriting of history, be it the portrayal of the ancient world, letting France re-found her glory; a discussion of themes such as family and power; or a more literal retrial, within the space of the theatre and through publications, of the Revolution and those who had been judged innocent or guilty.

In this chapter I have also confronted the issue of propaganda. This term is used in its modern negative sense by historians to condemn Napoleonic productions. As with nearly all theatre under the control of the government—and lest we forget, theatres on both sides of the Channel remain funded by their respective governments today—these tragedies could act as propaganda. The Sender could be the regime, the theatrical institution, or the playwright, but their intentions did not always prove successful. The epistemic defectiveness of the Message was much more reliant upon the context of the Message's diffusion and on the subjectivity of the Receiver than the Sender-Message-Receiver model implies. This has been shown by *Les Templiers* where only relatively minor changes were needed for it to be performed during the 100 Days after its monarchical reprise or *Les États de Blois* where the Receiver controlled the Message. Albeit desired, the reception of the Message can never be wholly guaranteed owing to the subjectivity of the Receiver and the context at the time of the Message. Persuasion is not enough to define a work as propaganda, as Ross herself has underlined, but as I have argued, neither is her definition of 'intention to persuade'. Consequently, moving beyond Ross's model, we are

²³⁰ Hunt, p. 153. On terminating the Revolution, see also Howard G. Brown, *Ending the French Revolution: Violence, Justice, and Repression from the Terror to Napoleon* (Charlottesville; London: University of Virginia Press, 2006).

forced to question the extent to which any play can truly be 'propaganda'. It may result in propaganda, of course; this may be intentional; but its effects cannot be ensured or assumed. These tragedies must be analysed as works of their time, and understood within the socio-political context, not following ideologically charged modern terms.

Chapter 4

Censorship: Rewriting the Performance of Power

Introduction

Tragedy was emotive and didactic; it was an instrument of power wielded not only by the Napoleonic State and the theatrical institutions, but also by the public and its critical sphere.¹ The opposition gathered in the playhouse, creating a highly charged environment where audience members became impassioned to such an extent that arrests and death occurred.² Such power had to be carefully supervised. Consequently, the passage of any new tragedy, from submission to publication, was closely monitored, particularly by the State and the Comédie-Française. Police reports might unveil that not all dangerous passages were removed, but more substantially subversive allusions that were applicable to the

¹ In the words of Christopher Balme who investigates the theatrical public sphere from the early modern period to the present day: 'Censorship implies a deep conviction about the political potency of the theatrical gathering. Where censorship reigns, the theatrical audience is in the eyes of the state part of the wider public sphere.' Christopher Balme, *The Theatrical Public Sphere* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 16.

² 'Les spectacles ont presque toujours été en opposition avec l'esprit du gouvernement', in 'Compte général sur la situation morale, politique et civile du département de la Seine pendant le mois de nivôse an VIII', in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat : recueil de documents pour l'histoire de l'esprit public à Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: L. Cerf, 1903–09), I (1903), 105–12 (p. 106). The Police record that twelve 'perturbateurs' were arrested at a performance of *Pierre-le-Grand* in 1804, Rapport de la préfecture de Police, 2 prairial an XII (22 May 1804) in François-Alphonse Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire : recueil de documents pour l'histoire de l'esprit public à Paris*, 3 vols (Paris: L. Cerf, 1912–1923), I (1912), 9–11 (p. 10). A spectator allegedly died in a performance of Népomucène-Louis Lemercier's *Christophe Colomb* at the Odéon in 1809, Vincenzo De Santis, 'Introduction', in Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, *Christophe Colomb, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Vincenzo De Santis* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2015), pp. 1–49 (p. 3).

regime rather than circumstantial events could be—and were—eradicated, for both political ends and for public order.³ This is a process we will name censorship.

Scholars have misjudged Napoleonic theatrical censorship, especially in the matter of tragedy. In 2015, Maurizio Melai described the Empire as a ‘moment où une censure implacable empêche toute originalité et entrave la libre expression du génie poétique’, a judgement already espoused over a century earlier by M. Albert in 1898.⁴ Albert underlined what he considered to be the over-zealous nature of Napoleonic censorship, using François-René de Chateaubriand’s declaration that ‘[t]oute indépendance semblait rébellion à son [Napoleon’s] pouvoir’.⁵ Napoleonic censorship *did* prohibit certain tragedies from reaching the public, but so did the censorship regimes of the Revolution and the Restoration. Indeed, Napoleon’s system would endure bar ‘brief intermissions’ until 1906.⁶ I contend that declarations about implacable control and restricted expression are not uniquely applicable to the Napoleonic era but in singling out the period 1799–1815, critics give the impression that theatre censorship under Napoleon was different, more restrictive, more controlling, exemplified by the Emperor’s personal interference.

The standard reference work on Napoleonic censorship today remains the 1887 *La Censure sous le Premier Empire* by Henri Welschinger, which looks at the censorship of books, newspapers, and theatre throughout Napoleonic era, correcting earlier accounts.⁷ More recently, the work of the archivist Odile

³ The Police believed that *applications* which were only fleeting need not be censored, Rapport de la préfecture de Police, 1 ventôse an IX (20 February 1801): ‘Faire suspendre une pièce ou en retirer des couplets, c’est souvent donner trop d’importance à une production éphémère, qu’il vaut mieux laisser mourir de sa belle mort’, in Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, II (1904), 188–90 (p. 189).

⁴ Maurizio Melai, *Les Derniers Feux de la tragédie classique au temps du romantisme* (Paris: Presses de l’université Paris-Sorbonne, 2015), p. 11.

⁵ Maurice Albert, *La Littérature française sous la Révolution, l’Empire, et la Restauration, 1789–1830* (Paris: Société française d’imprimerie et de librairie, 1898), p. 72 and p. 75.

⁶ Frederick Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760–1905* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 204.

⁷ Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire, avec documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1887). Before Welschinger, Victor Hallays-Dabot had

Krakovitch has covered censorship from the Revolution to the Romantic era, helping us situate the Napoleonic regime in terms of censorship's evolution from the declaration of liberty in 1791,⁸ and highlighting that censorship was not only a political practice, but also a literary one.⁹ For the Napoleonic era, Krakovitch has focused on the police archives at the Archives nationales, especially the censors' reports from 1807. The censorship of printed publications has equally had its fair share of attention.¹⁰ Scholars such as Welschinger and Krakovitch

given an account of the Napoleonic period in his history of French theatrical censorship, though it does contain several some imprecisions, Victor Hallays-Dabot, *Historie de la censure théâtrale en France* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1862).

⁸ Odile Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure (1800–1830) : inventaire des manuscrits des pièces (F¹⁸ 581 à 668) et des procès-verbaux des censeurs (F²¹ 966 à 995)* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1982) and Odile Krakovitch, 'La Censure théâtrale sous le Premier Empire', *Institut d'Etudes napoléoniennes*, 158–59 (1992), 9–105. Beyond the Napoleonic era, see Odile Krakovitch, *Hugo censuré : la liberté du théâtre au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1985); Odile Krakovitch, 'Une seule et même répression pour le théâtre et la presse au XIX^e siècle ?', in *Actes du colloque Presse et scène au XIX^e siècle*, ed. by Olivier Bara and Marie-Eve Therenty, available at <<http://www.medias19.org/index.php?id=2948>> [accessed 26 April 2016]; Odile Krakovitch, 'Le Théâtre de la République et la censure sous le Directoire', *Le Théâtre sous la Révolution, politique du répertoire (1789–1799)*, ed. by Martial Poirson (Paris: Desjonquères, 2008), pp. 169–92; Odile Krakovitch, 'La Censure dramatique : de l'ordre impérial à l'indifférence', in *Les Spectacles sous le Second Empire*, ed. by Jean-Claude Yon (Paris: Armand Colin, 2010) pp. 41–50; Odile Krakovitch, 'La Peur d'un roi désacralisé : la censure des tragédies de Marie-Joseph Chénier sous la Restauration et la Monarchie de Juillet', *Parlement(s)*, 8 (2012), 81–94; Odile Krakovitch, 'Consensus entre censeurs et critiques dramatiques', in *Censure et critique*, ed. by Laurence Macé, Claudine Poulouin, and Yann Leclerc (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015), pp. 199–219.

⁹ Krakovitch, pp. 9–105 (p. 17). Although David Chaillou's book is on opera he does look at censorship in other genres and the reports which Krakovitch speaks of, David Chaillou, *Napoléon et l'Opéra, la politique sur scène (1810–1815)* (Paris: Fayard, 2004), pp. 183–245.

¹⁰ Victor Coffin, 'Censorship and Literature under Napoleon 1', *The American Historical Review*, 2 (1917), 288–308; André Cabanis, *La Presse sous le Consulat et l'Empire (1799–1814)*, préface par Jacques Godechot (Paris: Société des études Robespierriennes, 1975); Carla Hesse, *Publishing and Cultural Politics in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1810* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Veronica Granata, 'Marché du livre, censure et littérature clandestine dans la France de l'époque napoléonienne : les années 1810–1814', *Annales*

analyse multiple theatre censorship reports, manuscripts, and rewritings to establish a thematic understanding of censorial logic, thus disproving Maxime Dury's view that the reasoning of past censorship cannot be studied.¹¹ From her research, Krakovitch highlights that Napoleonic censors particularly signalled out the topics of religion, immoral subjects, adultery, cross-dressing, excessive defamation of enemies, plots, and revolts for removal.¹²

Censorship is a more complex concept than the existing scholarship has hitherto recognised. These works have understood censorship as a bureaucratic system divided between the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police whereby a play was normally examined along political and aesthetic lines, then authorised or banned. In terms of purely State censorship, I will show that Napoleon additionally exerted his own extra-bureaucratic censorship. Yet the notion of censorship is far larger than these scholars and their bureaucratic analyses have permitted. Gregory Brown has shown how Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'structural censorship' and legitimacy within the 'literary field' were forms of eighteenth-century theatrical censorship, accounting for the endurance of particular forms and genres.¹³ Janice Best has also used the theories of

historiques de la Révolution française, 343 (2006), 123–45 [n.b. this is the edition available on Persee, <http://www.persee.fr/doc/ahrf_0003-4436_2006_num_343_1_2867> [accessed 26 April 2016]. The edition available via Cairn has different page numbers:

<https://www.cairn.info/resume.php?ID_ARTICLE=AHRF_343_0093> [accessed 26 April 2016]]; Odile Krakovitch, *Les Imprimeurs parisiens sous Napoléon I^{er}. Édition critique de l'enquête de décembre 1810* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2008).

¹¹ As Maxime Dury attests in his work on censorship, laws may stipulate what an individual can and cannot say, but censorship is a murkier matter because it 'ne prend pas la peine de définir les délits qu'elle a pour charge de sanctionner ni donc les motifs des interdictions qu'elle prononce.' Maxime Dury, *La Censure. La Prédication silencieuse* ([Paris]: Publisud, 1995), p. 25. Dury has an odd thesis whereby censorship can only exist if the freedom of expression has been guaranteed. He also misunderstands Napoleonic censorship, if it can be considered censorship in his eyes, stating that Napoleonic censorship had to remain secret. As the publication of the *arrêté* du 5 April 1800 in the press has shown, this was far from being the case.

¹² Krakovitch, pp. 9–105.

¹³ Gregory S. Brown, 'Reconsidering the Censorship of Writers in Eighteenth-Century France: Civility, State Power, and the Public Theater in the

Bourdieu—along with those of Michel Foucault and Mikhail Bakhtin—to rethink how nineteenth-century institutions of power controlled the public through various modes of censorship.¹⁴ Similarly, Laurence Macé, Claudine Poulouin, and Yann Leclerc’s recent volume considers censorship’s relationship with criticism to demonstrate the connections between the multiple senses of ‘censurer’, including self-censorship.¹⁵ Collectively, these works have extended our understanding of censorship beyond the confines it is often subjected to. Building on this enlarged definition and taking a renewed approach to the archives, I set out to show the constraints to which playwrights were subjected and the manner in which these shaped the tragic productions of the time.

The first aim of this chapter is to explain the censorship regimes to which tragedy was subjected, both in performance and print.¹⁶ This system has been frequently misunderstood, even as recently as 2016.¹⁷ I will then investigate the reality of Napoleonic tragic censorship. Given that the Comédie-Française was the only Parisian theatre allowed to perform tragedy from 1801 in theory and 1806 in practice, I will examine how this institution was surveyed by the government and how the Comédie-Française participated in this activity. My

Enlightenment’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 75 (2003), 235–68. In terms of eighteenth-century censorship, Robert Darnton has been a leading force in the field in terms of printed censorship, see most recently, Robert Darnton, *Censors at Work. How States Shaped Literature* (London: British Library, 2014).

¹⁴ Janice Best, *La Subversion silencieuse. Censure, autocensure et lutte pour la liberté d’expression* (Montreal: Éditions Balzac, 2001).

¹⁵ *Censure et critique*, 2016. Self-censorship is also explored by Laurent Martin’s essay, ‘Penser les censures dans l’histoire’, *Sociétés et Représentations*, 21 (2006), 331–45.

¹⁶ Geoffroy’s review of *Hector* was censored in 1809, ‘Bulletin du samedi 4 février 1809’, Ernest d’Hauterive, *La Police secrète du premier Empire, bulletins quotidiens adressés par Fouché à l’Empereur, nouvelle série 1808–1809* (Paris: Librairie historique, 1963), p. 529.

¹⁷ Laurence Macé argues that ‘Au double système constitué par l’attelage de la censure préalable et de la censure *a posteriori* caractéristique de l’Ancien Régime se substitue (sauf pour le théâtre et les périodes de guerre) la seule censure *a posteriori*’, Laurence Macé, ‘Introduction’, in *Censure et critique*, pp. 9–22 (p. 12). Therefore, amongst other measures Macé skips over the establishment of the Direction générale de l’Imprimerie et de la Librairie in 1810 which created a system whereby works had to be authorized before they could be published.

analysis will commence with the selection of pre-existing and new tragedies for performance, before considering the outright prohibition or part censorship of certain plays. The consideration of rewritten passages in private archival documents—manuscripts, prompt books, actors’ parts—and their relationship to the printed edition is particularly significant since all rewriting is subject to poetological and ideological constraints.¹⁸ I will conclude with a case study of the First Restoration and the 100 Days to reveal censorial continuities. Ultimately, my analysis suggests that censorship was an inherent part of the creative process and a practical reality of everyday theatrical life in nineteenth-century France. It was imposed both hierarchically through bureaucracy and laterally through the theatre. Although the figure of Napoleon remains significant, this constitutes a substantial revision of the predominant opinion that Napoleonic censorship was uniquely an ‘implacable’ form of top-down control prohibiting all originality.

1. Official Censorship Systems

Contrary to those modern scholars who see the reintroduction of censorship dating from 18 Brumaire, 1800, or even 1810,¹⁹ the Napoleonic era inherited the censorship systems of the Revolutionary period, just as the Restoration would inherit those of its predecessor. These systems are rarely explained but need to be outlined in order to understand Napoleonic censorship.

a. Printed Censorship

The *arrêté* of 17 January 1800, in which the seventy-three Parisian periodicals were reduced to thirteen, is generally considered the first Napoleonic censorship

¹⁸ I continue to use André Lefevere’s definitions of poetics and ideology which I set out in the introduction, André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Frame* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 7 and p. 14.

¹⁹ Examples for the 18 Brumaire include Gérard Gengembre, *Le Théâtre français au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1999), p. 90; for 1800 Marvin Carlson, *The French Stage of the Nineteenth Century* (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, 1972), p. 21; and for 1810 Dury, p. 73.

move.²⁰ However, such an order was nothing new: on 3 September 1799 the Directory suppressed eleven newspaper presses.²¹ On 5 April 1800, Napoleon asked the Ministre de la Police, Joseph Fouché (1759–1820), to ensure that the editors of the remaining newspapers were sufficiently moral and patriotic. The Bureau de la presse was established under the Police to review newspapers and books.²² Napoleon's librarian, Louis Madeleine Ripault (1775–1823), was additionally charged with reading all the newspapers, brochures, plays, books, and playbills, and to report daily on anything dubious that should be brought to the First Consul's attention.²³ Napoleon's personal censorship was already surpassing that of the system.

From 9 July 1803 a copy of each non-periodical work destined for publication had to be submitted to the Préfecture de la Police eight days before it was to go on sale.²⁴ The Police examined and reported on the work, and sent this report with a copy of the item to the Ministre de la Justice.²⁵ These measures were formalised on 23 September 1803 when a Commission de révision was created to read the work before it was released for sale.²⁶ With the advent of the Empire, a Commission sénatoriale de la liberté de la presse was founded on 18 May 1804, headed up by P. Lagarde, and composed of Pierre-Edouard Lémontey, Jean-Charles-Dominique Lacretelle (1766–1855),²⁷ and Jean-Louis

²⁰ Welschinger, pp. 209–10.

²¹ Ibid., p. 11.

²² For example, it seized pamphlets such as the *Parallèle entre César, Cromwell, Monck et Bonaparte* as early as 1800, *ibid.*, pp. 13–14, and p. 133.

²³ Ibid., pp. 14–15. See also 23 July 1801, *Correspondance de Napoléon I^{er} publiée par ordre de l'Empereur Napoléon III*, 32 vols (Paris: Plon, 1858–70), VII (1861), 201. Indeed, sometimes Napoleon had no need for surveillance: the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) offered the First Consul beautiful editions of *Justine* (1791) and *Juliette* (1797), which Napoleon promptly threw into the fire. Napoleon had the remaining works seized, and had Sade arrested and imprisoned for the rest of his life, Welschinger, p. 137.

²⁴ Hesse, p. 224.

²⁵ Ibid. As Welschinger has shown, this could lead to the suppression of certain lines, allowing the rest of the work to be printed, see his commentary of the *Poème de la pitié*, Welschinger, p. 142.

²⁶ Granata, pp. 123–45 (p. 124, note 1).

²⁷ Known as Lacretelle le jeune.

Brousse-Desfaucherets (1742–1808).²⁸ These censors, along with Joseph Esménard, and from 1811 Charles-Joseph Loeillard D’Avrigny (1760–1823), were also in charge of pre-performance theatrical censorship. The Commission was shortly followed by the Division de la liberté de la presse at the Police from 10 July 1804.²⁹ Inside this Division, there was a Bureau de consultation on top of the work already being undertaken by the Commission.³⁰

As censorship became more complex, the Police took the matter into its own hands.³¹ By 1805, regardless of the nuances of legislation, the Police had effectively reintroduced the *ancien régime* system of ‘permissions tacites’ and ‘tolérances’, facilitating the public consciousness of the government’s support for specific works.³² It is perhaps as a result of this ad hoc system, that the censor Lagarde felt the need to authorise an edition of Jean-François Collin d’Harleville’s (1755–1806) *Le Théâtre et les pièces fugitives* with the following statement which was brought to public attention on 9 January 1806 by the *Journal de l’Empire*:

Vu et permis l’impression et la mise en vente, d’après décision de S. E. le sénateur
ministre de la police générale de l’Empire, en date du 9 de ce mois, prairial an 13,
Par ordre de Son Excellence,
Le chef de la division de la liberté de la presse,
P. LAGARDE.³³

This echo of *ancien régime* censorship caused an outcry, leading to Napoleon’s declaration in the *Moniteur* on 22 January that ‘[i]l n’existe point de censure en France’, blaming the incident on the Police.³⁴ Despite Napoleon’s public denials,

²⁸ Welschinger, pp. 18–20.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 20.

³⁰ Granata, pp. 123–45 (p. 124, note 1).

³¹ Fiche de travail, Ministre de la police générale, 13 vendémiaire an XIII (13 October 1804). The Police employee in question is caught in the crossfire of different demands by the Ministère de la Police and the Ministère de l’Intérieur and of the confusing regimes to which books of different subjects were subjected. Paris, AN, F/18/39.

³² Hesse, p. 227.

³³ *Journal de l’Empire*, 9 January 1806.

³⁴ Also quoted in Granata, pp. 123–45 (p. 123).

the authorisation of d'Harleville's publication reveals the legal and practical censorship systems that had established themselves by 1806, and stresses the constraints which bound the printing of both new and old works.

By 5 February 1810 and the decree on the printing and book trade, even Napoleon could no longer assert that there was no censorship in France. This decree is often envisaged as government censorship coercing the trade's obedience; yet this decree was not wholly negative. Carla Hesse's study of the publishers' reports and petitions from 1808 to 1810 has exposed how this decree was desired by the book trade who wanted 'strengthened laws on literary property, the revival of a national administration for surveillance and protection of copyrights, and greater regulation of the commercial exploitation of the texts in the public domain.'³⁵ Censorship was believed to safeguard the printing trade, to restore its prosperity, and to improve readers' tastes. The 1810 decree created the Direction générale de l'Imprimerie et de la Librairie at the Ministère de l'Intérieur, headed by Joseph-Marie Portalis (1788–1858) until 1811, then François-René Jean de Pommereul (1745–1823) until 1814.³⁶ The Direction générale sent the work to be published, whether new or old, to the appropriate censor, who then wrote a report, upon which the Directeur général decided whether the work was to be banned, corrected, or authorised.³⁷ The Police could only intervene if the work 'puisse porter atteinte aux devoirs des sujets envers le souverain et à l'intérêt de l'État',³⁸ in which case the manuscript would be sent within twenty-four hours to the Directeur général.³⁹ Nevertheless, as Madame de Staël discovered in 1810 with *De l'Allemagne* (1814), the Police remained virtually omnipotent. The Direction générale's censors had only noted ten suppressions and one modification in de Staël's work, as Welschinger discovered.⁴⁰ The Direction générale was keen to allow *De l'Allemagne*'s

³⁵ Hesse, p. 222.

³⁶ Granata, pp. 123–45 (p. 126).

³⁷ 'Décret impérial sur le droit des auteurs et leur responsabilité, ainsi que sur les règles prescrites aux imprimeurs et libraires', 5 February 1810, in *Recueil général des lois et arrêts en matière civile, criminelle, commerciale, et de droit public*, 10 (1810), 94–97, articles 13 to 16 (p. 95).

³⁸ Article 10, *ibid.*

³⁹ Article 15, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Welschinger, p. 174–89.

publication since ‘s’il n’est pas imprimé en France, [il] paraîtra infailliblement dans l’étranger, et que les phrases dangereuses qu’il renferme et les mauvaises intentions qu’on a pu y cacher n’en auraient que plus de succès’.⁴¹ Nonetheless, Staël’s work, which contained important ideas on tragedy and which would later have a significant impact, was seized by the Police as it was being printed rather than after its publication.⁴² The rivalry between the Police and the Ministère de l’Intérieur continued.

Censorship was supposedly abolished with the return of the monarchy in 1814. An order dated 13 April 1814 made it high treason for any magistrate to stop the free circulation of letters and periodicals.⁴³ Article 8 of the Constitution of 4 June 1814 declared: ‘Les Français ont le droit de publier et de faire imprimer leurs opinions, en se conformant aux lois qui doivent réprimer les abus de cette liberté.’⁴⁴ Yet the ‘Loi relative à la liberté de la presse’ from 23 October 1814 reintroduced ‘la censure préalable’,⁴⁵ and although Napoleon abolished censorship on 24 March 1815 during the 100 Days, it continued in practice.⁴⁶

b. Censorship for Performance

Such were the conditions for non-periodical publications, including play texts, but tragedy could be performed, entailing extra surveillance. This was not a Napoleonic introduction: scholars have shown that theatrical censorship was very

⁴¹ Bulletin de la dernière semaine de septembre 1810, 29 septembre 1810, Paris, AN, F/18(I)/148.

⁴² Welschinger, p. 177. However, it is worth noting that copies still circulated, and an 1810 printed proof of all three volumes can be found on Gallica: Madame de Staël, *De l’Allemagne* (Paris: Nicolle, 1810):

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86232904/f5.image>>;

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86232882/f5.image>>;

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8623289g/f5.image>> [accessed 14 March 2016].

⁴³ Dury, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Louis Madelin, *Histoire du Consulat et de l’Empire: Les Cent-Jours, Waterloo* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1954), p. 97.

much alive during the Revolution.⁴⁷ Although theatrical freedom was declared on 13 January 1791, Krakovitch argues ‘[l]a répression des représentations, à l’inverse, ne cessa pratiquement jamais, [...] et eut tendance, au contraire, à s’accroître’.⁴⁸ There were also additional laws from 1793 to 1796: on 2 August 1793 the director of ‘tout théâtre sur lequel seraient représentées les pièces tendant à dépraver l’esprit public et à réveiller la honteuse superstition de la royauté’ would be arrested; on 2 September 1793 the surveillance of the theatres was handed to the municipalities and the Police; on 1 April 1794 the Commission de l’Instruction publique was given administrative control of the theatres and festivals, which meant that manuscripts started to be inspected. ‘Préalable’ censorship was firmly established on 14 May 1794, and the police controlled all theatre surveillance from January 1796, along with all of the ‘esprit public’ with the decree of 14 February 1796.⁴⁹ Krakovitch explains that ‘le Directoire, par sa politique du juste milieu entre l’Ancienne Monarchie et la Convention, prépara la remise en ordre définitive, réglementée par Napoléon en 1807’.⁵⁰ The Napoleonic era was the heir of an already established, and severe, censorship system.

The Napoleonic theatrical measures are traditionally summarised as the decrees of 5 April 1800, 8 June 1806, 25 April 1807, and 29 July 1807. However, the administrative archives of the Comédie-Française, the Police, and those of the provinces divulge a more detailed story. The first of these decrees is the memorandum sent by the Ministre de l’Intérieur, Lucien Bonaparte (1775–

⁴⁷ See Michel Biard, ‘La Disparition de la censure transforma-t-elle la critique théâtrale au temps de la Révolution française ?’, in *Censure et critique*, pp. 371–83; Mark Darlow and Yann Robert, ‘Introduction’, in Laya, *L’Ami des lois, édition présentée, établie et annotée par Mark Darlow et Yann Robert* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities and Research Association, 2011), pp. 7–127; Mark Darlow, *Staging the French Revolution, Cultural Politics and the Paris Opéra* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Alain Vaillant, ‘Théorie de la littérature et pratique de la censure’, in *Censure et critique* pp. 385–99

⁴⁸ Krakovitch, pp. 169–92 (p. 169).

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 169–71. On Revolutionary and Napoleonic theatre decrees, see Rüdiger Hilmer, ‘Die Theatergesetzgebung zwischen Revolution und Restauration’, in Rüdiger Hilmer, *Die Napoleonische Theatrepolitik Geschäftstheater in Paris, 1799–1815* (Colonge: Böhl, 1999), pp. 452–59.

⁵⁰ Krakovitch, pp. 169–92 (p. 171).

1840), to every theatre director whereby no play, new or old, could be performed without the Ministre's permission.⁵¹ Unlike the early Police measures against the newspapers, this order was circulated and commented upon by the Napoleonic press.⁵²

The system was centralised on 12 April 1800: henceforth only those plays allowed in Paris could be performed in the provinces.⁵³ Yet flaws soon started to appear in the system. The Police noted that manuscripts were not submitted following the correct procedure,⁵⁴ and on 13 May 1800 it had to stop the performance of Jean Racine's *Athalie* (1691) owing to 'des allusions et des souvenirs favorables à un gouvernement proscrit'.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the theatre director who had programmed *Athalie* was not at fault: in June 1800, a préfet from the Haute Saône complained that the promised lists of permitted and banned plays (which prohibited *Athalie*) had not yet arrived.⁵⁶ Indeed, it took

⁵¹ '[L]'intérêt du pacte social, des mœurs, et du goût exige cette mesure'. Lucien Bonaparte, cited in the *Journal des débats*, 11 April 1800. Full text of the order can be found in Napoleon, *Correspondance*, VI (1861), 210.

⁵² In 1801 Jean-Baptiste Pujoulx speaks 'de quelque nom que l'on décore cette inspection rigoureuse que l'autorité exerce sur les ouvrages de théâtre avant leur représentation,' Jean-Baptiste Pujoulx, *Paris à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, ou esquisse historique et morale des monumens et des ruines de cette capitale; de l'état des sciences, des arts et de l'industrie à cette époque, ainsi que des mœurs et des ridicules de ses habitans* (Paris: B. Mathé, 1801), p. 242, and Sébastien Mercier publicly decries the censorship his play had to go through for a new production at the Théâtre de l'Odéon, Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Correspondance dramatique entre MM. Mercier (de l'Institut), Cubières Palmézeaux, auteur dramatique, et M. Simon, avocat, et secrétaire du comité de lecture du théâtre de l'Odéon* (Paris: Hugelot: chez tous les marchands de nouveautés, 1810).

⁵³ Letter 11 floréal [an VIII] (1 May 1800) to the Ministre de l'Intérieur from Secrétaire générale provisoire de la préfecture du département de l'Oise saying he has received the circular of 22 germinal an VIII (12 April 1800) with list of plays both new and old which can be performed in the departments. Paris, AN, F/21/997.

⁵⁴ 'Compte des opérations du bureau central du canton de Paris pour le mois de pluviôse an VIII', in Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, I, 159–62 (p. 161).

⁵⁵ Letter which arrived 23 floréal [an VIII] (13 May [1800]) to the Ministre from an 'entrepreneur du theatre des victoires, rue du Barq [Bac]', AN, F/21/997.

⁵⁶ Letter which arrived 25 prairial an VIII (14 June 1800) to the Ministre de l'Intérieur from the Préfet du département de la Haute Saône, AN, F/21/997.

until the following month for the Ministre to draft a reply listing the forbidden plays and any other ‘qui pourraient nuire aux bonnes-mœurs ou [...] *veiller* l’esprit de parti’.⁵⁷ This archival correspondence exposes how censorship cannot be reduced to a series of decrees: it is instead an on-going relationship between central government and individual theatres across France.

Fouché’s interactions further expose the double system of formal decrees and specific cases. Censorship was reinforced in the days following 18 Brumaire before the 1800 decree. The Police wrote to the Comédie-Française, as Welschinger documents, stating that the Police must first examine any new play relating to the current circumstances.⁵⁸ Ten days after the 18 Brumaire, Fouché stated that ‘rien de ce qui peut diviser les esprits, alimenter les haines, prolonger les souvenirs douloureux’ would be tolerated in the theatre.⁵⁹ On 5 December 1799, the Bureau des mœurs informed the Comédie-Française that any work which it intended to perform and which had been written since 14 July 1789 must be examined and that it must avoid any ‘pièce dont le contenu puisse servir de prétexte à la malveillance et occasionner du désordre.’⁶⁰ The government then insisted that any play which was waiting to be performed at the Comédie-

Delays in the reception of the list can also be seen in the departmental préfets’ letters in response to the circular in AN, F/21/1299^C.

⁵⁷ Letter, Ministre de l’Intérieur to the Préfet du département, messidor an VIII (June/July 1800), AN, F/21/997:

Je laisse à votre prudence, Citoyen, le soin d’ajourner la représentation des pièces qui pourraient nuire aux bonnes-mœurs ou qui, par des équivoques, pourraient ~~éloigner la~~ ~~calme, en reveillant~~ *veiller* [sic] l’esprit de parti.

Au surplus les pièces dont la représentation est déferée sont Mérope, Esther, Athalie, L’Orphelin de la Chine, L’homme au masque de fer, L’ami des lois, le Tartuffe révolutionnaire, la partie de chasse, Richard Cœur-de-lion, l’intérieur des Comités révolutionnaires [sic], Le Club des Jacobins.

As throughout this thesis, the strikethrough presents writing that has been struck through, and italics denote new handwritten corrections.

⁵⁸ Welschinger, p. 215.

⁵⁹ Bulletin du 28 brumaire an VIII (19 November 1799), in Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, I, 15.

⁶⁰ Letter 14 frimaire an VIII (5 December 1799) to the ‘entrepreneurs du Théâtre de la République’ from ‘des administrateurs du bureau des mœurs’ ‘relative aux pièces sur la Révolution’, reproduced in full in Welschinger, pp. 263–64.

Française had to have another reading.⁶¹ The government's private censorship measures were also expressed publicly outside of Paris. In Bordeaux, an order dated 22 November 1799 openly reminded theatres that they must not perform any other play than those indicated on the playbill and that said plays and any airs to be sung must have the authorities' permission.⁶² These earlier, local measures underscore the pre-existence of a censorship system inherited from the Revolution.

The administrative archives of the Comédie-Française reveal another increase of actions later in the year 1800 ignored by current scholarship. The Comédie-Française's government officer, Jean-François-René Mahéault, wrote to Laplace (17?–c.1814), the theatre's secretary, on 30 August 1800, reminding him to '[lui] donner avec le répertoire la distribution des tragédies qui s'y trouvent annoncés', along with a copy of the tragedies' text, so that the Ministre could survey the multiple aspects of any tragedy's performance.⁶³ Censorship also occurred through the reintroduction of privilege: on 16 January 1801 Jean-Antoine Chaptal (1756–1832), then Ministre de l'Intérieur, forced the Comédie-Française to perform only the plays over which it had the monopoly, namely tragedy and high comedy: it was not allowed to perform plays produced by other Parisian theatres, and they were to abstain from the Comédie-Française's repertoire. This was a precursor of the 1806 decree, but it had *ancien régime* precedents.⁶⁴ The Comédie-Française lamented these restrictions and the other

⁶¹ 8 messidor an XI (27 June 1803), Registre des délibérations de la Comédie-Française 10 vendémiaire an XI (2 October 1802)–11 août 1809, Paris, BMCF, R 432.

⁶² Arrêté de l'administration générale du département de la Gironde relatif aux théâtres, 1 frimaire an VIII (22 November 1799) (Bordeaux: Levieux, 1799).

⁶³ Letter 12 fructidor an VIII (30 August 1800) from Laplace to Mahéault, Paris, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 1 (13).

⁶⁴ Letter 26 ventôse an IX (16 January 1801) Laplace to Mahéault, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 2 (34). On censorship in the provinces as part of a national framework see Cyril Triolaire, *Le Théâtre en province pendant le Consulat et l'Empire* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise-Pascal, 2012), pp. 105–18. Bulletin du 21 Frimaire an XIII (14 December 1804): 'Le ministre décide que les spectacles des départements se régleront sur le répertoire de la capitale, et que l'admission ou le rejet des pièces nouvelles, ainsi que les changements dont les anciennes paraissent susceptibles,

theatres did not heed the government's stipulations. The following year, Napoleon took over the surveillance of the Comédie-Française's repertoire and he wanted to know of any changes to scheduled performances.⁶⁵ Furthermore, this increased surveillance was part of a national strategy 'de manière que le Gouvernement puisse connaître et suivre la marche de l'art dramatique dans toutes les parties de la France. Cette connaissance importe au gouvernement.'⁶⁶ Theatre was considered an essential part of public opinion, and as such it needed to be controlled.

The national censorship strategy came to its full fruition with the decree of 8 June 1806. Article 4 stated that the repertoires of the Opéra, the Comédie-Française, and the Opéra-Comique must be set by the Ministre de l'Intérieur,⁶⁷ and works performed in these venues could not be staged by any other theatre in Paris without prior authorisation, thus reiterating the regulatory nature of censorship.⁶⁸ Furthermore, '[l]e ministre de l'intérieur pourra assigner à chaque

seront abandonnés à la prudence des préfets.....', in Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire*, I, 453. Nicholas Harrison has noted that from 1769 until the Revolution, Comédie-Française and Comédie Italienne actors had controlled the repertoires of minor theatres. 'These men would eliminate verse, scenes of dramatic merit, noble characters, and subject matter adjudged too serious, and they imposed restrictions on certain theatre companies'. These measures meant that certain theatres could only perform pantomime, or behind a gauze curtain. Nicholas Harrison, 'Colluding with the Censor: Theatre Censorship in France after the Revolution', *Romance Studies*, 13 (1995), 7–18 (p. 10).

⁶⁵ Letter 11 floréal an X (1 May 1802) to Mahérault from Roederer

Citoyen, je vous serai obligé d'ordonner que quand il sera changé quelque chose au répertoire de la semaine, l'on m'informe par écrit des motifs du changement. Les Répertoires des Grands Théâtres étant réunis par moi au Premier Consul, il m'importe de pouvoir lui dire les raisons qui ont fait changer les pièces principales qu'il pouvait avoir eu intention de voir[.]

BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahérault 3 (6).

⁶⁶ Copy of the latter of 12 floréal an X (2 May 1802) to Citizen Arnault regarding the organisation and the repertoire of provincial theatres. Paris, BMCF, 3 AG 1802–3.

⁶⁷ Article 4 of the 'Décret impérial concernant les théâtres, au palais de Saint-Cloud, le 8 juin 1806', in *Bulletin des lois de l'Empire Français*, 5 (1807), 236–38 (p. 236).

⁶⁸ Ibid.

théâtre un genre de spectacle dans lequel il sera tenu de se renfermer.⁶⁹ Article 14 decreed that: '[a]ucune pièce ne pourra être jouée sans l'autorisation du ministre de la police générale.' The decree of 25 April 1807 declared the Comédie-Française to be 'spécialement consacré[e] à la tragédie et à la comédie.'⁷⁰ Henceforth, no other Parisian theatre could perform tragedy, and any play that did not fit the correct genre would be banned. Article 6 reiterated pre-performance censorship: '[l]'examen des pièces dans les bureaux du ministère de l'intérieur, et l'approbation donnée à leur représentation, ne dispenseront nullement les directeurs de recourir au ministère de la police, où les pièces doivent être examinées sous d'autres rapports.'⁷¹ The final comment of 'sous d'autres rapports' highlights not a double censorship, but a dual one, exposing the diversity of the aims of those in authority. Shortly afterwards, the law of 29 July 1807 fixed the number of Parisian theatres to eight.⁷² As the above shows, the decrees of 1806 and 1807 left the Comédie-Française relatively as it was from 1801, although their impact on other theatres was much greater. The repeated need to reiterate censorship and centralise its organisation hints that there was a certain amount of subversion in reception, and demonstrates the institution's importance to the government. As with the introduction of the Direction générale, censorship was not considered uniformly negative: by 1811 playwrights demanded that the 1810 decree on publishing and the book trade be extended to theatrical performances.⁷³

Tracing the evolution of Napoleonic censorship has thrown up many more dates than the usual foci of 1806 and 1807. Yet, Napoleonic theatrical

⁶⁹ Article 5, *ibid.*

⁷⁰ Article 1, 'Arrêté portant règlement pour les théâtres de la Capitale et des départements en exécution du Décret du 8 juin 1806', in Hilmer, pp. 426–31 (p. 426).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁷² This was not entirely successful, for example, the law of 29 July 1807 omitted curiosity spectacles, and several troupe directors signed a petition with the Ministre de la Justice to ask for a new law to deal with these spectacles because they were performing pantomime and comedies. Letter from Ministre de l'Intérieur to Ministre de la Police, 29 July 1808, Paris, AN, F/7/8748.

⁷³ 'Observations pour La Comédie française sur le mémoire présenté à son Excellence le ministre de l'Intérieur par les auteurs dramatiques', Paris, BMCF, 3AG 1811-3.

censorship is often only analysed post 1807 in part because of the far greater number of reports after this date. Henceforth, as during the Revolution, two copies of any manuscript were sent to the Ministère de l'Intérieur, which wrote a report summarising the play, giving a literary judgement of it, and indicating the page numbers of any sections to be changed or removed, before recommending the play's permission or prohibition. If the play were prohibited, both copies of the manuscript would be returned to the author. If it were authorised, the government kept one copy whilst the other was returned to the author.⁷⁴

Nonetheless, as this chapter will show, both minor and significant changes to the text could be made by the author and actors or demanded by the government without seemingly passing through the bureaucratic censorship system again. This corroborates the significance of the larger definition of censorship that I adopt in this chapter.

2. Napoleonic Tragic Censorship in Action

The State's direct intervention was strengthened by the Comédie-Française's lateral censorship, which was both aesthetic and political. The Comédie-Française was dependent upon the State for patronage (especially financial), and its specific government commissioner, Mahéault, surveyed and intervened in its actions.⁷⁵ Mahéault appointed the Comédie-Française's secretary, Laplace, to act as a censor,⁷⁶ and under Mahéault's auspices, the Comédie-Française's Comité général integrated the government's censorship and surveillance provisions. Sometimes, it was the government via Mahéault that set the

⁷⁴ Krakovitch, *Les Pièces de théâtre soumises à la censure (1800–1830)*, p. 21. This at least was the logic of the system, although as Chaillou has shown, sometimes only one copy of the text made it to the government, Chaillou, p. 186. Here Chaillou is referencing the report for *Abencérages* (1813), dated 30 October 1812, note 19 on p. 396.

⁷⁵ BMCF, ARAD.1 Dossier Administration Mahéault.

⁷⁶ Letter, 6 thermidor an VIII (24 July 1800) to Laplace from Mahéault, 'Je vous recommande de ne faire la distribution, les répétitions et surtout l'annonce d'aucun ouvrage dramatique qu'après avoir exactement remplie [*sic*] les formalités prescrites par le Gouvernement à cet égard. Je vous charge personnellement en votre qualité de secrétaire de veiller à cet important objet.' BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 1.

repertoire which was traditionally the domain of the actors' Comité général, and by 1807 the programme had to be agreed by Rémusat.⁷⁷ The Comité also accepted the government's censorship order that '[n]ulle pièce nouvelle ou remise ne pourra désormais être affichée ni répétée qu'elle n'ait été conformément aux ordres du Gouvernement'. Consequently, via State direction, the Comédie-Française introduced its own pre-censorship: henceforth, no play could be sent to the Ministre de l'Intérieur for examination until the Comité général ordered so.⁷⁸ The Comédie-Française, therefore, had to screen, to survey the repertoire—a form of self-censorship—before a recommendation could be passed on to the bureaucratic censorship system. This creates a circular censorship system. In its most basic form, the government could direct the Comité of the Comédie-Française (which was reliant on the State), which then decided on the repertoire, which was then sent to the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police (the government again), before the suggested play could be authorised for performance back at the Comédie-Française. The Comédie-Française's censorship was a lateral system in the sense that it was not part of the hierarchical procedures managed by the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, but it operated in conjunction with them to control performance. The Comédie-Française's increasingly discerning pre-selection reinforced the censorship carried out by the State on both pre-existing and new plays.

a. The Censorship of Pre-existing Tragedy

⁷⁷ 4 pluviôse an IX (24 January 1801):

Sur la proposition du commissaire du Gouvernement le comité arrête :

- La tragédie d'Oscar du Cn. Arnault
- L'Homme dangereux du Cn. Palissot
- [illegible]
- Et La Mort d'Abel du Cn. Legouvé seront remis le plutôt possible au théâtre.

Paris, BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité.

On Rémusat agreeing to the programme, see Hemmings, p. 104.

⁷⁸ 'Nulle pièce ne pourra être adressée au Ministre de l'Intérieur pour être soumise à son examen que d'après un ordre du comité et par une lettre de son sociétaire secrétaire-rédacteur.' Ibid.

i. *Ancien Régime* Tragedy

Pre-existing tragedies were not exempt from censorship. A report dated 18 April 1803 considered the Comédie-Française and the Théâtre de Rouen's desire to perform Corneille's *Polyeucte* (1643).⁷⁹ The Ministre de l'Intérieur had prohibited *Polyeucte*'s Parisian performance in 1802 because of the 'fanatisme Religieux que la tragédie de Polyeucte respire', that is Polyeucte's and others' conversion to Christianity and his eventual martyrdom. When the theatres still desired to perform *Polyeucte* in 1803, the ban was upheld until a new decision had been made, this time by Napoleon himself, who demanded that the tragedy be revived and it was performed two weeks later on 3 May 1803.⁸⁰

Not all tragedies were fortunate enough to be revived. In a report dated 27 March 1807, the censors judged that the performance of Pierre-Laurent Buirette de Belloy's *Zélmire* (1762) should be avoided: 'La Représentation pourrait aujourd'hui produire des effets dangereux & il faudrait pour les prévenir faire de grands changemens dans le fonds de la pièce & dans le dialogue de plusieurs scenes'.⁸¹ This report reveals that a pre-existing tragedy representing the monarchy of Lesbos in distant times was still problematic, perhaps because of the fact that the king, Polidore, had been usurped by his son, but rescued and kept alive by his daughter, Zélmire, allowing him to return and restore the rightful line of rulers. The solution that the report suggests exposes that textual rewriting was a technique used to overcome unwanted allusions.⁸² The censors stressed that these would have to be 'grands changemens', not just in the dialogue but in the essence of the tragedy's plot itself. Modifying the tragedy

⁷⁹ The Police noticed the proposed performance of *Polyeucte* in Rouen through the monthly national census of performed repertoires, 28 germinal an IX (18 April 1801), Paris, AN, F/21/998.

⁸⁰ *Polyeucte* was re-performed following an order from Napoleon, see Mara Fazio, *François-Joseph Talma, le théâtre et l'histoire de la Révolution à la Restauration*, trans. by Jérôme Nicolas (Paris: CNRS Editions, 2011), p. 126. For the performance date see Paris, BMCF, R 327.

⁸¹ Paris, AN, F/21/966

⁸² Zékian considers 'correction' to be different from censorship, Stéphane Zékian, *L'Invention des classiques, le 'siècle de Louis XIV' existe-t-il ?* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2012), p. 153, whereas I maintain that they are part of the same rewriting process.

was a solution, but not a coveted one, since it ‘donneroit peut être un résultat peu heureux, en ramenant l’attention sur les choses supprimées.’ The final nail in the coffin though, is that this is a ‘tragédie assez médiocre’: the great masterpieces could be reworked, such as Racine’s *Athalie* which Lémontey corrected, or Pierre Corneille’s *Héraclius* (1647) which was rewritten by Esménard as shown in Chapter One, but this effort is not worthwhile for the minor pre-existing tragedies. The 1807 censorship report might explain why, although the Comédie-Française ordered scenery and decorations for *Zélmire* in June 1800, the tragedy never made it to the stage under Napoleon.⁸³

Rewriting was one option to circumvent prohibition, and performance was another. During the Consulate, the Police observed the audience’s reactions to plays to measure any potential subversion.⁸⁴ Later, however, private performances were put on to judge a play’s allusions. The Comédie-Française argued that there was no ‘application indiscrete [*sic*]’ in Voltaire’s *Brutus* (1731) ‘entre l’Empire français et le République romaine au moment de l’expulsion de ses rois.’⁸⁵ Vitally, the censors note that they ‘regrettent de n’avoir pû juger l’effet que cette pièce à [*sic*] produit lorsqu’elle a été jouée sur le théâtre de la cour. Si V. E. y a assisté, ils la prient de décider par sa propre opinion la demande’. This demonstrates that private court performances, which will be studied later in this chapter, were employed as a means of gauging a play’s reception. The signed ‘Refusé’ at either end of the report, a decision dated 3 March 1808, reinforces the perceived efficacy of this technique.

⁸³ 15 messidor an IX (4 July 1801) decorations were ordered for *Zélmire* and *La Mort d’Abel*, BMCF, Procès-verbaux des séances du comité, BMCF, R 415. Another report from 10 July 1807 shows that the Police chief of Lyon had clearly contested this decision, believing that a ‘représentation de cette tragédie sur le théâtre de Lyon n’est susceptible d’aucun inconvénient,’ emphasising a difference of reception and of the censorship logic between Paris and the provinces, AN, F/21/997.

⁸⁴ For example, the ‘Tableau de la situation de Paris’ from 23 germinal an VIII (13 April 1800) notes ‘*Sémiramis* avait attiré beaucoup de spectateurs au théâtre de la République ; le calme le plus parfait a régné pendant toute la représentation ; aucun mouvement qui rappelât d’anciens souvenirs ou qui indiquât quelque ennemi du gouvernement’, in Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, I, 265–66 (p. 266).

⁸⁵ ‘Procès-verbaux de censure – Théâtre Français’, AN, F/21/966.

Ancien régime plays were also subjected to censorship when they were printed and prefaces to pre-existing theatrical texts were monitored (although seemingly not the reformulated text),⁸⁶ as was dramatic criticism. Even those at the highest echelons of the literary world were subjugated to this control: Julien Louis Geoffroy's 1803 *Commentaire sur les œuvres de Racine* was censored in part because of an attack on the contemporary playwright Gabriel Legouvé.⁸⁷ Although Geoffroy was writing about pre-existing tragedies, the censorship of his work exposes how these tragedies were mediated within the present: the dramatic past and present were entwined.

ii. Revolutionary Tragedy

Revolutionary tragedies were also carefully monitored. These plays remained dangerous in their printed format and could be used as political weapons, as Joseph François Laignelot's (1752–1829) *Rienzi* (1790) demonstrates. The Police noted on 20 October 1804 that this tragedy had been 'nouvellement imprimée sans nom d'imprimeur',⁸⁸ indicating its subversive nature, which was explicitly seized upon by the government:

[E]n relisant cette tragédie, on voit évidemment que la réimpression n'en a été faite dans les circonstances actuelles qu'avec des intentions coupables.

Nulle pièce, même à la simple lecture ne peut fournir à la malveillance plus d'allusions dangereuses [*sic*], plus d'applications méchantes.⁸⁹

The Police was particularly worried by the following lines:

⁸⁶ Librairie – bulletins hebdomadaires 1812 – 2ème semaine de janvier, Paris, AN, F/18(I)/149/2. This report concerned C.-A. Devineau de Rouvray's (1742–1830) preface for *Darius Codoman*, republished after forty years in 1812. The censors comment on the preface, not Deniveau's rewriting, which raises the question of who surveyed the content of the theatrical text. For the text in question see C.-A. Devineau de Rouvray, *Darius Codoman, tragédie en cinq actes, en vers*, 4th edn (Paris: Chaumerot jeune, 1812).

⁸⁷ Welschinger, p. 157.

⁸⁸ Feuille de travail 28 vendémiaire an XIII (20 October 1804), tragédie *Rienzi*, AN, F/18/39.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Son vêtement superbe est celui d'un monarque,
 Et, quoiqu'il soit du peuple, et même le dernier,
 Il a quitté le peuple et s'est fait chevalier ;
 Des haches des faisceaux, des licteurs le précèdent ;
 Chez lui tous les pouvoirs tour à tour se succèdent ;
 Tantôt il est consul et tantôt dictateur,
 Ou le front couronné, marche en triomphateur.
 Mêlant Rome sacrée avec Rome profane,
 Ce que le ciel approuve avec ce qu'il condamne,
 D'ailleurs sombre, jaloux, funeste aux gens de bien,
 Terrible à ses amis.⁹⁰

Along with 'Et combien d'innocents, bannis, emprisonnés, | Comme conspirateurs, combien d'assassinés',⁹¹ the parallels with Bonaparte were not hard to draw. Thus the Police concluded that *Rienzi* 'sans être représenté, n'en arme pas moins la méchanceté des ennemis du gouvernement.'⁹² *Rienzi*'s censorship reiterates how tragedy was used as a weapon and the influence this medium held in the public sphere.⁹³

The Revolution remained problematic on-stage too. Before 18 Brumaire, Jean Henri Ferdinand Lamartelière (1761–1830), who had translated Friedrich Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781), was preparing for the performance of his tragedy, *Gênes sauvée, ou Fiesque et Doria*, which had been censored earlier by the Directory.⁹⁴ The Comédie-Française archives uncover that much money was spent in preparation for this ornate tragedy.⁹⁵ *Gênes sauvée* was rehearsed and

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Another case of printed theatre as a political weapon is *La France f....e, tragédie lyrique et royaliste en trois actes et en vers*. The Police estimated that around 1000 copies of this work had already been printed when they intervened, 'Tableau de la situation de Paris', 19 vendémiaire an IX (11 October 1800), Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, I, 709–11 (pp. 710–11).

⁹⁴ Henri Welschinger, *Le Théâtre de la Révolution, 1789–1799 : avec documents inédits* (Paris: Charavay Frères, 1881), p. 128.

⁹⁵ For example, 280 francs were spent on wood alone, not to mention costumes, 25 vendémiaire an VIII (17 October 1799), Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux

announced for performance, but then the coup of 18 Brumaire took place and the tragedy was banned by the government.⁹⁶ In the words of Lamartelière's biographer, François Labbé, '[i]l faut avouer que vouloir représenter une pièce relatant une conjuration le jour d'un coup d'Etat relève d'une incroyable malchance'.⁹⁷ The prohibition of *Gênes sauvée*, allegedly the day after 18 Brumaire, and long before the order of 5 April 1800, reinforces how the censorship system was a combination of exceptional measures and decrees.⁹⁸ Having realised his tragedy would not be performed under Napoleon, when the Empire fell Lamartelière tried his luck again but to no avail.⁹⁹ When Lamartelière published his work in 1824, he stated that it had been received by three Comédie-Française committees and had been censored five or six times.¹⁰⁰

Another case in point is *Marie Stuart, reine d'Écosse*, which Patrick Berthier has correctly identified as being composed by Doigny Du Ponceau (1750–1830) and published in 1820.¹⁰¹ The tragedy was sold to the Comédie-Française in 1791, but it did not come to the theatre's attention again until 1807.¹⁰² In his preface, Doigny du Ponceau references a letter he received from the Comédie-Française, dated 7 March 1807, stating that they had sent his tragedy to the Police so that it might be performed and affirms that the censors

chef machiniste Boullet 1799–1806; Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 16 B – décorations et peintures.

⁹⁶ This is censorship is confirmed by the Comédie-Française when Lamartelière asks for a new reading on 26 October 1814, BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité and in a letter dated 3 October 1814, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Lamartelière.

⁹⁷ François Labbé, *Jean-Henri-Ferdinand Lamartelière (1761–1830)* (Bern; Frankfurt/M; New York; Paris: Peter Lang, 1990), p. 44.

⁹⁸ Jean Henri Ferdinand Lamartelière, 'Quelques mots sur Schiller, sur MM. les Comédiens français, et sur la tragédie qu'on va lire', in Jean Henri Ferdinand Lamartelière, *Gênes sauvée, ou Fiesque et Doria, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Barba, 1824), pp. i–iii (p. i).

⁹⁹ 26 October 1814, BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité.

¹⁰⁰ Lamartelière, 'Quelques mots', pp. i–iii.

¹⁰¹ Patrick Berthier, 'Une reine de théâtre, Marie Stuart', in *Le Personnage historique de théâtre de 1789 à nos jours*, ed. by Ariane Ferry (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014), pp. 73–87 (pp. 74–75).

¹⁰² 'Marie Stuart, tragédie de M. Doigny du Ponceau, vendue à la Comédie, la somme de 1800# le 22 Xbre 1791', Paris, BMCF, Dossier Doigny Du Ponceau.

then allowed his tragedy. However, the Ministre de la Police personally prohibited the play.¹⁰³ If we are to believe Doigny Du Ponceau, this is a case of the tragedy being allowed by the administrative system but prohibited by a powerful individual other than Napoleon.

It would be quite astonishing if *Marie Stuart* were really to have passed censorship, and perhaps the Ministre's intervention was to prevent a turbulent performance. The tragedy is not only royalist, representing female monarchs, which had been impossible under the *ancien régime*, but it was also potentially pro-British. The English¹⁰⁴ are described as a 'peuple libre', a victim whom Europe wants to attack; thankfully Elizabeth I has singlehandedly kept Europe at bay (I. 1).¹⁰⁵ On the other side of the Channel, her enemies, the French, are waiting 'le poignard à la main' (I. 1). One can imagine the reception of this couplet from the opening scene in the middle of renewed Anglo-French war: 'Heureuse sous mes loix, la tranquille Angleterre, | Présente un grand exemple au reste de la terre.' Returning to the issue of monarchy, when the French ambassador, Fénélon [*sic*], enters in I. 2, his opening lines to Elizabeth are 'Reine de qui la gloire et les brillants destins, | Ont effacé l'éclat des plus grands souverains'. This female queen is not only presented as victorious over her male counterparts, but the French love another one (I. 2): 'Et Stuart règne encor sur le cœur des Français.' Indeed, Fénélon argues that the name alone of Valois can bring peace (II. 2). Given how difficult it was to represent the old monarchy in any genre, the invocation of the name of Valois when the alternative Stuart was available is remarkable. Additionally, the topic of royalty hiding in foreign lands

¹⁰³ Doigny Du Ponceau, 'Avertissement', in *Marie Stuart, reine d'Écosse, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Boucher, 1820), pp. v–viii (pp. v–vi):

[L]e ministre de la police, tenant plume, dit en souriant, 'J'aime assez les reines qui s'amuse à s'entre-tuer ; il n'y a pas d'inconvénient de permettre la représentation ; il n'y a pas d'inconvénient aussi de la suspendre ;' et il prononça solennellement ma suspension.

¹⁰⁴ 'English' and 'England' are used in this chapter as direct translations of the French who tended not to talk about 'Great Britain'.

¹⁰⁵ The following references are all from *Marie Stuart, reine d'Écosse, tragédie en cinq actes*, Paris, AN, F/18/616.

and being unjustly executed was to be avoided after the death of Louis-Antoine de Bourbon-Condé, Duc d'Enghien (1772–1804).¹⁰⁶

Those close to the royal family were suspect. *Marie Stuart*, like many other tragedies, attacks courtiers. Norfolk was reputedly plotting against Elizabeth after having been at the heart of the State, which is not a positive message for a tragedy to evoke, especially after the Revolution. Moreover, Norfolk can 'faire trembler son Roi' (I. 1), and Leycesther cries 'Il est trop criminel s'il cause votre effroi !' (I. 1). This in turn leads to a discussion on justice: Norfolk is not guilty of having contravened any particular law, just of making people feel a certain way, and no proof is asked for to verify his guilt. Whilst this dubious legal and positive monarchical spirit may have been appropriate in 1791, by the Napoleonic era, this message was no longer fit for public performance, both for politics and civil order.

In addition to tragedies in the pipeline, the government also helped the Comédie-Française purge its revolutionary and immediately post-1799 repertoire. As well as the order from 5 December 1799 stating that any play written since 14 July 1789 must be re-examined before it could be performed, in June 1803 any play received before the current month of messidor (June–July) was considered as 'non avenue'.¹⁰⁷ This perhaps explains the disappearance of Marie-Joseph Chénier's tragedy *Philippe second*, an adaptation of Schiller's *Don Karlos* (1787), which was accepted unanimously on 6 October 1801.¹⁰⁸ Chénier's plays had already been taken off the repertoire in 1801 when the Ministre de l'Intérieur, Chaptal, wrote to Mahéault to suspend the performances of *Henri VIII* (1793),¹⁰⁹ and the Comédie-Française informed Chénier that the

¹⁰⁶ Étienne de Jouy, 'Préface', in Étienne de Jouy, *Bélisaire, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Ponthieu, 1825), pp. xi–xvi (p. xiii).

¹⁰⁷ 8 messidor an XI (27 June 1803) 'Art 1. Le Tableau des pièces nouvelles tant tragédies que comédies reçues avant le premier Messidor courant pour être jouées sur le Théâtre Française de la République est et demeure comme non avenue', BMCF, R 432.

¹⁰⁸ 14 vendémiaire an IX (6 October 1800), Paris, BMCF, R 431.

¹⁰⁹ 'Vous voudrez bien suspendre la nouvelle représentation de Henry VIII pour donner place aux chefs-d'œuvre de Racine, Corneille, Voltaire et Crébillon' Letter, 15 pluviôse an IX (4 February 1801) from Chaptal, the Ministre de

Comédie ‘est forcée de suspendre les représentations de votre tragédie’.¹¹⁰ The use of ‘forcée’ underlines the position in which the Comédie-Française found itself. Adapting himself to the new poeticological and ideological constraints, Chénier then amended *Henri VIII*, adjusting his portrayal of Henri as a lovesick tyrant in 1793 to become a more reasoned king by 1805 and removing elements of popular revolt.¹¹¹ Chénier was able to make a comeback after 1801 and have his plays performed but he was not so lucky when his works were censored again after the disgrace of *Cyrus* (1804). Chénier is not a lone case. In 1805 a new cast list was ordered for another revolutionary tragedy, *La Mort d’Abel* (1793) by Legouvé, indicating this tragedy would be performed, yet it only graced the Comédie-Française’s stage under Napoleon in 1801 and 1802, hinting at the presence of censorship for the 1805 production.¹¹²

Rather than simply a top-down censorship system, pre-existing tragedy was subjected to the dual bureaucratic system of the Ministère de l’Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, Napoleon’s own desires, but also the lateral censorship of the Comédie-Française. As the order for a new examination of any play composed after 1789 shows, the Comédie-Française was the favoured organ for the exercise of censorship.

b. The Censorship of New Napoleonic Tragedy

i. Theatre Administration

The censorship of new tragedies during the Napoleonic era used the same means employed to censor pre-existing tragedy, but the Comédie-Française exerted

l’Intérieur, to Mahéault, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 2 (29).

¹¹⁰ Draft letter, Comédie-Française to Chénier, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 2 (29).

¹¹¹ Marie-Joseph Chénier, *Henri VIII, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Dabin, 1805). For the rewriting from the 1801 edition, see the BnF’s copy, Marie-Joseph Chénier, [Épreuves] *Henri VIII, tragédie* (Paris: Didot l’aîné, 1801), available on Gallica: <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k8555438>> [accessed 14 March 2016].

¹¹² Letter 30 November 1805. Legouvé states that the Comédie-Française had asked him for a new distribution and he is now sending it. Paris, BMCF, Dossier Legouvé.

another level of aesthetic and political censorship in the form of the Comité de lecture: before being performed a play had to be read and received by the sociétaires.¹¹³ The Comédie-Française acted as an unofficial censor for both the government and the public. This dual horizon of expectation which guided the selection of plays shows how the Comédie-Française's lateral system also functioned beyond governmental direction: it was also there for the audience. The conditions for a play to be read became increasingly restrictive over time and in 1813, the Comédie-Française decreed that:

Art. 111 Aucune pièce nouvelle ne pourra être lue qu'elle ne soit présentée par un auteur ayant déjà un ou plusieurs ouvrages joués ou reçus au théâtre français, ou qu'un sociétaire n'ait certifié par écrit qu'il la connaît et qu'elle peut être entendue.

Art. 112. Tout auteur n'ayant pas encore d'ouvrage joué ni reçu au théâtre français devra envoyer sa pièce au Comité d'administration, qui la fera examiner.¹¹⁴

The restriction of the pool of potential tragedies constitutes a form of censorship. The Comité de lecture sometimes rejected tragedies outright, such as *L'Orphelin polonois* (1801),¹¹⁵ or asked that they were corrected for a second reading, as in the cases of *Annibal* (1811) and *Tippo-Saëb* (1813).¹¹⁶ This selection forces tragedies to comply with the established generic model, as Brown has shown for the eighteenth century using Bourdieu's notion of structural censorship. This

¹¹³ The role of the Comité as a censoring body was commented upon openly in the press during the Consulate. A 'note communiquée', in the *Journal des débats* defended the number of plays read versus the number of plays received.

L'attention du censeur se fixe sur un quatrième objet, celui de l'art, et il doit refuser son approbation aux ouvrages qui ne lui paroissent pas dignes de la scène française. [...] Le préfet du palais a examiné le rapport du censeur et les ouvrages censurés. Sans faire usage de son autorité, il a engagé le comité de la comédie à revoir les pièces nouvellement acceptées, l'invitant à se bien pénétrer des intérêts de l'art dramatique[.]

Journal des débats, 31 October 1803.

¹¹⁴ 25 September 1813, 'Règlement d'administration intérieure [sic] pour le théâtre Français', Paris, BMCF, R 433.

¹¹⁵ J.-L. Lamontagne, 'Préface', in J.-L. Lamontagne, *L'Orphelin polonois, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Hugelot, 1801), pp. v–xi (p. v).

¹¹⁶ Letter, 14 January 1812, Jouy to the Comédie-Française, BMCF, Dossier Jouy; 23 December 1814, BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité.

type of censorship was implicitly critiqued by J.-L. Lamontagne (17?–18?), the author of *L'Orphelin polonois*, who wrote that his tragedy was declined because he refused to bend ‘un genou respectueux devant l'idole stupide qu'ils adorent’.¹¹⁷ Censorship on aesthetic grounds is a facet not sufficiently explored in the existing scholarship. The fact that authors such as C.-A. Devineau de Rouvray (1742–1830) went to great lengths to amend their tragedies so that they might be performed, equally testifies to the workings of aesthetic censorship.¹¹⁸ The Comité de lecture also acted as a screen for government censorship. Laplace, the Comédie-Française secretary whom Mahéault had charged with enforcing State censorship, wrote to Lamontagne:

[Votre] sujet [...] serait propre à donner des réminiscences qui en ferait repousser la représentation par le Gouvernement et par le public. Ils ont des souvenirs qu'il ne faut pas rappeler et sur lesquels le gout des spectateurs est bien connu.¹¹⁹

The Comité de lecture was undoubtedly a censoring screen in the name of the government and the spectator.

If an unsuitable tragedy were able to make it to a reading or if the political conditions changed altering its messages, it could still be denied performance: after *Montmorenci* (1801) and *Pierre-le-Grand* (1804) Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas had a third tragedy read in 1812 but there is no further mention of it. Similarly, *L'Orphelin polonois* was refused, and although the Comité général speaks of the tragedies *Arsitomorée* and *Ihilopemon*, they were never to grace the stage under Napoleon.¹²⁰ A useful source in this respect is the collection of registers for the Comité de lecture. Although they ought to be treated with care—not every tragedy read appears to be logged—they offer an idea of the selection that the Comédie-Française exercised. In the year

¹¹⁷ Lamontagne, ‘Préface’, pp. v–xi (p. v).

¹¹⁸ C.-A. Devineau de Rouvray, ‘Préface’, in Devineau de Rouvray, *Darius Codoman*, pp. v–xxxvi (p. xix).

¹¹⁹ Letter [n.d.], Laplace to Citoyen Lamontagne, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Laplace. This letter is reproduced in the published version of Lamontagne’s tragedy, see Lamontagne, ‘Préface’, pp. v–xi (p. vii).

¹²⁰ 4 fructidor an IX (22 August 1801) and 11 December 1809, BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité.

IX (1800–1801) alone, thirteen tragedies were logged to be read, not all with titles, but only two—that of Mazoyer (presumably *Thésée*) and Alma’s *Astyanax* (1805)—made it to performance.¹²¹ The difference between the number of tragedies recorded to be read and those received explains the censorship that scholars have attributed to tragedies such as Antoine Vincent Arnault’s *Scipion, ou l’Africain*, which was listed to be read in 1802 but never performed.¹²² Similarly, of the sixty-four tragedies recorded in the register of received plays between August 1803 and July 1815, only twenty reached the stage under Napoleon.¹²³ Tragedies could also be significantly delayed, hinting at the presence of censorship, as was the case for F.-J. Depuntis’s (17?–18?) *Clovis* (1813) and also D’Avrigny’s *Jeanne d’Arc*, despite the fact that D’Avrigny was himself a censor.¹²⁴ The Comédie-Française not only selected tragedies, but also impeded those deemed currently inappropriate or lacking in quality. Its lateral censorship was integral to the political and aesthetic control of the theatrical scene, for both the government and the audience.

ii. State Censorship and Unperformed Tragedies

The lateral censorship of the Comédie-Française undoubtedly aided the hierarchical system of bureaucratic censorship, but the government retained overall control over what could be performed. The study of the interactions

¹²¹ Paris, BMCF, R 443.

¹²² *Scipion ou l’Africain* was listed to be read on 2 ‘pse’ [pluviôse] an X (22 January 1802), BMCF, R443. This tragedy is mentioned by Pierre Frantz, ‘Le Théâtre sous l’Empire : entre deux Révolutions’, in *L’Empire des muses*, ed. by Jean-Claude Bonnet (Paris: Belin, 2004), pp. 173–97 and Vincenzo De Santis, ‘Le Dramaturge dissident. Le Théâtre de Louis Lemercier entre Lumières et Romantisme’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2013), p. 84. Santis argues that Arnault withdrew his tragedy when Napoleon decided not to invade Britain.

¹²³ Paris, BMCF, R 450.

¹²⁴ On *Clovis*, see F.-J. Depuntis, ‘Avertissement’, in F.-J. Depuntis, *Clovis, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Toulouse: Benichet le cadet, 1813), pp. 3–7 (p. 3). *Clovis* was read at the Comédie-Française on 10 January 1812 and *Jeanne d’Arc* on 14 June 1812, BMCF, R 443, Théâtre français, ouvrages présentés au comité de lecture, secrétariat.

between the bureaucratic system and that of the Comédie-Française shows not just how the censorship system functioned but by analysing what was removed for performance we can ascertain what was problematic for the theatrical public sphere.

An enlightening document in this respect is the register of ‘Pièces reçues’ and its ‘observations’. This register shows that Jean-Claude Fulchiron’s (1774–1859) *Pizarre* was read on 23 August 1801 but that it was left unperformed and eventually banned by the Police in 1819.¹²⁵ This was also the case for M. Amar Durivier’s (17?–18?) *Catherine II* (1804), Charles Brifaut’s *Jeanne Gray* (1807), M. Delmore’s (17?–18?) *La Mort de Sélim II* (1810), Népomucène-Louis Lemercier’s *Camille, ou le Capitole sauvé* (1811), and M. Maisonneuve’s (17?–18?) *Le Maire de Rouen* was also ‘ajournée par la police’ on 4 August 1814, two months after censorship had supposedly been abolished by the Restoration’s Charte constitutionnelle.¹²⁶ Unfortunately, owing to the lack of surviving manuscripts we cannot study all of these cases, but three crucial documents remain.

The first source is a letter from Claude Hochet (1772–1857) to Benjamin Constant regarding the censorship of Lemercier’s *Camille, ou le Capitole sauvé*. The tragedy was judged to be good, and two censors had approved it but Lemercier had the misfortune to encounter D’Avrigny as a newly appointed—and consequently zealous—third censor. Hochet recounts: D’Avrigny ‘a fait un rapport qui représenteroit l’auteur sous de telles couleurs que non seulement sa piece est defendue, mais qu’on lui a même, dit on, interdit de faire des tragédies à l’avenir.’¹²⁷ The third censor overturned the judgement of his senior colleagues, crucially because of Lemercier as a playwright rather than because of his tragedy. The ominous ‘dit on’ might not be the faithful transcription of events

¹²⁵ 5 fructidor an IX (23 August 1801), Paris, BMCF, R 449. This was even though Fulchiron maintained it was supported by the government, letter 15 prairial, Fulchiron to the Comédie-Française, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Fulchiron.

¹²⁶ The dates in brackets here refer to the dates that the play was read, BMCF, R 449.

¹²⁷ Letter Claude Hochet to Benjamin Constant, 8 November 1811, Benjamin Constant, *Œuvres complètes. Correspondance générale*, ed. by Cecil Patrick Courtney and others, 10 vols (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1993–2015), VIII: (1810–1812) (2010), p. 384.

but it reveals that people were aware of this censorship that impacted not just on current but future plays too.

The next case is Brifaut's *Jeanne Gray*. The tragedy was banned in 1804 after the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien and again prevented from performance when it was in rehearsal in 1808, after its performance had been authorised.¹²⁸ This is a noteworthy study for censorship because the Comédie-Française still possesses the manuscript returned from the Police, complete with suppressions and subsequent revisions for performance. The censored double, without revisions, is in the Archives nationales. We can thus see what displeased the censors.

The censors singled out revolt against authority. The following lines where Northumberland explains his treacherous plan to Guilfort in II. 1 were censored in 1808:

Souffrez un crime heureux qui perd vos ennemis
Vous m'en désavouerez quand il sera commis.
Allez : tout est permis pour gagner un empire.
Les remords dont ils faits [*sic*] pour celui qui conspire ?¹²⁹

After the Revolution, and during the Empire, the idea of a 'crime heureux' and the incitation of the last couplet were far from desirable and unlikely to maintain tranquillity in the theatre, where the audience was comprised of multiple generations and factions. Likewise, another section that was censored was the Comte d'Arondel telling Marie, later Queen Mary I, of his and many others' defection and desertion.¹³⁰ At a time when many had changed sides over the last

¹²⁸ Brifaut says *Jeanne Gray* was censored after the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, Charles Brifaut, *Souvenirs d'un académicien sur la Révolution, le premier Empire et la Restauration*, 2 vols (Paris: Albin Michel, 1920–21), I (1920), 75. Brifaut states that this tragedy was in rehearsal when he writes to the Comédie-Française in 1814 'Vous n'ignorez pas que les répétitions de Jeanne Gray ont commencé il y a six ans'. Letter, 28 October 1814, Brifaut to the Comédie-Française, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Brifaut. The 1808 manuscript bears the 'Visa de la police à charge de corrections indiquées, signé Sauliner, 23 juin 1808', Paris, BMCF, Ms 25080 (5).

¹²⁹ AN, F/18/616, p. 30.

¹³⁰ Tous voudraient vous defender.

twenty years, and where the political world was far from stable, these lines were deemed too sensitive. The censors also removed the justification for this desertion in the following passage: ‘Votre absolu respect des oracles de Rome, | Vos préjugés (entr’eux c’est ainsi qu’on les nomme:)’.¹³¹ Whilst the censors permitted references to the ‘nouvelle Église’, they removed the rebellion caused by a sovereign’s allegiance to Catholicism. Although Napoleon had renegotiated the relationship between the Catholic Church and the State through the Concordat of 1801, this reference could have been seen as undesirable given that Louis XVIII would have ruled through Divine Right.

The Napoleonic regime was also keen to censor attacks on power. Therefore, the following couplet disappears: ‘Des Rois jusqu’à présent je sais peu les maximes; | Mais l’art de gouverner est-il donc l’art des crimes?’¹³² The association of kings and crimes uncovers Brifaut’s ideological stance: after the tragedy was finally performed on 28 February 1815 he complained that if it had been performed during the Empire, the parterre and ergo the opposition would not have failed to spot the allusions and his tragedy would have been successful, but ‘sous les Bourbons, tout est changé’.¹³³ This is fundamental to the present study because it reveals that the perceived model for tragic success during the Napoleonic era was to overstep the line, to allow a tragedy to have multiple interpretations for the political opposition, which strengthens my analysis in Chapter Three. Censorship might inhibit the most obvious attacks on the State, but there was still room for insinuations.

The physical state of the manuscripts of *Jeanne Gray* is also enlightening. Certain cuts are only visible in the manuscript held at the Archives nationales:

Mais au nom de Varvik [Warwick] je les vois trembler tous.
 On gémit en secret, on murmure à genoux ;
 On n’ose davantage; en cet altier génie
 Armé de l’artifice et de la tyrannie
 Opprime la pensée, enchaîne la vertu.
 Vainement jusqu’ici pour vous j’ai combattu.
 Vainement dans les cœurs j’ai fait parler mon zèle.
 On vous quitte, Madame, et l’on cède au rebelle[.]

Ibid., III. 2.

¹³¹ Ibid., III. 2.

¹³² Ibid., IV. 6.

¹³³ Brifaut, *Souvenirs*, I, p. xxv.

the manuscript belonging to the Comédie-Française has pasted changes over the censored sections, controlling the access to the offending lines.¹³⁴ Additionally, whereas normally every page of the theatre's manuscript which passed through the Police was marked with an S (for Pierre-Dieudonné Louis Saulnier (1767–1838), general secretary at the Ministère de la Justice), there is another hand rewriting and censoring the text which belongs to the Comédie-Française, inserting rewritten lines over this 'S' mark. However, it is unclear whether this rewriting would pass again through the Police in 1808 before the tragedy's planned performance.¹³⁵ Likewise, the Comédie-Française manuscript has another section of the text is marked as 'supprimé' which is not listed among the offending passages on the first page, and Saulnier has signed the top of this page to mark its approval (p. 67). In addition to the rewritings that I will analyse shortly, these modifications by multiple hands seriously question the control the censorship system had over play texts, emphasising the role of lateral censorship by the theatre.

Another Napoleonic tragedy which the Police retained was *La Régence de Charles VII* by M. Guilleau de Formont (17?–18?), accepted at the Comédie-Française on 19 June 1811 and eventually performed in a reworked version on 4 December 1820 as *Jean de Bourgogne*.¹³⁶ *La Régence de Charles VII* allows for an active recollection of the Revolution, opening with the lines evoking how

La France périssait : ses chefs ambitieux
S'armant impunément d'un pouvoir factieux
Disputaient de leur Roi l'héritage en ruines[.]¹³⁷

¹³⁴ This is the case for p. 42 and p. 77, AN, F/18/616.

¹³⁵ For example, p. 59, BMCF, Ms 25080 (5).

¹³⁶ BMCF, R 449 and R 450. See also, M. Guilleau de Formont, *Jean de Bourgogne, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Barba, 1820). The original tragedy from 1811 was accepted before *Tippo-Saëb* (1813), *Ninus II* (1813), and *Ulysse* (1814), BMCF, R 450. *La Régence de Charles VII* lies in the Police files next to other censored plays from the Comédie-Française such as *Édouard en Écosse* (1802) by Alexandre Duval (1767–1842) and bears the marks of censorship, 'Edouard en Ecosse, pluviôse an X, vu à la préfecture de police ce 19 pluviôse, an 10, Vu au ministère de l'Intérieur le dix sept pluviôse l'an dix', Paris, AN, F/18/673.

¹³⁷ Paris, AN, Ms *La Régence de Charles VII*, F/18/673, I. 1.

The tragedy mentions Vincennes and highlights the time when ‘Paris étoit le théâtre des exécutions les plus sanglantes’ (II. 2). In act I, the audience learns that France had been divided between the infighting of the Duc de Bourgogne, who had the support of the masses, and the Duc d’Orléans, whose power was more ‘spirituel’. The latter has been assassinated by the former, and the latter’s wife, Valentine, and his son, the Comte de Vertus, have come to beg for justice. Charles, the regent and later Charles VII, is keen to unite the two sides by marrying the daughter of Bourgogne, Amélie, to the Comte. The two offspring love one another, but they cannot marry whilst the Comte is in mourning. Bourgogne is then brought to the assembly and confesses to the assassination, reasoning his actions and promising to help the Regent. The Regent, using examples from French history, such as Philippe VI and Olivier V de Clisson, decides to be clement. From act III to IV, Bourgogne seizes power through the rebelling masses and plans to reign with Charles, until the latter dies, when he can become king. The tragedy then turns to the pathetic decision to execute the Comte, which is heart-breaking for his already-grieving mother and Amélie. However, in act V the Regent returns, announcing that Bourgogne has been killed, liberating the Comte. Yet, in desperation Valentine had already taken poison: her last actions are to unite the two rival houses and encourage exemplary behaviour.

In the background of the tragedy is the continuously tricky matter of Charles’s regency, during the madness of his father, Charles VI. The composition but lack of performance of Lemer cier’s *La Démence de Charles VI* indicates that this was a sensitive matter under Napoleon, and it would remain challenging under the Restoration.¹³⁸ Then there was the second issue of the fact that the tragedy portrayed the monarchy. We know that tragedies depicting French kings such as *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806) and *Les Templiers* (1805) were performed under Napoleon, but they were thorny subjects. Some of the

¹³⁸ Vincenzo De Santis notes that *La Démence de Charles VI* was composed under the Empire, around 1806, Vincenzo De Santis, ‘Le Dramaturge dissident’, p. 620. On the subject during the Restoration see *ibid.*, pp. 112–28 and Barbara T. Cooper, ‘Censorship and the Double Portrait of Disorder in Lemer cier’s “La Démence de Charles VI”’, *Orbis Litterarum*, 40 (1985), 300–16.

manuscript's handwritten corrections attest that this monarchical depiction in *La Régence de Charles VII* was reworked. Orléans was originally 'Louis' throughout, but at moments of high drama this was rewritten as 'Valois',¹³⁹ perhaps to avoid direct association between the injustice of Louis's fate with that of Louis XVIII (a Bourbon) who was in exile at the time. Thus, the tragedy is not just representing the monarchy, but recalling a past dynasty through the name 'Valois'. Likewise, 'l'intérêt de son Roi' was reworked to become 'l'intérêt de l'Etat':¹⁴⁰ French history was mediated through the notion of the State to render the presence of the monarchy less problematic.

The depiction of power had to be carefully supervised. The following four lines from Bourgogne after he takes power in IV. 3 are struck through with the same lines as the other censorship cuts, just without the hallmark 'S':

Oui, j'aspire à régner. Je triomphe et je puis [?]
 Satisfaisant mes vœux rester ce que je suis :
 Il n'est pas tems encore qu'au trône je m'élève,
 Ce que nous commençons la fortune s'achève[.]¹⁴¹

It is interesting here whilst these lines were removed, Bourgogne's later reasoning, that he should share power with the regent and then become king, is allowed.¹⁴² Perhaps, the revolt's link with timeless 'fortune' is what made these lines unacceptable. The cut lines marked with 'S' primarily concentrate on the image of the ruler and his relationship with the people. Accordingly, in II. 8 the Regent's reply to Tanguy, the Chancellor, when he highlights Bourgogne's real aim—to become king—is deleted when it portrays a weak ruler who says 'tu vois mon effroi' and worries about '[se] défendre', not to mention 'le sang de mon peuple' which is likely to be spilt. In this light, it is noteworthy that the Regent's fears regarding his association with posterity are also removed, eliminating lines

¹³⁹ For example, I.1 and I.4, AN, F/18/673.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., II. 1.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., IV. 3.

¹⁴² Ibid., IV. 4.

such as ‘on dira de moi’.¹⁴³ The relationship between the past and the present must be correctly managed.

The cases of *La Régence de Charles VII*, *Jeanne Gray*, and earlier *Marie Stuart* are significant because they reveal how censorship continued to limit the performance of modern and national history on the French stage. Nonetheless, tragedies set in the ancient world could also be lost to the censorship system. Another Napoleonic tragedy, not on the list of received plays but still in the Police censorship files is *La Mort d’Alexandre*, dating from 1811.¹⁴⁴ This was a spectacular tragedy, which would have required a very impressive set for the time and the genre, given the description of the palace as ‘magnifique de style oriental’.¹⁴⁵ The author was keen to reverse the neglect to which Alexander the Great (356–323 BC) had recently been subjected and he retold Alexander’s death by poison.¹⁴⁶ To facilitate this, the playwright built on Napoleonic and classical hypotexts: Alexandre makes reference to the fact that his leaders are descended from Cyrus (I. 3), and he calls them ‘Rois’, echoing the Confederation of the Rhine (I. 3), before invoking Sémiramis (I. 5) and thus Voltaire’s eponymous tragedy. There was additionally another Racinian intertextual reference with the character of Antigone, whose name recalls Racine’s eponymous tragedy, but who appears here as a treacherous male character. Alexandre is presented as the eternal example of emperors, but the assassination of a great conqueror, on whom Napoleon modelled himself, was not an action that the censors would be likely to endorse, especially in 1811. In addition to the ornate and complicated set, the use of the Chorus is also unusual,¹⁴⁷ especially when it sang as characters exited the stage, almost an exit music which was closer to other theatrical

¹⁴³ Ibid., II. 8.

¹⁴⁴ 2^e note, *La Mort d’Alexandre*, AN, F/18/616.

¹⁴⁵ The playwright additionally wanted ‘trois rangs de colonnes [qui] laisse apercevoir une partie de la ville, du fleuve et des jardins’ and where in act V ‘Nuit. A travers les colonnades du fonds on découvre la campagne et le ciel éclairés par la pleine lune’ (V. 1). *La Mort d’Alexandre*, AN, F/18/616.

¹⁴⁶ Note, *La Mort d’Alexandre*, AN, F/18/616.

¹⁴⁷ *Journal des débats*, 19 April 1805.

genres.¹⁴⁸ *La Mort d'Alexandre* exceeded the contemporary poeticological and ideological standards and consequently remained at the Police. The study of correspondence and manuscripts displays how the censors' concerns were both political and aesthetic.

iii. State Censorship and Rewriting

As *Jeanne Gray* has shown, not all censored tragedies were prohibited by the Police: they had to be corrected before they could be performed under Napoleon. These case studies further disclose the mechanics of censorship from the agents which enforced it to how the theatre circumvented the problematic passages. There are two such Napoleonic tragedies in the Police archives which are of interest here. The first is *Vitellie*, performed in 1809, but written during the Consulate.¹⁴⁹ This tragedy was, therefore, theoretically subjected to both pre- and post-1806 censorship standards. The manuscript which remains in the Police archives, like *Jeanne Gray*, does not bear any official censorship visa. Nevertheless, the manuscript indicates that these rewritings are related to the Police. Firstly, this manuscript bears many similarities with the Police's copy of *Jeanne Gray* which corresponds to the Comédie-Française manuscript, including considerable rewritings. Secondly, *Vitellie*'s manuscript sits alongside other

¹⁴⁸ For example, music is used as entrance and exit music in René Charles Guilbert de Pixérécourt's *La Femme à deux maris* (1803) and *La Forteresse du Danube* (1805) as well as some operas.

¹⁴⁹ By 1807, Selve had already been waiting to have his tragedy performed for six years, at which point he composed an 'Épître à l'Empereur', A. de Selve, 'Épître à l'Empereur', in A. de Selve, *Vitellie, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Nepveu, 1810), pp. 71–75 (p. 71). Épîtres seem to have been a way of circumventing censorship. For example, 'Tableau de la situation de Paris', 8 prairial an VIII (28 May 1800) notes 'Un ancien officier de dragons, sans emploi en ce moment, a fait lecture dans un cercle d'une tragédie, qu'il dit être de sa composition. Elle a pour titre : *Mort de Charles I^{er}*. Le but de l'ouvrage est d'attaquer le jugement que la Convention a rendu sur Louis XVI. Après la lecture, on lui observait qu'il obtiendrait difficilement la permission de mettre cette pièce au jour. Il a répondu qu'il l'obtiendrait par une épître dédicatoire au chef du gouvernement actuel', in Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, I, 369–71 (p. 370).

censored tragedies such as *Tippo-Saëb* (1813), and its struck-through lines did not reach publication.¹⁵⁰

Vitellie's basic plot is driven by the passions of love and ambition. The young Vitellie loves Domitien, the second son of Vespasian, who has just rebelled against her father the Emperor of Rome, Vitellius. Vitellie and Domitien were set to wed, but Domitien's father revolted and led Rome's enemies to the Capitol; Vitellie must now marry Licinius, the son of Pison; this is a political marriage to serve her father's needs. Licinius discovers the identity of Vitellie's beloved and threatens to take a gory revenge, before realising the power of love and eventually helping Domitien to re-enter the palace, resulting in his own arrest. Vitellie refuses to flee out of filial duty whilst Domitien prepares to take control of the city. The civil unrest and fighting leads to Vitellius's death by 'une troupe cruelle | De Soldats furieux'.¹⁵¹ Despite the fact her father was a tyrant, Vitellius was still her parent and so Vitellie kills herself.

De Selve's use of the setting of a revolution in Rome which brought Vespasian to power could be linked to that which was so vivid in recent memory at the tragedy's composition in 1801.¹⁵² In I. 2 there is a cut of twenty lines in Helvidius's, a senator, challenging speech to Vitellius which was already lengthy in the printed edition at seventy-seven lines.¹⁵³ Although Helvidius's emphasis

¹⁵⁰ AN, F/18/616. As we have already seen from Chaillou, the set system was not always followed, Chaillou, p. 186.

¹⁵¹ *Vitellie*, v. 9, p. 64.

¹⁵² De Selve, 'Préface', in *Vitellie*, pp. v–vii (p. vi).

¹⁵³ [Mais ce nom d'Empereur et de chef de l'état,
Auguste le voulut recevoir du Sénat.]
Et tous ses successeurs, les Claudius, les Tibère,
Le tenoient, comme lui, du suffrage de ses Pères.
Ce n'est que de nos jours, depuis que les destins,
Ont du joug de Néron délivré les Romains ;
Depuis moins de deux ans, du fond des provinces,
Les soldats révoltés nous ont donné des princes ;
Galba, Vindex, Othon, Vespasien et vous,
L'un de l'autre ennemis, l'un de l'autre jaloux,
Vous couvrez l'Italie, et de sang et de crimes :
Ceux-là sont déjà morts, effroïables victimes
D'un désir téméraire, autant qu'ambitieux,
Voulez vous imiter leur malheur à nos ayeux,
Sous ces murs dont l'enceinte à peine vous protège ?
Voulez-vous essayer un combat sacrilège ?
Et poser la patrie au courroux des vainqueurs ?

on Augustus's representative right to power remains, the references to Claudius and Tibère, and the legitimacy that this heritage brings, is removed. The cut of 'Depuis moins de deux ans' and its subsequent lines—which cite mutinous soldiers and war in Italy—reduces the audience's ability to recall France's transformation over the last two years (from 1799 in 1801). Furthermore, the portrayal of princes as rebellious, although fitting to a revolutionary environment, was problematic in 1809 when Napoleon had become King of Italy and established the hereditary transmission of power. Importantly, these princes supported by the army hate one another; such a parallel could be drawn with the different Revolutionary factions, especially given Helvidius's references to 'effroiables victimes', 'sang', and 'crimes'. The censored section ends with six consecutive questions which is far more emotive than the rest of Helvidius's speech. Combined with the final exclamation revealing Vitellius's egoism 'Ah plutôt qu'à nos cris vous vous laisser toucher !', these lines uncover the sheer damage that a single leader can cause. Other passages emphasising the disastrous effects of an individual's reign are likewise removed, such as:

D'un âge dissolu, voilà les destinées !
 Sans gloire et sans repos s'écoulent nos armées !
 L'indigne ambition, qui remplit tous les cœurs
 Au sein de la patrie, appelle les malheurs.¹⁵⁴

However, whereas in I. 2 it was Vitellius who was at fault, this ambition now 'remplit tous les cœurs' and leads to national destruction. To a nation which had been at war (bar a brief respite) for decades the evocation of 'sans repos s'écoulent nos armées' would have been a direct and emotional reference to the present.

Attirer en son sein la guerre et ses fureurs ?
 Abandonner la ville et ses temples aux flammes ?
 Peut-être voir périr nos familles, nos femmes,
 Et tout ce qu'aux mortels les Dieux ont rendu cher ?
 Ah plutôt qu'à nos cris vous vous laisser toucher !

Vitellie, AN/18/616, I. 2.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 1.

The end of *Vitellie* was additionally reworked. In reception Plautus's account of Vitellius's death was considered a missed opportunity.¹⁵⁵ Significantly, this part of this récit had been removed in the Police's copy. The lines describing Vitellius's in the last moments of the tragedy were marked as cut and were not printed (V. 8):

Pour le forcer à voir ses honneurs renversés
Contre son front sanglant, des glaives sont dressés ;
Il se plaint ; sa douleur excite l'allégresse
Et leurs cris redoublés signalent sa faiblesse.

Likewise, censorship occurs when there is an active attempt to force the Emperor to be accountable for his actions, which excites the crowd terribly (V. 8):

Et chacun veut lui rendre, emporté par sa rage,
Blessure pour blessure, outrage pour outrage ;
Tous son corps est ouvert, et son sang à grands flots,
Jaillit, épouvantable, au front de ses bourreaux.

In contrast to the first cut, these lines move vengeance from a collective act of the mob to an act accomplished by violent individuals. This description returns Vitellius to his individual state, it puts him on a level with those he once ruled; the hierarchy of power has disappeared and full human rage is unleashed.

The second surviving instance of a tragedy being rewritten by the State and reaching performance under Napoleon is *Tippo-Saëb*. The wealth of information that the analysis of *Tippo-Saëb*'s censorship has to offer has been overlooked by scholars.¹⁵⁶ The letter of refusal from the Ministre de la Police, the Police's copy of the tragedy's plan, the two censors' reports, the censored manuscript, François-Joseph Talma's role, and the prompt book remain, making *Tippo-Saëb* a fertile source for comparison of the different censorship requirements, both over time and by different institutions. Étienne de Jouy had

¹⁵⁵ Geoffroy believed that more should have been made of this 'récit très-faible et à peine entendu', *Journal de l'Empire*, 12 November 1809.

¹⁵⁶ Welschinger and Krakovitch both mention a few censored lines, Welschinger, p. 248; Krakovitch, pp. 9–105 (pp. 97–98).

written this tragedy and given it to the Surintendant des Spectacles, Auguste-Laurent de Rémusat, who passed it to the head of Police, Anne Jean Marie René, Duc de Rovigo (1774–1833). Even before the censorship reports, Rovigo announced ‘mes regrets de ne pouvoir l’approuver’, corroborating my earlier finding that a high figure could directly censor a tragedy.¹⁵⁷ Rovigo had two main issues with *Tippo-Saëb*: the first was the lack of temporal distance portraying a leader ‘dont le sang fume encore’. Unlike in Racine’s *Bajazet* (1672), the French had played a direct role in the Sultan’s regime, rendering the action even closer. The second was the portrayal of an English victory.¹⁵⁸ Although Rovigo directly rejected *Tippo-Saëb*, the Comédie-Française accepted the tragedy, perhaps carefully guided by Rémusat, and the censors in turn examined it. The normal censorship path acted in Jouy’s favour. Along with Lemercier’s *Camille*, *Tippo-Saëb* is another case of censors overturning their peers—or in this case their superior’s—judgement. The tragedy was read to the Comédie-Française in 1811, and once corrected, it was accepted on 17 March 1812.¹⁵⁹ The first censorship report signed by D’Arvigny and Lémontey and dated 9 April 1812 applauded the author for ‘les sentiments vraiment français qui ont dirigé sa plume’ and his portrayal ‘de l’orgueil, de la perfidie et du machiavélisme britanniques’.¹⁶⁰ Nonetheless, there are sections ‘qui pourraient être mal interprétés et que nous avons cru devoir supprimer ou changer’.¹⁶¹ The censorship report in F/21/966 references the manuscript of *Tippo-Saëb* held at

¹⁵⁷ Letter, 15 January 1811, to the Comte de Rémusat from the Ministre de la Police, reproduced in Welschinger, pp. 299–300.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

[J]e pense qu’une tragédie, dont le sujet n’est au fond et ne peut être que le triomphe de nos éternels ennemis et l’affermisssement de la puissance colossale des Anglais dans le continent d’Inde, serait toujours déplacée sur la scène française.

¹⁵⁹ By January 1812 Jouy had completed the corrections and requested a second reading, letter, 14 January 1812, Jouy to the Comédie-Française, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Jouy. The tragedy was accepted on 17 March 1812, BMCF, R 450.

¹⁶⁰ AN, F/21/966.

¹⁶¹ These changes were on pages ‘7. 9. 28. 29. 30. 31. 38. 43. 46 et 50’, Ibid.

the Comédie-Française.¹⁶² Like *Jeanne Gray*, *Tippo-Saëb* offers us the luxury of seeing the direct lines the censors thought could be ‘mal interprétés’.

Although the censors praise the anti-English emotion of the tragedy, it appears that verses which would rally an audience against France’s island neighbour could be wrongly interpreted. Consequently, the following four lines were censored from the manuscript sent to the Police:

Que sert de s’aveugler et quel dieu désormais
Entre ce peuple [les Anglais] et moi peut retablir la paix ?
Il n’en est point, pour lui tandis que je respire,
Je vis pour sa ruine, a ma mort il aspire[.]¹⁶³

Whilst these lines were censored, there was apparently no issue with those which preceded it:

Au seul nom des Anglais fait tressaillir mon cœur.
Pour cette nation fourbe, avare, cruelle,
Je porte dans mon sein la haine paternelle.

The censors were therefore not deleting anti-English sentiment, a key theatrical effect reintroduced into Talma’s role,¹⁶⁴ but eradicating the impossibility of Anglo-French reunification. The modifications reveal that the censors were

¹⁶² *Tipou-Saëb*, Paris, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7). This manuscript carried the following note:

Vû au Ministère de la Police Générale de l’Empire, Conformément aux dispositions du Décret Impérial du 8 juin 1806 et de la direction de Son Excellence, en date de ce jour, à charge de supprimer, ou de changer les passages indiqués pages 7, 9, 28, 29, 30, 31, 38, 43, 46 et 50.

Paris 11 Avril 1812
Le Secrétaire Général

¹⁶³ These are the lines mentioned by Welschinger, p. 248 and Krakovitch, pp. 5–109 (p. 98).

¹⁶⁴ In Talma’s rôle we find : ‘Vend ~~a nos ennemis~~ *aux Anglais* sa honte auxiliaire.’ ‘Tipou-Saëb, Pour M. Talma, Variantes de la main de Talma’, ‘Copies des rôles joués par Talma, exécutées pour lui, avec annotations de sa main et de celle des auteurs’, Paris, BnF, Ms 14032, I. 3.

aware of politics' fluidity, a censorial consideration Krakovitch has confirmed elsewhere.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, two years later Paris would be flooded by Britons when Napoleon was exiled. The need to control the image of foreign powers is confirmed by another censored passage in act III when the English envoy Weymour originally said to Raymond:

Un ennemi exil l'horreur de l'Angleterre ;
 Dont la rage a souillé les exploits inhumains
 Qui dans mon propre sang osa tremper ses mains
 Pour le tyran farouche en cruautés fertile
 La paix est sans garant la vertu sans asile.
 Depuis vingt ans il suit les perfides desseins[.]¹⁶⁶

The 'ennemi exil' was somewhat ambiguous, potentially relatable to the exiled enemies of the Revolution or even the Napoleonic regime, and so the censors changed this line to '*Le digne fils d'Hyder, l'horreur de l'Angleterre*'. Again, the censors were keen not to attack peace, especially since the time period of 'vingt ans' could refer either to the British fight against Tippo, or that between Britain and France, an allusion increased since these lines were directed at Raymond, the French general, who was stood opposite the English Weymour on-stage.¹⁶⁷ The fact that the censors were also keen to control the representation of Britain can be seen through their request that the description of England as 'Souverain des mers' be modified.¹⁶⁸

This requirement to monitor the representation of foreign nations and their relationship to France is reiterated by the omission of the following in Tippo's speech:

Du succès de mes vœux j'ai des garants plus surs ;
 Cet arabe à l'instant arrivé dans nos murs,
 Du conquérant du nil m'apporte le message,

¹⁶⁵ Krakovitch, pp. 5–109 (p. 59).

¹⁶⁶ *Tipou-Saëb*, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7), p. 46.

¹⁶⁷ In the printed editions, the characters are announced in the order of their on-stage positions. Here in III. 5 Raymond is opposite Weymour. Étienne de Jouy, *Tipou-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Paris: Barba, 1813), p. 44.

¹⁶⁸ *Tipou-Saëb*, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7), p. 43.

La victoire vers nous a effrayé son passage ;
 Aux sables de Suez flottent ses étendards,
 Et déjà vers la meque il porte ses regards.
 Le chérif qui l'attend su la rive sacrée
 De l'Asie en ces lieux [?] va lui livrer l'entrée ;
 Accueilli par le Perse aux rivages d'ornus [?],
 Les enfans de la Gaule avancement vers l'Indus
 Et benissant le bras qui vient pout la deffendre
 L'Inde à genoux attend un nouvel Alexandre. ¹⁶⁹

Crucially, the institutionalised censorship system discarded allusions to Napoleon as the glorious leader coming to rescue the situation, not only here but also in I. 3. ¹⁷⁰ The removal of these extracts raises several questions. *Guillaume le Conquérant* had been prohibited after its first performance in 1804 when Napoleon abandoned his plans to invade Britain. ¹⁷¹ Following this removal from *Tippo-Saëb* by State officials, one might infer that Napoleon was planning a new military campaign against the British in the Orient, which had once been the source of his glory. Or this passage could have referenced the desired but aborted Indian March of Paul whereby Russia and France planned to attack Britain in India in 1800. Or perhaps, Jouy hoped to make a happy parallel between the Egyptian campaign, Napoleon's success, and the Emperor's current situation, but the censors felt that the grave political climate of 1812 inhibited this suggestion; it risked highlighting the failure of France which had not captured India nor protected its ally, the Sultan. Finally, maybe this tragedy was just too close to France: since the Revolution, the requirement for geographical or temporal distance between the present of the performance and the performed had been reinstated. The action of *Tippo-Saëb* occurs in 1799, but is possible because of its

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 9:

Tandis que sur le nil le héros des Français
 Embrassant ta défense en ses vastes projets,
 Pour l'unir à ton sort et délivrer l'Asie
 Peut franchir en vingt jours les mers de l'Arabie.

¹⁷¹ Welschinger, p. 225.

geographical distance.¹⁷² Although there are French characters on-stage, they are few; this image of ‘Les enfans de la Gaule’ and ‘le héros des Français’ coming to the rescue would thus produce the image of a mass of French men in India, which could contradict the theoretically required geographical distance which was intended to be as estranging as the effect of centuries.¹⁷³

The censors also managed the representation of power. Firstly, they distinguished Tippo’s supremacy and his actions as Sultan from that of any other ruler. At the censors’ request the following line was rewritten: ‘~~Du Votre De Saeb~~ la fortune abandonne la cause’.¹⁷⁴ This distancing technique can also be seen in this change demanded by the censors: ‘~~Son audace impétueux~~ *Le Sultan trop fougueux* a trahi leur projets.’¹⁷⁵ The censors clearly believed in the Orientalist spirit of the tragedy, that Tippo and the Indian world were different and needed to be distinguished as such. Likewise, Raymond originally spoke of ‘Le prince que je sers’ to Weymour with reference to Tippo. However, this could possibly be ‘mal interprété’ and so the censors altered the line to become ‘~~Le prince que je sers~~ *Si le Sultan ; milord*, de l’exemple complice’.¹⁷⁶ The introduction of ‘milord’ underlines Weymour’s nationality, but the change from ‘prince’ to ‘Sultan’ suggests that a sultan could not be judged to be a prince. Even Jouy’s final adjustment of this line in the printed edition to ‘Le monarque indien’ requires the national adjective ‘indien’ to give Tippo a royal status, increasing the Orientalist framing of the tragedy.¹⁷⁷

On occasion, the censors’ desire to control the representation of power modified the sense of the tragedy’s lines. ‘L’équité rarement réside à la Victoire’ became ‘*L’Equité cette fois, réside à la Victoire*’ losing the warning tone of ‘rarement’ and allowing this to become a more common event.¹⁷⁸ The censors were equally unhappy with the second line of this couplet, eliminating the first

¹⁷² *Tippo-Saëb*, 1813, p. iii.

¹⁷³ Jean Racine, ‘Préface à Bajazet’, in Jean Racine, *Œuvres complètes de Racine, présentation, notes et commentaires par Georges Forestier*, 2 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1999), I, 623–26 (p. 625).

¹⁷⁴ *Tipou-Saëb*, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7), p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁷ *Tippo-Saëb*, 1813, p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ *Tipou-Saëb*, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7), p. 28.

hemistich: ‘~~Son pouvoir est son droit~~, mais gardez vous de croire’, becoming ‘Pour juge de nos droits nous prenons la victoire ; | Son arrêt est porté, mais gardez vous de croire.’¹⁷⁹ Tippo’s power was no longer portrayed as giving him rights.

When comparing the censorship reports, the censored manuscript, Talma’s part, the prompt book, and the printed edition, one questions the duration of these changes demanded by the censorship system. As prescribed by the bureaucratic censorship procedure, Jouy’s manuscript was returned to the censors who made a second report on 23 April 1812.¹⁸⁰ They wished to consult ‘les lumières de l’autorité sur deux passages relatifs à une expédition’, revealing how sensitive this portrayal of France was. Following this consultation, the censors wanted to retain the formerly censored lines in I. 3 and III. 8 mentioned above, but they reinforced the rest of the changes they had asked for. Yet in Talma’s part and the prompt book several censored passages appear, such as:

Que sert de s’aveugler et quel dieu désormais
Entre le peuple et moi peut rétablit la paix ?
Il n’en est point, pour lui tandis que je respire,
Je vois pour sa ruine, a ma mort il aspire[.]¹⁸¹

This was not one of the passages which was re-established by the censors, but it still made its way to both the performed and the printed version. Indeed, most of the censored passages are in the printed edition. Furthermore, several passages have been reworked between the manuscript and the prompt book; act V, which the censors had originally found particularly moving, was totally rewritten to remove the original love intrigue, without any trace of having passed through the censorship system again. The overall message of the play remained the same: the English assassinated Tippo, he enters on-stage wounded, and can barely support himself. Before, as Tippo died he was surrounded in a tableau by his children:

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ AN, F/21/966.

¹⁸¹ ‘Tipou-Saëb, Pour M. Talma’, Paris, BnF, Ms 14032, p. 7; Paris, BMCF, *Tippo-Saëb*, prompt book, Ms 503, p. 18.

*Les anglais entrent de toutes parts sur la scène avec des armes et des flambeaux. Les fils de Tipou a genoux près de leur père lui baisent les mains. Aldeïr est évanouie sur le lit même. Les français font face aux anglais et pressentent la bayonnette. Raymond arrête ce mouvement. Les anglais s'arrêtent avec douleur et avec surprise.*¹⁸²

This tableau was maintained in the prompt book, but removed from the printed edition, which had to pass through the Direction générale's censorship.¹⁸³ *Tippo-Saëb* is therefore an important case study in displaying the inherent contradictions and complexities of the Napoleonic tragic censorship system, from intervention of those on high, to the omission and reinsertion of censored passages, to rewritings by the theatre and the author. The bureaucratic and lateral censorship systems did not simply suppress; they also tailored plays to audiences' taste.

In other cases it would appear that the government did have control over the text until performance, underlining the inconsistency of the system. On the day of *Hector*'s premiere, Saulnier wrote that the Ministre orders the Comédie-Française to remove the couplet: 'Déposez un moment ce fer toujours vainqueur | Cher Hector, et craignez de lasser de bonheur !'.¹⁸⁴ Another case during the first Restoration is Jean-François Ducis' *Hamlet* (1769) in 1815 which directly contravened the order that the actors should not change their lines.¹⁸⁵ The government wrote to the Comédie-Française, requesting the adoption of 'les changements que Mr. Ducis a cru devoir faire dans sa tragédie', conveniently putting the emphasis of the rewriting on the author rather than the government. In III. 2 at the couplet 'Laissons à l'Angleterre et son deuil et ses pleurs. | L'Angleterre trop souvent fut féconde' 'Mr. Ducis a très bien senti

¹⁸² *Tipou-Saëb*, BMCF, Ms 25080 (7), p. 81; BMCF, Ms 503, p. 125.

¹⁸³ Paris, AN, F/18/(I)150.

¹⁸⁴ Welschinger, p. 244:

Son Excellence le sénateur ministre m'a expressément chargé de vous inviter à retrancher de la scène d'Hector les vers suivants:

« Déposez un moment ce fer toujours vainqueur,
« Cher Hector, et craignez de lasser de bonheur !
« (Acte 1, scène 1.)

¹⁸⁵ Article 28 of 'Règlement d'administration intérieure pour le Théâtre Français', 25 September 1813, BMCF, R 433.

l'inconvenient qu'il y avait dans à ce que ces vers fussent dits à un spectacle que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre aurait demandé.' The lines are therefore replaced with:

CLAUDIUS: Prince, on l'a vu souvent, l'ambition, l'amour,
Par de fatals excès ont troublé cette cour.
Mais écarter de vous de si tristes images.
Et cessons d'accuser ces dangereux rivages.
HAMLET: Sortons, Norceste.

Furthermore, this alteration was to be made known to Talma and the actor playing Claudius alone, highlighting the secrecy of censorship here and the role of the monarchical government in controlling the perception of the tragic text.¹⁸⁶ Government officials and the Police watched rehearsals and performances and noted the reception of lines.¹⁸⁷ In this light, it is very interesting that most of the changes and suppressions requested by the censors in *Tippo-Saëb* were not adhered to, and as I will reveal later, the text was continually rewritten through performance. In this sense bureaucratic censorship did not have complete control over the theatre. Throughout this section I have shown that theatre was subject to a varying nexus of controls from hierarchical State pressure to the bureaucratic system and the lateral censorship of the government supported Comédie-Française.

c. Censorship Through Rewriting

¹⁸⁶ Letter 5 January 1815 Delaferté to Maignan, Paris, BMCF, 3-AA-1815.

¹⁸⁷ See for example, Aulard, *Paris sous le Consulat*, 3 vols (1903–06); Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire*, 3 vols (Paris: L. Cerf, 1912–23); Ernest d'Hauterive, *La Police secrète du Premier Empire, bulletins quotidiens adressés par Fouché à l'Empereur*, 3 vols (Paris: Perrin, 1908–22); and Ernest d'Hauterive, *La Police secrète du Premier Empire, nouvelle série*, 2 vols (Paris: Clavreuil, 1963–64). Rémusat went to inspect the decorations for *Cyrus* personally, *Bordereau des Surnuméraire pour le mois de nivôse an 13 et quel le reste de frimaire an 13* (December 1804–January 1805), Paris, BMCF, 3 AC 13 Bordereaux chef machiniste, Boullet 1799–1806.

Returning to the lateral censorship of the Comédie-Française, tragic playwrights were often required to rewrite their play to meet the expectations of the theatre, and to conform to those of the public—both before and during the performance run. From the analysis of the rewritings between the manuscript and the prompt book, the latter's annotations and the contemporary printed editions, there is evidently a desire to refine the text for the audience. Moments of dramatic tension (trials, love declarations, recognition scenes) were compressed to increase their power and retain the text's energy. There are also multiple rewritings which appear more 'convenient' given the political context. The audience was at the forefront of the actors' minds as they rewrote their text (with the author), contemplating the allusions which certain lines could create.¹⁸⁸ From reviewing the cuts made in the prompt books several trends can be established.

i. Destiny

Destiny is central to the very nature of tragedy,¹⁸⁹ but allusions to it were carefully managed given the political climate in which Napoleonic tragedy was performed, its State patronage, the notion of Talma as Napoleon's theatrical double, and France's recent turbulent history. Consequently, in *Les Templiers*, the 1805 line 'Ils croyaient maîtriser les destins de la France' became in 1815, 'Mais quand j'affermis les destins de la France'.¹⁹⁰ The original line, pronounced by the King, would have been problematic for *Les Templiers*' revival in February 1815 during the First Restoration because of its insinuation of contested power. Indeed, given the malleability of Raynouard's tragedy as established in Chapter Three, this could even have made Napoleon into a Templier figure for the opposition in the theatre, underlining Napoleon's

¹⁸⁸ The audience was very uneasy when neither Napoleon nor the Comédie-Française had reviewed Racine's *Britannicus* for its performance in 1810 to celebrate the marriage of Napoleon and Marie-Louise, at which the lines about divorce raised eyebrows. Welschinger, p. 241.

¹⁸⁹ George Steiner, *The Death of Tragedy* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 5–6.

¹⁹⁰ Paris, BMCF, *Les Templiers* 1815 prompt book, Ms 450, p. 12 and Ms 450 bis p. 24 and François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers* (Paris: Gillé, 1812), p. 12.

innocence to mirror that of the heroic Templiers. In *Hector*, there are similar cuts to expressions of destiny, especially when they are linked to religion. In the prompt book, the following lines are removed:

J'ai reconnu Pallas à sa terrible Egide,
A ce conseil sacré Jupiter qui préside,
Tient les balances d'or où son auguste main
Pèse des deux héros l'immuable destin.¹⁹¹

The reference to two heroes being weighed up could either compare Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria in 1809 at the tragedy's premiere, when the Empire's fate started to turn, or act as fodder for the royalist opposition, either in 1809 or in 1815 during the 100 Days, since this would reference the binary fight between Louis XVIII and Napoleon. It would likewise indicate that the fate of France is in the hands of God, an image firmly against Napoleon's vision of politics as fate. The removal of these references to religion and providence are confirmed at other stages of the text: 'Jupiter donne seul la vie ou le trépas' is erased and Pâris's last speech, originally starting 'Ô destin affreuse !', was trimmed down.¹⁹² References to destiny do continue in the text, as an audience would expect from a tragedy, but their allusions were monitored and the actors evidently altered passages where the references could be contentious upon their reception.

ii. Foreigners

The analysis of *Tippo-Saëb* has already illustrated that indications to foreigners were carefully supervised. Likewise, in *La Mort de Henri IV*, the published text opposes France and Spain, which is blamed for organising Henri IV's assassination. Conversely, in the prompt book, the text originally attacked both Austria and Spain, since they belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁹³ These

¹⁹¹ Paris, BMCF, *Hector*, prompt book, Ms 483, p. 130.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 68 and p. 135.

¹⁹³ Paris, BMCF, *La Mort de Henri IV*, prompt book, Ms 460, p. 47 'Espagne' is 'Autriche' in the printed edition, *La Mort de Henri IV*, 1806, p. 26.

references to Austria were potentially diplomatically sensitive if foreign officials were in attendance.¹⁹⁴ Likewise, overt references to Rome and the Vatican as evil were eliminated in the transition between prompt book and the printed text. Therefore, we find the disappearance of lines such as ‘ces prêtres de Rome agents ambitieux’, exuding a negative image of the Catholic Church which Napoleon had restored to France in 1801 and which made him Emperor in 1804.¹⁹⁵ This cut also removes the possibility of seeing Napoleon as a foreigner being crowned by a foreign institution, which would negate his legitimacy.

Remaining with the fear of the foreigner, Chapter Three has already established the difference in the role of the Spanish ambassador in the prompt book and the printed edition. Originally, Henri’s fate was already sealed; a foreigner is in charge of the play’s actions, and thus a foreign country controls France’s fate.¹⁹⁶ In the prompt book, the assassination of Henri IV was also actively supported by his former lover Henriette d’Entragues: ‘Et, depuis cet affront secondant notre ouvrage, | Presse avec nous la mort de l’amant qui l’outrage ?’.¹⁹⁷ However, d’Entragues’s role is much more passive in the final version; instead of issuing a call for vengeance, it is an old letter to her which acts as the condemning proof. In reducing d’Entragues’s participation, the rewritten text also diminishes the depiction of the French nobility aiding foreigners to kill France’s best ruler, increasing the responsibility of the mad

¹⁹⁴ For example, the ‘registre des feux’ de la Comédie-Française shows how English actors attended performances on 24 July 1802, Paris, BMCF, R 326, ambassadors attended the performance of *Esther* at Saint-Cloud on 12 June 1803, Paris, BMCF, R 327, Ottoman ambassadors were present at *Mahomet* on 27 July 1806, Paris, BMCF, R 330 to give but three examples.

¹⁹⁵ BMCF, Ms 460, pp. 24–25, a reference absent from *La Mort de Henri IV*, 1806, p. 11.

¹⁹⁶ BMCF, Ms 460, p. 23:

Henri, ne compte plus marcher à ta conquête :
Le piège est dans tes pas, la mort est sur la tête !
C’en est fait ;... oui, cet ordre habile et qui toujours
Du fond du monastère intrigue dans les cours,
Contre don souverain qu’il appelle hérétique,
M’a vendu des longtems, son zèle fanatique[.]

¹⁹⁷ BMCF, Ms 460, p. 31; *La Mort de Henri IV*, 1806, p. 15.

queen, who is neither entirely French as a Médicis, nor entirely foreign as Queen of France.

This removal of foreign power over France is corroborated in Talma's reworking of *Les Templiers* for 1815. Raynouard turned to Talma to help adapt his tragedy for its 1815 revival, after the tragedy itself had undergone a significant rewriting in 1812, when the subject of *Les Templiers* was particularly sensitive, as the Direction générale noted.¹⁹⁸ Talma annotated a copy of the 1812 edition, which he sent to Raynouard who in turn incorporated Talma's advice in his corrected text for the 1815 reprise.¹⁹⁹ Authorship and self-censorship are thus collaborative projects and the playwright asked the actor, part of the self-

¹⁹⁸ In 1811, 'Preuves de l'innocence des Templiers par M. Raynouard' was censored and occasioned a special report from the censors, bulletins hebdomadaires de la direction générale de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, 3ème semaine d'avril 1811, before being censored again in 4ème semaine de décembre 1812. Paris, AN, F/18(I)/149/1 and F/18(I)/149/2.

¹⁹⁹ François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Les Templiers* (Paris: Gillé, 1812). The copy referred to here is that in the possession of the Bodleian library, Oxford, which bears the following inscription: 'Toutes les coupures et les corrections faites dans cet ouvrage sont écrites de la main de Talma'. Oxford, Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8o.F.1812. Upon the consultation of the 1815 prompt book at the BMCF, it would appear that Raynouard was the author of most of these changes since they are in his hand. However, the Bodleian library is in possession of Talma's copy of this edition and when it is compared to Raynouard's, it is startlingly clear that Raynouard is incorporating Talma's rewritings, although he does add his own corrections. For example in Talma's copy, ARCH.8o.F.1812, on p. 5 'A notre gloire [...] Je reviens.' is replaced with:

Trahis dans notre espoir, trahis par la fortune
Il fallut de Sion déluisser les remparts.
Le pousse Romain me rapellait, je pars.

This is also kept in Raynouard's corrections in BMCF, Ms 450. On p. 16 Talma marks the following lines 'Mais j'ai tout réparé. Le connétable en vain | A revu le grand-maître au nom du souverain' but does not suggest a rewriting, and Raynouard takes this and replaces the lines with 'Mais j'ai tout réparé : le Roi n'a plus d'espoir | Qu'aucun des chevaliers rentre dans le devoir.' Beyond Talma's suggestions, Raynouard reworks the scene transition between II. 3 and 4, p. 18.

censoring institution of the Comédie-Française, for help.²⁰⁰ The comparison of these two texts demonstrates that Talma initiated the rewritings. Where Talma marked ‘ceci est à corriger’, we find a rewriting in Raynouard’s copy.²⁰¹ Therefore, Talma—an agent of the lateral censorship system of the Comédie-Française and Napoleon’s theatrical on-stage double— can be seen as a censor: he is controlling and rewriting the text. Talma’s hand marks the following lines as cut:

Et l’Anglais, qui parut un instant sur nos bords,
Fuit devant nos regards, exilé dans ses ports :
Le continent vengé lui refuse un asile.
La terreur de mon nom le poursuit dans son île.²⁰²

Talma’s reworking eliminated the reference to how Britain had threatened France, a tactful omission since Paris was full of British tourists and diplomats in 1814 and 1815, far from ‘un instant sur nos bords’. It would have been insensitive to insult these visitors by stating ‘Le continent vengé lui refuse un asile’, reiterating the sensibility of Restoration censorship to recent events. Moreover, Britain was a key power supporting Louis XVIII and thus removing these lines decreased the possibility of heightening diplomatic tensions, inflaming the political opponents of Louis XVIII.²⁰³ The offending line, ‘La terreur de mon nom le poursuit dans son île’, would have been ironic in the presence of the British, meaning that the tragic tone could quickly have become comic. These potential dangers and political allusions in 1815 are reiterated by the removal of the lines ‘Cependant, soutenu des secours étrangers, | L’ennemi tout-à-coup ramène les dangers’ and ‘Le trône est menacé du plus fatal danger, |

²⁰⁰ Talma’s parts are heavily rewritten, his hand rewrote 375 lines in *Ninus II*, 61 lines for *Les États de Blois*, and 170 lines for *Hector*. Paris, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 5.

²⁰¹ Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8o.F.1812, p. 42; BMCF, Ms 450, p. 42.

²⁰² *Les Templiers*, 1812, Taylor Institution Library, ARCH.8o.F.1812, p. 11.

²⁰³ France and Great Britain had been at war since 1793, with a brief respite from 1802 to 1803. The memoirs of tragic playwright Charles Brifaut underline that the parterre is comprised of members of the opposition: ‘le parterre est toujours l’opposition’, Brifaut, *Souvenirs*, I, 137.

Quand d'autres que le prince osent le protéger.²⁰⁴ The reworking of *Les Templiers*' text reduces the image of a fragile French throne propped up by foreign powers, a topical concern at the 1815 reprise. Therefore, Talma's opportune rewritings removed the possibility of insulting either the foreigners in Paris or the government that welcomed them; they also militated against potential allusions for political opponents in the audience, and they kept the tragedy tragic by avoiding comic or ironic situations after the recent political events.

iii. Love

The Comédie-Française reworked the depiction of love and its political consequences to control its potential allusions. In *Pierre-le-Grand* and *Ninus II* (1813) the passages where Pierre decides to reign with Catherine, his second wife, and Ninus shares power with Elzire, the woman he desires as his spouse, were rewritten. In *Pierre-le-Grand*, the 'dialogue coupé' of this scene was amended. The original text was revised and Boris's interjection of 'Ciel!' as Pierre hands Catherine power was removed, thus eliminating the example of political disobedience to female power.²⁰⁵ This was particularly pertinent since *Pierre-le-Grand* was performed in 1804 when Joséphine became Empress of the French. Yet, by 1813 women no longer took part in power: the lines where Ninus hands Elzire power are marked as cut.²⁰⁶ The fact that Ninus shares his power to avenge his past crimes and re-secure his position in the present, as well as the admiration of Elzire, would potentially be sensitive in 1813 after Napoleon's marriage to Marie-Louise of Austria (1791–1847), once France's enemy and now the second Empress of the French. Love was political: in *Hector*, although that of Andromaque and Hector is idealised, that of Pâris is problematic, as Chapter

²⁰⁴ BMCF, Ms 450 p. 20 and p. 12; Ms 450 bis p. 40 and p. 24.

²⁰⁵ Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, *Pierre-le-Grand*, prompt book, BMCF, Ms 442, p. 73, removed from the printed edition, Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, *Pierre-le-Grand, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Baudouin, 1804), p. 54.

²⁰⁶ Paris, BMCF, *Ninus II*, prompt book, Ms 507, p. 175. However, these four lines between 'Madame, je vous monte au trône [...] imitez-moi' make it to the printed edition, *Ninus II*, 1814, v. 7, p. 93.

Three established. In the final lines of the play, originally Pâris described himself as ‘Un lâche ravisseur ! l’esclave d’une femme ! | Le mépris de la Grèce et l’horreur de Pergame !...’²⁰⁷ This ending emphasises how the Trojan War (or the French Revolution for those who wanted to see it) and all its bloodshed was founded on Pâris’s love for Hélène. With these lines removed, the final image of Pâris is strengthened and the ramifications of his desire are restrained.

Throughout Napoleonic tragedy, scenes of domestic emotion between a couple are often reworked to make the man stronger. Even in *Hector*, the tender ‘dialogue coupé’ between Andromaque and Hector is removed:

ANDROMAQUE : Ne parle point de mort.

HECTOR : Ton époux doit la craindre.

Hector doit la braver.

ANDROMAQUE : Qu’Andromaque est à plaindre !²⁰⁸

Eliminating these lines erases the expression of Hector’s fear of death, increasing his heroism. This de-sentimentalisation of the hero’s lines can also be perceived in the rewritings of Talma’s part. ‘Tant d’audace ~~sied mal avec tant de mollesse~~ *m’étonne autant qu’elle me blesse*’ removes the image of weakness, and the portrayal of Pâris as having a ‘faible cœur’ is omitted.²⁰⁹ Similarly, in the prompt book of *Omasis* (1806), Omasis’s silent tears uncover his love for Almaïs, but

²⁰⁷ Pâris’s last speech originally started:

Ô destin affreuse !
D’un criminel amour, ô déplorable effet !
Enfin mon infortune égale mon forfait !
Tu meurs, vaillant Hector, mais tu meurs avec gloire :
Ton nom, toujours chéri, vivra dans la mémoire.
Le mien ne laissera qu’un honteux souvenir !
Un lâche ravisseur ! l’esclave d’une femme !
Le mépris de la Grèce et l’horreur de Pergame !...

BMCF, Ms 483, p. 135.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 67–68 which is taken out from the printed edition, Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, *Hector, tragédie en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs fragmens imités de l’Iliade, et d’une scène du rôle d’Hélène que l’auteur a supprimé* (Paris: Chaumerot, 1809), p. 41.

²⁰⁹ Rôle d’*Hector*, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 5, p. 13.

this non-verbal and un-heroic image was modified.²¹⁰ Likewise, we find the removal of ‘Ah ! s’ils pouvaient connaître à quel point ma tendresse | S’indigne d’un retard que prescrit ma faiblesse !’ from the prompt book.²¹¹ This modification rendered Omasis closer to a traditional tragic hero, in comparison to the prompt book version where he is plagued by tears and tenderness.

iv. Power

After the French Revolution, and under the ever-tighter grip of Napoleon’s power, overt references to tyrannical authority were often rewritten. In *Brunehaut* (1810) the following lines were bracketed to be cut:

Ah ! craignez du pouvoir le dangereux orgueil ;
Souvent dans son excès il rencontre un écueil ;
Sa faiblesse à la fin naît de sa violence,
Et la chute des Rois se prépare en silence.²¹²

In the context of *Brunehaut*’s run during 1810 and 1811 this passage could have seemed subversive as Napoleon’s situation in Europe worsened with the Peninsular War against Britain, Spain, and Portugal. The performance of these lines in the Comédie-Française’s highly political environment could have undermined the patron’s (Napoleon’s) power. These verses were in printed

²¹⁰ Paris, BMCF, *Omasis*, prompt book, Ms 463, p. 4.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 12.

²¹² Paris, BMCF, *Brunehaut*, prompt book, Ms 490, pp. 72–73. From a comparative analysis of the prompt books it is clear that brackets around lines often mean they are removed from performance of text at a certain stage. For example, in the prompt book for Tippo-Saëb four lines are bracketed on p. 22. Upon comparing this with the manuscript that had passed through censorship these are the lines the censor asked to be changed. Another example is that of *Ninus II*. In the prompt book, the following four lines are bracketed in II. 3:

[...] cette auguste enceinte accourt plein d’espérance
Et déjà mille cris implorent sa présence ;
Mais Zormane entraîné par un besoin plus doux
Vous demande, Seigneur, et ne cherche que vous.

They are likewise removed from the printed edition, *Ninus II*, 1814, p. 30.

circulation, but the marks on the prompt book expose how the Comédie-Française adapted the tragedy's script in line with contemporary events and audience reception.

Scholars working on Revolutionary theatre have stressed the active political dynamism of theatres such as the Comédie-Française and the large role of the public in both theatrical and political life.²¹³ It is thus striking that many of the cuts made in the prompt books refer to the people and their relationship with the ruler. Between the prompt book and the printed text the following six lines are removed from Pierre's speech in *Pierre-le-Grand*:

Qui veut plaire à ce peuple est un esclave à plaindre.
Qu'il m'estime, il suffit : je saurai l'y contraindre.
Pour lui faire un bonheur, qu'il ne peut se donner ;
De ses honteux soutiens pour le mieux détourner ;
Pour l'illustrer enfin, que faut-il ? que je règne
Pour qu'un jour on le serve, aujourd'hui on me craigne.²¹⁴

The repetition of 'Qu' and 'Pour', as well as the punctuation, which breaks the flow of the line, emphasises Pierre's absolute power for which he is prepared to sacrifice his people in the name of their greater interest. The disappearance of these lines, especially in 1804, the day after Napoleon became a hereditary Emperor, is indicative of their potential subversive allusions and the tailoring of the text by the theatre for its reception by the audience.²¹⁵

²¹³ Marie-Hélène Huet, *Rehearsing the Revolution: The Staging of Marat's Death, 1793–1797*, trans. by Robert Hurley (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Jeffrey S. Ravel, *The Contested Parterre, Public Theater and French Political Culture 1680–1791* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1999); Susan Maslan, *Revolutionary Acts: Theater, Democracy and the French Revolution* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005); Paul Friedland, *Political Actors, Representative Bodies and Theatricality in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 2002).

²¹⁴ Paris, BMCF, *Pierre-le-Grand*, prompt book, Ms 442, p. 62; *Pierre-le-Grand*, 1804, p. 45.

²¹⁵ Napoleon became a hereditary emperor on 18 May 1804, Georges Lefebvre, *Napoléon* (Paris: Nouveau monde éditions, 2012), p. 212 and *Pierre-le-Grand* was first performed on the 19 May 1804, Paris, BMCF, R 328.

The people *en masse* were also removed from tragedies such as *Les Templiers*, *La Mort de Henri IV*, and *Omasis*. This is not surprising since these works were first performed from 1805 to 1806 after Napoleon's coronation. These lines where the people feature often carry potentially Revolutionary references. In *La Mort de Henri IV*, 'Est-ce là de son peuple écouter l'intérêt ?' vanished,²¹⁶ and in *Omasis* the following lines are marked as cut: 'Sommes-nous ses sujets ? de quel droit ose-t-il | Appeler notre père aux rivages du Nil ?'.²¹⁷ The sibilance of the first hemistich and the questions' direct address to the audience underline how this section was intended to be particularly emphatic. Both these cuts, about the people's interest, rights, and status as subjects recall Revolutionary discourse and thus could be potentially dangerous in the foyer of Napoleonic power that was the Comédie-Française.

v. Prompt Books and Censorship

My study of the thematic rewritings in the prompt books and between this format and the printed text has revealed that the actors, particularly Talma, were responsible for modifying the play. Scholars such as Krakovitch who focus on the Police archives might question whether this rewriting constitutes 'censorship', but, as I have argued, censorship is a far larger term than its bureaucratic sense. The prompt books expose multiple examples of self and institutional censorship carried out by the Comédie-Française. It is also important to note that Welschinger, the father of Napoleonic censorship scholarship, treats these rewritings and cuts as 'censure'. Welschinger cites a censored copy of *Pierre-le-Grand* where the following four lines were censored:

Une femme, du czar la compagne fidèle,
 Qu'il écoute toujours, qu'il trouve toujours belle,
 Dont son cœur et ses yeux ne se lassent jamais,
 Seule en de tels momens ose espérer la paix.²¹⁸

²¹⁶ BMCF, Ms 460, p. 24, *La Mort de Henri IV*, 1806, p. 10.

²¹⁷ BMCF, Ms 463, p. 61.

²¹⁸ Welschinger, p. 225; BMCF, Ms 442, p. 27.

The manuscript Welschinger quotes here and in other cases is not that of the author sent via the Police but the prompt book where these four lines are bracketed.²¹⁹ That these prompt book cuts were considered censorship at the time is demonstrated by Brifaut, who quotes three lines from *Ninus II* which were censored in December 1813:

Je ne puis ni souffrir ni déclarer ma honte...
Ah! du bandeau royal le criminel orné
N'en est pas plus heureux pour être couronné.²²⁰

The last couplet is in the prompt book and has been bracketed for its exclusion.²²¹ Therefore, the rewriting of the prompt book for aesthetic and political reasons is undoubtedly censorship according to its larger definition, but it is also partly bureaucratic, reiterating how the Comédie-Française acted as a lateral censorship organism which incorporated the desires of the official State system. This is crucial because the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française has a relatively rich set of prompt books for Napoleonic tragedies, complementing the sources of the Police archives and filling in some of the holes that Krakovitch has lamented to offer a fuller picture of the contemporary censorship systems. By studying these documents and their rewritings, we can see what the State and the Comédie-Française deemed to be too sensitive for the

²¹⁹ Likewise, Welschinger cites a censored manuscript for *Les Templiers* where amongst others, the following lines were removed: 'Vous accusez. Il faut qu'un jugement auguste | Prouve qu'en accusant le monarque fut juste', along with: 'Contre nos oppresseurs préparons la vengeance; | Nos parents, nos amis soulèveront la France'. Once again, this is the prompt book, not the manuscript with the censorship visa. Another example from *Les Templiers* is:

La calomnie en vain leur suppose des crimes,
Le peuple voit en eux d'honorables victimes ;
Il les avait connus glorieux et puissants,
Il les voit opprimés, il les croit innocents!

Welschinger, p. 228; BMCF, 449, p. 52 and p. 96.

²²⁰ Brifaut, *Souvenirs*, I, 133. It is possible that Brifaut confused his lines here since they are not in this order in either the printed nor the prompt book format.

²²¹ *Ninus II*, prompt book, Paris, BMCF, Ms 507 p. 58.

contemporary public, increasing our understanding of Napoleonic cultural politics.

d. Other Forms of Censorship

Tragedy is both read and performed, and thus occupies a distinctive position in the censorship system. Sometimes the Direction générale had to decide whether an unperformed tragedy could be printed, as in the case of *Ali, ou les Karégites* in 1811, which the Comédie-Française had decided not to read.²²² Another case is *La Mort de Jacques Molay, ou les nouveaux Templiers*, by François Louis d'Arragon (175?–1814) which was deemed 'ne pouvoir être approuvé',²²³ because it would 'augmenter l'intérêt que le public a paru prendre aux Templiers de M. Raynouard'.²²⁴ Combined with the censorship difficulties that the 'Preuves de l'innocence des Templiers par M. Raynouard' was encountering in 1811 and 1812, it is clear this tragedy was prohibited because of its content and could only be published fifteen months later.²²⁵ Suppression could also occur as a tragedy was printed: in 1812 a tragedy from Rouen entitled *Thémistocle* had an extremely high print run of 3000 copies, compared to the usual 500 or 1000 for a successful play.²²⁶ The notice in the *Bibliographie de l'Empire français* that *Thémistocle* '[n]e se vend pas' indicates that this tragedy was censored post-publication.²²⁷ Whereas most tragedies which were not performed passed through the Direction générale, at times those which were performed were also

²²² Bulletin hebdomadaire de la 3^{ème} semaine de janvier 1811, AN, F/18(I)/149/1.

²²³ Bulletin hebdomadaire de la 3^{ème} semaine d'août 1811, AN, F/18(I)/149/1.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ In 1811, 'Preuves de l'innocence des Templiers par M. Raynouard' was censored and occasioned a special report from the censors, bulletins hebdomadaires de la direction générale de l'imprimerie et de la librairie, 3^{ème} semaine d'avril 1811, before being censored again in 4^{ème} semaine de décembre 1812. AN, F/18(I)/149/1 and F/18(I)/149/2. For the final publication, see *Bibliographie de l'Empire français*, 30 April 1812 (Paris: Bossagne, 1812).

²²⁶ For example, *Zaïre* has a print run of 1000 copies in 1812, *Bibliographie de l'Empire français*, 26 June 1812.

²²⁷ *Bibliographie de l'Empire français*, 27 November 1812 (Paris: Bossagne, 1812).

surveyed, as in the case of *Tippo-Saëb*,²²⁸ or those unperformed were censored by the Comédie-Française, accentuating how the actors and their Comité were part of the censorship system. The playwright Depuntis had to follow the latter route for his tragedy *Clovis*. After the birth of Napoleon's son, Depuntis was inspired to write about the foundation of the monarchy. The tragedy was sent to Esménard and two other censors who approved of the work but *Clovis* was not authorised for the 1811 celebrations, and so Depuntis decided to publish it instead. Interestingly, given the presence of the Direction générale, the government 'insista pour que je le présentasse à la comédie française', after which it would be printed.²²⁹ There were other incongruities in the censorship system: prefaces to pre-existing plays passed censorship as we have seen but not all productions performed at the Comédie-Française went to the Direction générale, despite their own prefaces and historical notes which could encourage a certain reading or attack the government furtively.

Censorship was also carried out covertly. I have demonstrated how Brifaut's *Jeanne Gray* was finished in 1804, censored, ready for performance in 1808, and then censored again. Another case is that of Jouy and his tragedy *Bélisaire* (1818): in 1825 Jouy stated that he had begun his tragedy sixteen years ago, ergo 1809.²³⁰ When he gave the plan of his tragedy to a figure high up in the regime, he was told: '[l]a tragédie que vous voulez faire est impossible' since '[u]n illustre général, persécuté, condamné, proscrit par un empereur ! [...] C'est un événement contemporain, dont nous venons d'être témoins.'²³¹ *Bélisaire*'s rejection reaffirms how the guise of the ancient world remained immediately political and how the audience read contemporary events into tragedies. This intervention reiterates how there was no coherent comprehensive system by which tragedy was censored and surveyed: there were always exceptions.²³²

²²⁸ AN, F/18/(I)150.

²²⁹ F.-J. Depuntis, 'Avertissement', in F.-J. Depuntis, *Clovis, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers* (Toulouse: Benichet le Cadet, 1813), pp. 3–7 (p. 4).

²³⁰ Jouy, 'Préface', *Bélisaire*, pp. xi–xvi (p. xiii)

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Although he does not speak of tragedy, Fouché's biographer, Emmanuel de Waresquiel, notes how Fouché hosted private evenings where actors and singers rehearsed or gave performances, and plays were read in advance of their performance, including *Fernand Cortez, ou la conquête du Mexique*, by Jouy and

State censorship also entailed self-censorship, which impacted on tragedy's evolution. Chénier was writing another tragedy, *Électre*, in 1803 but he left it unfinished upon his death in 1811,²³³ and his decision to withhold his next tragedy, *Tibère* (1811), is indicative of the pressures upon him. The fact *Tibère* would not be performed until 1843 and was censored by the regimes after Napoleon calls into question Melai's assertion that Napoleonic censorship was so harsh that it stopped all originality.²³⁴ Chénier is far from the sole case: Lemercier composed most of his tragedies under Napoleon according to Vincenzo De Santis, who lists a trilogy of tragedies, starting with *Charlemagne* in 1800, followed by *Clovis* and *La Démence de Charles VI*, and other tragedies such as *Philippe-Auguste* which was received at the Odéon in 1803, *Camille, ou le Capitole sauvé* received at the Comédie-Française in 1811, and *Louis IX en Égypte* finished by 1806.²³⁵ After their public performances, these tragedies are considered to impact on the development of Romanticism. However, as Hochet, Constant, and the Comtesse de Rémusat have shown, these compositions were circulating amongst the Napoleonic literati allowing for the furthering of the tragic genre and the transmission of ideas between those at the heart of the theatrical world and its dissidents on the periphery. Moreover, censored plays such as *Tippo-Saëb* could still develop tragedy as a genre despite State interference.

e. Napoleon's Personal Censorship

Notwithstanding the presence of institutional and covert systems, censorship was not always wholly effective. The previous chapter studied Napoleon's dislike for Chénier's *Cyrus*, and how the audience saw the Duc d'Angoulême rather than

Gaspard Spontini (1774–1851), Emmanuel de Waresquiel, *Fouché, les silences de la pieuvre* (Paris: Tallandier; Fayard, 2014), p. 387. It was perhaps in such an environment that Jouy was warned against *Bélisaire*.

²³³ Letter 19 floréal an IX (9 May 1803) from Chénier to Charles Palissot de Montenois, Paris, BMCF, Dossier Chénier.

²³⁴ Krakovitch, pp. 81–94.

²³⁵ Vincenzo De Santis, 'Le Dramaturge dissident', pp. 87–95; p. 622; p. 111.

the Emperor in the titular character.²³⁶ Although *Cyrus*'s second performance was announced as imminent, it never occurred.²³⁷ Rémusat informed Mahéault that Napoleon did not want *Henri VIII* to be performed and that the play was not to be performed without permission.²³⁸ This is crucial because it is Napoleon himself who ordered the censorship, not just of *Cyrus*, but of other tragedies by Chénier. This was extended to the departments and *Henri VIII* would remain banned until 1841.²³⁹

Additionally, Brifaut's memoirs and Jouy's notes show us that Napoleon demanded private performances to either censor or radically change tragedies. When time permitted, Napoleon created his own individual censorship system, having both pre-existing and new plays performed or read at court to assess them himself. After its initial censorship rewriting, *Héraclius* was performed on 7 August 1806 at Saint-Cloud. This tragedy would grace the Parisian stage nearly six months later after further modifications, as I demonstrated in Chapter One.²⁴⁰ Likewise, *Brutus*, which the Comédie-Française was campaigning to be authorised, was performed for Napoleon on 23 January 1808,²⁴¹ as was Voltaire's *Rome sauvée* (1752) on 2 March 1809, but they did not reach the public Parisian stage.²⁴² *Esther* (1689) and *Athalie* were more successful. Both tragedies were staged for Napoleon at Saint-Cloud, the first on 12 June 1803, the second on 24 March 1805, before being put back on at the Comédie-Française on

²³⁶ 'Bulletin du 19 frimaire' an XIII (10 December 1804), Aulard, *Paris sous le Premier Empire*, I, 446–47 (p. 446).

²³⁷ The *Journal des débats* was still waiting for the second performance of *Cyrus* on 4 January 1805.

²³⁸ 'L'Empereur désire, Mon cher Commissaire, que la pièce d'Henri VIII ne soit pas donnée demain. Faites donc tout au monde pour qu'il n'y ait pas relâche' Letter [n.d.], Rémusat to Mahéault, BMCF, ARAD 1 Dossier Administration Mahéault 5 (5).

²³⁹ Fouché, following Napoleon, 'jugéant que cette pièce de circonstance peut produire aujourd'hui de mauvais effets, recommande aux préfets d'en empêcher la représentation', Bulletin 14 February 1805, Hauterive, *La Police secrète*, I (1908), 292. On *Henri VIII*'s ban until 1841, see Krakovitch, pp. 81–94 (p. 82).

²⁴⁰ BMCF, R 330.

²⁴¹ Paris, BMCF, R 331.

²⁴² Paris, BMCF, R 332.

26 April 1805 and 24 February 1806 (in a censored version) respectively.²⁴³ *Esther*, first revived at the larger stage of the Opéra on 2 June 1803, had been announced for 6 June for a second performance at the Opéra, but it was cancelled that morning, then performed before Napoleon at court for the first Comédie-Française ‘service de la cour’ since the Revolution. *Esther* then took a further two years to return to the Comédie-Française publicly, indicating obstacles for the tragedy’s performance.²⁴⁴ These are not lone cases: *Polyeucte*’s 1806 reprise in Paris on 23 May 1806 was preceded by a court performance on 15 May that year.²⁴⁵ In other cases, Napoleon was quick to have a tragedy privately performed after its first performance at the Comédie-Française. For example, *Nicomède* (1651), revived in Paris on 3 January 1805, was performed for Napoleon in March that year.²⁴⁶ In combination with attending public performances, Napoleon could survey the performed repertoire, and prevent or remove a potentially problematic tragedy from reaching the public stage.

This tactic of individual surveillance was also applied to new tragedies. *Les Templiers* was put on for Napoleon on 25 July 1805, after its first performances in May 1805,²⁴⁷ and the Emperor saw *Artaxerce* (1808) at court on 18 August 1808 after its premiere on 30 April that year.²⁴⁸ However, elsewhere Napoleon was keen to observe new tragedies as quickly as possible: *Omasis* was privately staged on 18 September 1806 after its premiere on 13 September;²⁴⁹ *La Mort de Henri IV* had its first performance in Paris on 25 June 1806 and on 29 June at court;²⁵⁰ Napoleon privately saw *Mahomet II* (1811) on 12 March 1811, three days after its first appearance;²⁵¹ and *Tippo-Saëb* was staged at court on 4 February 1813 after its premiere at the Comédie-Française on 27 January 1813.²⁵² The court performances, and the changes tragedies had to go through

²⁴³ BMCF, R 327 and Paris, BMCF, R 329.

²⁴⁴ BMCF, R 327.

²⁴⁵ BMCF, R 330.

²⁴⁶ BMCF, R 328 and BMCF, R 329.

²⁴⁷ BMCF, R 329.

²⁴⁸ BMCF, R 331 and BMCF, R 332.

²⁴⁹ BMCF, R 330.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Paris, BMCF, R 334.

²⁵² Paris, BMCF, R 336.

after these performances or their absence from the sanctioned repertoire indicates that Napoleon used his individual censorship in addition to the bureaucratic system. This corroborates Nicholas Harrison's argument that Napoleon was frustrated with the censorship system and would much rather have controlled it directly.²⁵³

There are four notable records of this individual imperial censorship on Napoleonic tragedies besides *Cyrus*. Chronologically, the first is *La Mort de Henri IV* by Legouv   in 1806. Napoleon expressed his concerns over its setting: the depiction of such a close and tumultuous era of history with France's greatest King, a Bourbon, as its hero, was far from desirable in 1806.²⁵⁴ Consequently, with similar tactics to those used previously by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais (1732–1799), Madame Legouv   (17?–18?) waged a war of opinion, resulting in the play's reading by Talma in front of Napoleon, who changed but one line: Henri's 'Je fr  mis' in act V became 'Je tremble' since a king should not 'fr  mir'.²⁵⁵ *La Mort de Henri IV* also changed the bureaucratic censorship rationale. Hitherto, *Henri IV* had been withheld from the Napoleonic stage, but in 1806 there was a blossoming of plays treating the subject. As the report for *Henry IV en voyage* noted, the censors could not decide on 'un sujet aussi d  licat avant de savoir l'impression que produit la pi  ce de M. Legouv   sur l'esprit public'.²⁵⁶ The performance of Legouv  's tragedy, combined with the opera *Gabrielle d'Estr  es ou les Amours de Henri IV* (1806) impacted upon the censorship of other genres. As the censors remarked 'chaque th   tre veut avoir

²⁵³ Nicholas Harrison, *Circles of Censorship: Censorship and its Metaphors in French History, Literature and Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 26–27.

²⁵⁴ Cited in L  on de Lanza   de Laborie, *Paris sous Napol  on: le Th   tre-Fran  ais* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1911), p. 207.

²⁵⁵ Regarding Beaumarchais, see Claude Petitfr  re, *Le Scandale du 'Mariage de Figaro': pr  lude    la R  volution fran  aise?* (Brussels: Complexe, 1999), pp. 12–14. For Madame Legouv  's campaign, see Ernest Legouv  , 'Notice sur Jean-Baptiste-Gabriel Legouv  ', in *  uvres choisies de G. Legouv  , pr  c  d  es d'une notice par Ernest Legouv  *, ed. by Ernest Legouv   (Paris: Jules Laisn  , 1854), pp. 1–11 (pp. 8–11).

²⁵⁶ 'Henri IV en voyage', [n.d.], Ms G-M. Recueil de rapports de la Censure dramatique, class  es suivant l'ordre alphab  tique des pi  ces examin  es, Paris, BnF, NAF-3031.

son Henri IV' and '[t]ous vont se présenter à la file appuyés sur la permission qu'auront obtenu ceux qui les ont précédés'.²⁵⁷ Significantly, this report shows that tragedy was exempt from some of the censorship standards of other genres, suicide being another case in point.²⁵⁸ But tragedy was also a testing ground: by allowing elements which would normally be avoided—here the portrayal of Henri IV on-stage—tragedy influenced the established censorship logic of other genres and extended the realm of what could be performed.

The second instance is that of *Les États de Blois* by Raynouard. This tragedy was received on 16 August 1804 and it was publicly read in salons as early as 1805 and 1806.²⁵⁹ The fact that it was not performed until 1810 and was rewritten over the five years indicates that it had several complications with the regime's mechanisms.²⁶⁰ However, the prompt book bears the signed authorisation for performance dated 19 March 1810.²⁶¹ *Les États de Blois* was then performed for Napoleon on 22 June 1810 at Saint-Cloud after which it was banned and not performed again until the Restoration.²⁶² The Comte de Las Cases (1766–1842) recorded Napoleon's comments on the tragedy, including '[i]l y a dans sa pièce pour tous les partis, pour toutes les passions ; si je la laissais donner dans Paris, on pourrait venir m'apprendre que cinquante personnes se sont égorgées dans le parterre.'²⁶³ Public safety was one of the

²⁵⁷ 'Henri IV en voyage' and 'Le souper de Henri IV', 2 July 1806, *ibid.*

²⁵⁸ 'JJ Rousseau et son fils', 14 September 1813, *ibid.*

²⁵⁹ 28 thermidor an XII (16 August 1804), BMCF, R 450; Letter from Madame de Rémusat 5 July 1805, in Claire Elizabeth Jeanne Gravier de Vergennes Rémusat, *Lettres de Madame Rémusat, 1804–1814*, 2 vols (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1881), I, 228, and Letter from Madame de Rémusat 28 December 1806 regarding Lafon reading the tragedy at Madame Pastoret's house, II, 126.

²⁶⁰ For example, according to Madame de Rémusat Henri III was a character in 1805 but this royal presence is markedly absent from the stage in 1810 and 1814 illustrating its sensitivity. Letter from Madame de Rémusat 28 December 1806, *ibid.*, II, 126.

²⁶¹ Paris, BMCF, *Les États de Blois*, prompt book, Ms 511.

²⁶² Welschinger, pp. 242–43.

²⁶³ Las Cases also recorded that:

[Raynouard] voile la vérité de l'histoire ; ses caractères sont faux, sa politique est dangereuse et peut être nuisible. Cette circonstance me confirme, ce que du reste chacun sait très-bien, qu'il est une énorme différence entre la lecture et la représentation d'une pièce : [...] les éloges prodigués aux Bourbons sont les moindres ; les diatribes contre les

primary concerns in Napoleon's censorship. The Emperor's reasoning also confirms the reading of *Les États de Blois* in 1810 and of *Les Templiers* in Chapter Three: the audience saw what they wanted in Raynouard's characters, his tragedies represented all the political factions, and he used tragedy as a vehicle to retry history. Napoleon equally disliked the portrayal of Henri IV and the Duc de Guise, the latter of whom was 'un parent de l'Impératrice, un Prince de la maison d'Autriche' and whose ambassador was in the court audience, causing some embarrassment.²⁶⁴ The tragedy was consequently banned because it was too accessible to the public and because it risked damaging the reputation of the imperial family. However, even the Emperor's censorship was not total: Hallays-Dabot, who had access to the Police archives before the fire of 1871, records how there were manuscript copies of this 'œuvre royaliste capitale' all over Paris.²⁶⁵

After the fiasco of *Les États de Blois* Napoleon declared that all tragedies should be performed at court before their premiere, but this policy did not last.²⁶⁶ As the last section has detailed, the censors had authorised *Tippo-Saëb* and it opened at the Comédie-Française in 1813. Napoleon attended the first performance, and requested a private show the following day.²⁶⁷ After this private performance, 'ce censeur couronné'²⁶⁸ made lengthy remarks about the tragedy, both in terms of its literary merit (lamenting the inclusion of a teary

révolutionnaires sont bien pires encore. M. Rénouard a été faire du chef des Seize le capucin Chabot de la Convention.

Emmanuel Las Cases, *Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène, ou journal où se trouve consigné, jour par jour, ce qu'a dit et fait Napoléon durant dix-huit mois*, 2nd edn, 8 vols (Paris: Dépôt du Mémorial, 1824), II, 338–39.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Hallays-Dabot, pp. 224–25. An example of an illicit copy of a tragedy is a handwritten transcription of Raynouard's other tragedy, *Les Templiers*, Béziers, Centre interrégional de développement de l'occitan – Médiathèque interrégionale occitane, Ms 180, available at <<http://www.occitanica.eu/omeka/items/show/10650>> [accessed 26 April 2016].

²⁶⁶ *Mémorial*, I, 267.

²⁶⁷ Jouy, 'Anecdotes relatives à la tragédie de Tippo-Saëb', in *Œuvres complètes d'Étienne Jouy, théâtre* (Paris: Didot l'aîné, 1823), pp. 97–104 (p. 99). As we have seen, the actual performance took place several days later.

²⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 101.

daughter that Tippo did not have and the absence of the Sultan's favourite female slave whose presence could have made for a touching ending) and in terms of its political message (commenting on the characters of the French envoy Raymond and the Sultan Tippo himself).²⁶⁹ Napoleon's comments were meant to be adhered to; Jouy felt this pressure but did not change his tragedy, which demonstrates how some censorship cuts were intended, but not obeyed or enforced.²⁷⁰ Early in 1813 this was possible; later that year Brifaut's *Ninus II* was not to be so lucky.

The turn of political events obliged Brifaut to relocate his tragedy from medieval Spain to the ancient East, but *Ninus II* faced further obstacles.²⁷¹ Brifaut claimed that Napoleon returned to Paris following his serious defeat at the Battle of Leipzig and demanded a court production of the tragedy which everyone was talking about. This performance took place at the Tuileries on 5 December 1813, after which Napoleon banned the tragedy.²⁷² Once again, although the regime had a censorship system in place, Napoleon operated overall control. Eventually, Brifaut states '[j]'obtiens mainlevée de l'excommunication de mon ouvrage, mais à des conditions cruellement onéreuses. Des scènes mutilées, des tirades supprimées, un personnage proscrit'.²⁷³ Consequently, Napoleon's personal censorship could transform a play already in performance. Nonetheless, from the Comédie-Française registers it is clear that Brifaut is not quite as accurate as he purports to be. *Ninus II* had premiered on 19 April 1813, it had a second performance on 21 April, and a third announced on 24 April, but it was replaced by *Hamlet* when an actor was reported sick.²⁷⁴ Actors fell ill for both medical and political reasons, and *Ninus II* was not staged, either at court or in Paris, until the Tuileries performance of 5 December 1813, after which it returned to Paris on 9 December.²⁷⁵ Such a delay followed by the immediate

²⁶⁹ Ibid., pp. 101–03.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

²⁷¹ Charles Brifaut, 'Avis préliminaire', in Charles Brifaut, *Ninus II, tragédie en cinq actes*, 2nd edn (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1815), pp. vii–viii (p. vii).

²⁷² Brifaut, *Souvenirs*, I, 132.

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 131.

²⁷⁴ '[U]ne indisposition tres grave survenant a Mr. Baptiste ainé obligea de substituer Hamlet a la place de Ninus a 3 hres apres Midy.' BMCF, R 336.

²⁷⁵ Paris, BMCF, R 337.

return of the tragedy after its court performance hints that *Ninus II* was censored through public performance in April 1813, well before Leipzig, and that Napoleon's court performance verified the tragedy's changes. This in turn leads to the question of who censored the tragedy in April 1813? There is no record of Napoleon attending either of *Ninus II*'s first two performances but it might be down to the presence of Police in the theatre, given that this tragedy was received with 'des transports excessifs' and 'enthousiasme aveugle'.²⁷⁶ The cast list remained the same between April and December, but the parts were extensively rewritten: Talma's role alone contains 375 lines in the actor's hand, effectively a quarter of the tragedy.²⁷⁷ The example of *Ninus II* is striking: firstly, it shows the creation of the legends surrounding Napoleonic censorship; secondly, that someone else other than the bureaucratic system or Napoleon personally was performing the role of censor.

The fact that *Ninus II* had to be performed for Napoleon at court before its return to Paris reinforces the Emperor's personal control in the censorship of tragedy, and how he predominantly exercised this control through private productions. Napoleon's personal censorship was supplementary to that institutionalised by the bureaucratic censorship system, enforced by the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, and the exercise of censorship by multiple lateral agents—administrators, actors, and playwrights—at the Comédie-Française. The misunderstanding of the relationships among these various forms of control has led to inaccurate narratives of the severity of Napoleonic censorship. As I will now demonstrate, the Napoleonic era is not isolated in the history of censorship.

f. Censorship During the First Restoration and the 100 Days

The bureaucratic censorship system cemented by the decrees of 1806 and 1807 remained in place until the fall of the Empire. Even when censorship was officially abolished, during the Restoration and the 100 Days, the archives confirm that theatrical censorship continued. The tragedy *Le Siège, ou le maire*

²⁷⁶ *Journal de l'Empire*, 21 April 1813.

²⁷⁷ 'Manuscrit du rôle de *Ninus*', Paris, BMCF, CF Ar TAL 5.

de Rouen received at the Comédie-Française on 26 July 1814²⁷⁸ was prohibited from performance in a report dated 4 August 1814—when censorship had supposedly been abolished twice.²⁷⁹ The former imperial censors, Lémontey, Lacretelle, and D’Avrigny—now monarchical censors—decided the performance should be avoided: ‘[I]es dispositions que le public manifeste au théâtre depuis quelque tems sont très animées contre l’Angleterre. Cette piece sera une occasion de les manifester avec plus de violences encore.’ The tragedy was therefore censored not because of its content per se but because it arrived at a time when such content was dangerous. As Chaillou and Krakovitch have shown, this was also the case under the Empire in 1810 with *Gustave Wasa* (1733).²⁸⁰ The fact that censorship changes with the performance environment ratifies the argument from the last chapter that tragedies must be understood as of their time.

The process from a play’s reception to its performance was usually quite lengthy, and as such the Restoration censored plays which might formally be labelled Napoleonic tragedies. At times this is quite a quick process: Pierre-Antoine Lebrun’s *Ulysse* (1814) was supposedly ‘représenté tel qu’il a été fait depuis trois ans’, since as Lebrun reminds his audience ‘on ne fait point de tragédies de circonstance’.²⁸¹ However, upon consultation of the prompt book, it is clear that some lines have been cut: descriptions of an army preparing for battle in secret were taken out, as was a *récit* recounting how the people believes the king has come back in IV. 1.²⁸² Another modification removed the allusion to Napoleon’s return and the possibility that people would change sides.²⁸³ The fact

²⁷⁸ BMCF, R 450.

²⁷⁹ AN, F/21/966.

²⁸⁰ Krakovitch, pp. 5–109 (p. 3); Chaillou, p. 196.

²⁸¹ Pierre-Antoine Lebrun, ‘Préface’, in Pierre-Antoine Lebrun, *Ulysse, tragédie en cinq actes* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1814), pp. v–viii (p. vii).

²⁸² Paris, BMCF, *Ulysse*, prompt book, Ms 509.

²⁸³ Etranger, à ton air, à ta ferme assurance
 Qui pourrait de son cœur reprouver l’espérance ?
 Je veux bien l’avouer, [cut] oui, quelque chose en toi
 [cut] Commande que mon cœur s’abandonne à ta fois.
 [cut] Un pouvoir inconnu m’invite et m’intéresse
 [cut] Soit ta parole calme et pleine de sagesse,
 [cut] Ton front vénérable [end of cut] soit cet air de grandeur

that this play was far from ‘tel qu’il a été fait’ is confirmed by the fact that Talma’s part was substantially rewritten, stressing the continuity of censorship between regimes.²⁸⁴

Arthur de Bretagne had been presented to the Comédie-Française in 1811 and was announced in December 1814.²⁸⁵ Shortly before this, the first censorship review had been completed on 7 December 1814, signed by a familiar name from the Napoleonic censorship regime, Saulnier.²⁸⁶ The tragedy could be performed but the author had corrections to make.²⁸⁷ The logic of the changes was similar to that of the Empire: ‘Et ce peuple inquiet’ became ‘et l’anglais turbulent’ (p. 16),²⁸⁸ distinguishing those in the right and those in the wrong. There was still a certain fear of the English on the other side of the Channel as the censorship of this couplet indicates: ‘Par déla l’océan l’ennemi renvoyé | Par déla de l’Océan doit être foudroyé.’ (p. 28). Unsurprisingly lines talking about ‘perdre un rival et garder ma couronne’ (p. 42) were censored after the defeat of Napoleon, and past kings remained problematic: ‘bon Henri’ must become ‘Henri’ alone (p. 64).

After the 100 Days, *Arthur de Bretagne* was re-censored. Between these dates, IV. 1 was rewritten to accommodate for the change of contemporary political events. On 4 September 1815, the Second Restoration censors demanded further changes, demonstrating how what was acceptable for one regime at a certain time period might have to be changed for another, reaffirming the importance of the performance’s context.²⁸⁹ ‘En faveur d’un enfant’ is marked as ‘A changer’ (p. 13), perhaps in fear of Napoleon’s son who had officially, albeit briefly, become Napoleon II. After the 100 Days and the Battle of Waterloo, references to ‘étrangers’ (p. 16, p. 19) and people who ‘du Nord descendant’ are also ‘A changer’ (p. 14). The portrayal of kings was similarly closely monitored: ‘mon souverain combat pour sa couronne, | Et des [...]

²⁸⁴ ‘Rôle d’Ulysse’, ‘Copies des rôles joués par Talma’, BnF, Ms 14032.

²⁸⁵ *Journal des débats*, 11 December 1814.

²⁸⁶ The author was ordered ‘de retrancher ou corriger les passages indiqués aux pages 16, 17, 28, 35, 42 et 64’, AN, F/18/616.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ The grammatical error is as written in the manuscript.

²⁸⁹ Ibid. The 1814 and 1815 censorships are marked on the same manuscript. The changes for 1815 are on pages 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, and 69.

étrangers le secours l'environnel' (p. 15). Here, the 'souverain' and 'couronne' echoed contemporary portrayals of the Second Restoration, and the idea of fighting, and of a feeble monarch supported by foreigners was an easy *application* to Louis XVIII who had been led back to Paris by Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington (1769–1852). Likewise, the disappearance of Norfolk's declaration to the King of England 'Vous avez des brigands pour vaincre des héros ! | Vous ne les vaincrez pas' (p. 15) and the mention of 'le repentir du roi!' (p. 69) portrayed Louis's saviours in a bad light and emphasised Napoleon's invincibility. After these changes, the tragedy was finally performed and fell on 3 February 1816.

Tragedies continued to be censored and pulled from performance at short notice during the 100 Days. Arnault's *Germanicus* had been received by the Comédie-Française in 1813, its performance 'a été fixée immédiatement après celle du Retour d'Ulysse et de Charles VII',²⁹⁰ and it was rehearsed during the 100 Days.²⁹¹ Nevertheless, with the change of regime *Germanicus* was banned and had to wait a further two years and re-censorship by the monarchical government to be performed.

Arthur de Bretagne and *Germanicus* are noteworthy because they passed through both First and Second Restoration censorship. We have already seen how although the Restoration supposedly abolished censorship on 4 June 1814, it remained in place. Similarly, when Napoleon returned, one of his first acts was to abolish censorship, yet as the censors' report for *Démétrius* from 26 June 1815 demonstrates, it was still occurring.²⁹² The analysis of the tragedies censored and performed from 1814 to 1817 unveil that with the continuity in censorship personnel, the grand axes of censorship endured, such as the removal of the attacks on power, but that it was tailored to contemporary situations. The censors' main aim was, as Krakovitch remarks, 'défendre le gouvernement en place et sa politique'.²⁹³ Indeed, the Restoration government appears to have

²⁹⁰ *Germanicus* was accepted on 17 December 1813, BMCF, R 450; 16 December 1813 BMCF, R 415 Procès-verbaux des séances du comité.

²⁹¹ Antoine-Vincent Arnault, *Œuvres de A. V. Arnault*, 3 vols (Paris: Bossange père, 1824), I, 6.

²⁹² AN, F/21/966.

²⁹³ Krakovitch, pp. 105–09 (p. 92).

been more sensitive to subversion, taking out lines from Lemer cier's *Baudouin* which had been published in 1808.²⁹⁴ Just as the Napoleonic era continued the censorship of the Directory, so too the Restoration carried on from its predecessor: continuity outweighed rupture.

Conclusion

The censorship of tragedy during the Napoleonic era, the surveillance, control, authorisation, or prohibition of plays in performance or print, and their rewriting by numerous agents so that they might reach the public, was far more complex than scholarship thus far has allowed for. Furthermore, the 'censors' were not just bureaucrats: the theatre, the actors, and the authors collaborated through lateral censorship when they rewrote their texts under poeticological and ideological constraints. Even if Napoleon might enforce his own decisions at times, censorship was far from a simple top-down affair. The case studies have shown that there were many exceptions to the rule, especially in the case of *Tippo-Saëb*, and that censorship changed over time. The decisions of those on high—such as Napoleon or the head of Police—were not always implemented and the formalised bureaucratic system was more lenient than hitherto assumed. The public played a central role: censorship was for the people, to prevent subversive and dangerous allusions—politically, aesthetically, and physically. The regime's concerns indicate the power that the public wielded, and most importantly just as Napoleon could remove a play at times, so too could the public by making a play fall as I explained in Chapter Three. Therefore, although Napoleonic censorship has continuously been regarded as autocratic and oppressive, the large place occupied by the public, its expectations, and the potential danger of its reception cannot be denied through the analysis of these rewritings. This attempt to control the public sphere via censorship in turn questions the distribution of power traditionally attributed to the Napoleonic regime.

²⁹⁴ AN, F/18/616, Népomucène-Louis Lemer cier, *Badouin, Empereur, tragédie en trois actes et en vers* (Paris: Collin, 1808). Lemer cier withdrew his tragedy from performance, 10 September 1808, BMCF, R 432 and it was published instead.

Tragedy is also an odd case for censorship: many of the themes which would be censored in other genres, such as the monarchy, plots, treason, suicide, and adultery make their way into the performance and publication of tragedy. As *La Mort de Henri IV* has shown, this at times reconfigured the censorship logic for other genres. These differences and relationships suggest the need for a comparative generic study of censorship under Napoleon, as well as its comparative analysis during the Revolution, the Napoleonic era, and the Restoration to demystify Napoleonic censorship. As during the Revolution and the Restoration, tragedies were censored and the pre-selection of the Comédie-Française's Comité de lecture ensured that the tragedies performed suited their generic requirements. Significantly, many of the problematic tragedies—notably *Les Templiers*, *La Mort de Henri IV*, *Tippo-Saëb*, *Jeanne Gray*, *Marie Stuart*, *Pizarre*—used modern history, often connected to France. In Chapter Two I demonstrated how the use of modern history was one of the primary ways by which the Napoleonic era diverged from the 'classique' model veering towards Romanticism and in Chapter Three I established how the rewriting of history served to mediate the Revolution. My analyses have confirmed that tragedy had a real power to connect with the Napoleonic public. Censorship decidedly did not 'empêcher toute originalité', something which becomes clear when that of the Napoleonic era is situated in comparison with its preceding and succeeding regimes. Indeed, since all (re)writing is conditioned by poetics and ideology, we should consider censorship as an integral part of nineteenth-century theatrical production.

Conclusion

The original aim of this thesis was to offer the first substantial study of Napoleonic tragedy. It thus addresses the relative neglect of theatrical production in this period in general, and tragedy in particular, a result of accumulated value judgements that deemed these works *classiques*, propaganda, and suffocated by censorship. The looming shadow of Napoleon as a dictator for some and as a tragic warrior for others, a more widespread lack of study of Napoleonic society and its culture, and the inaccessibility of primary sources has done little to promote scholarly investigation. I challenge this neglect, and reassert the importance of Napoleonic tragedy.

My assertion rests in part on newly excavated sources from France and abroad; it is the first time that many of my source documents have been analysed. This approach addresses the somewhat derivative nature of existing scholarship on the topic. Besides Rüdiger Hilmer's monograph, which focuses more on Parisian secondary theatres and policy from 1799 to 1815,¹ recent sizeable contributions to the study of Napoleonic theatre, namely Jean Rigotard's doctoral thesis and Patrick Berthier's 2014 summary of theatre from the Revolution to the Restoration, draw heavily upon century-old reference works.² Whilst the findings of Henri Welschinger, Henri-Louis Lecomte, and Léon de Lanzac de Laborie remain indispensable,³ they pre-date the scientific turn in the historiography for the period 1799 to 1815 brought by Georges Lefevre's work on Napoleon in

¹ Rüdiger Hilmer, *Die Napoleonische Theatrepolitik Geschäftstheater in Paris, 1799–1815* (Cologne: Böhl, 1999).

² Jean Rigotard, 'La Vie théâtrale sous le Consulat et l'Empire' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université Paris Diderot – Paris VII, 2000); Patrick Berthier, *Le Théâtre en France de 1791 à 1828. Le Sourd et la muette* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2014).

³ Henri Welschinger, *La Censure sous le Premier Empire, avec documents inédits* (Paris: Perrin, 1887); Léon de Lanzac de Laborie, *Paris sous Napoléon, Le Théâtre-français* (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1911); Louis Henri Lecomte, *Napoléon et le monde dramatique: étude nouvelle d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Daragon, 1912).

1936.⁴ Rigotard and Berthier rely extensively on these older studies, which were methodologically limited to their contemporary environment. Barring Pierre Frantz's twenty-five page summary of theatre from 1799 to 1815, there is a dearth of recent scholarly approaches to Napoleonic theatre in Paris which build upon a renewed approach to the archives and employ the benefits of critical reading and theory. In my thesis, by contrast, I have unearthed a wealth of new material, taken an updated theoretical approach to analyse the theatrical evolution at the time, and considered the contemporary social and political use of theatre.

This new source material—exhumed from private archival documents and contemporary publications—reveals the importance of tragedy in Napoleonic cultural politics. I have been keen to show both the intended outcomes and the reality of Napoleonic cultural policy's privileging of tragedy. Tragedy, in its broader sense, was a key medium in the reconstruction of the French nation after the Revolution: its hypertextuality and intertheatricality recollected and commemorated France's glorious roots; it provided a common culture and a purified language; and it facilitated the negotiation and understanding of the French Revolution for the contemporary heterogeneous public, which, albeit divided, needed to unite. Consequently, the government proscribed tragedy in the education system, which formed the new Napoleonic elite who would run France; the regime set specific days for tragedy to be performed; and it reinstated the Comédie-Française's monopoly of the genre. Alongside this commitment to French national heritage, Napoleon and others thought tragedy provided a rich source of personal propaganda, as had been the case under the *ancien régime*: tragedies in the Napoleonic theatre played a key role in creating and perpetuating the imagery of Napoleon as a classical, tragic hero, the Napoleonic Legend that remains powerful in the twenty-first century. Audiences were thus actively encouraged to read into the epistemic defectiveness

⁴ Natalie Petiteau, *Napoléon, de la mythologie à l'histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2004), pp. 203–04. Petiteau cites the 1901 work of Alphonse Aulard as starting this scientific turn, *Histoire politique de la Révolution française. Origines et développement de la démocratie et de la République (1789–1804)* (Paris: Collin, 1901). However, it was not until Georges Lefebvre's 1936 work that this approach was applied to the study of Napoleon throughout his life. For a modern edition, see Georges Lefebvre, *Napoléon* (Paris: Nouveau monde éditions, 2012).

of the Message, to perceive the present day in the tragedy, and the Police warmly noted the welcome *applications*.

The use of tragedy in contemporary France was not uniquely top-down, however. Although tragedies could succeed as State propaganda, as in the past and the future, the epistemic defectiveness of the Message was such that the audience trained to read for *applications* actually read too far, as in *Cyrus* (1804); tragedy could likewise be appropriated for oppositional politics. Tragedy was not the straightforward outlet of propaganda that Napoleon desired and scholars since have assumed.

My research also exposes how the use of tragedy to reconstruct the nation was far from a unidirectional affair from the government to the people. Business records uncover that there was a public demand for tragedy. Editions of tragedies, for example, were not only produced but also often reprinted, reaching a more socially varied audience. More remarkable perhaps is the evidence of the Comédie-Française's takings: tragedy was much more financially rewarding than comedy, since for an evening with a tragic 'grande pièce' the takings were over 700 francs higher on average than when a comedy was staged. Indeed, from 1799 to 1815, the performance of Racine's works brought in nearly half a million francs more than any other playwright.⁵ His *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1675) was the most performed tragedy of period, and bar Molière's *Tartuffe* (1669) which had one more performance in fifteen years, it the most frequent 'grande pièce' at the Comédie-Française.⁶ A father's obligation to sacrifice his daughter, a death sentence only suspended at the last moment when it landed on Iphigénie's rival, Ériphile, clearly touched the contemporary audience. As I have shown in Chapters One, Three, and Four, the public used tragedy and its symbolism as a means of mediating the Revolution, the recent real-life tragedy, and of settling political differences. Private archival documents and contemporary publications have revealed that the representations of the family, justice, power, and public

⁵ See Appendix B.

⁶ See Appendix A. *Tartuffe* had 137 performances and *Iphigénie en Aulide* had 136 over the period in question. However, whereas the takings for *Tartuffe* averaged 1693.07 francs, those of *Iphigénie* averaged 2240.80 francs (both calculations exclude gratis performances).

cohesion in new Napoleonic tragedies allowed audiences to negotiate the present and their political differences within their new State.

As well as laying to rest some long-standing assumptions about the popularity and politics of Napoleonic tragedy, my research has enabled a number of revisionary arguments on censorship, authorship, and the position of new Napoleonic tragedies within French theatre history. The Emperor's keen interest in controlling theatre, and especially tragedy, certainly gave bureaucratic and lateral censors significant agency in shaping theatrical production in this period (as in others) but the interpretation of theatrical texts, let alone performances, could evade their grasp. By using archival evidence with modern revisionist approaches, my analysis goes beyond the negative twentieth-century connotations of 'censorship' that has led to its neglect, and reveals these complexities and their impact on performances. One of the first layers of censorship that a playwright would encounter, for example, was the lateral censorship of the Comédie-Française, which admitted tragedies to be read and potentially to be received for performance. This was followed by the hierarchical bureaucratic censorship system implemented by the Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police, and by the intervention of high-ranking officials up to Napoleon himself. However, while these figures could influence playwrights and overturn approving censorship reports, their decisions could also be successfully contested by lower commissions, as in the case of *Tippo-Saëb* (1813), or public opinion, as Gabriel Legouvé discovered for *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806). I have shown that this system, where censorship was central to theatrical production, was inherited from the Revolution and passed on to the Restoration. Censorship was not a rigid bureaucratic affair and understanding the inconsistencies in the process leads to a better comprehension of the competing imperatives at play in Napoleon's administration and cultural policy.

This thesis also challenges the remarkably-resilient conception of authorship within literary studies. The great *drame romantique* scholar and preeminent theorist of the late twentieth century, Anne Upserfeld, regarded the theatrical event as a linear process: the author remains in control of the text

whilst the function of the actor is simply to perform their lines.⁷ While in theory this idea is no longer fashionable, in practice scholars who have treated Napoleonic theatre have been somewhat slow to search for alternatives.⁸ My research has, however, been alive to these alternatives. From a play's conception, a nexus of influences, including contemporary poetics and ideology, shaped its composition.⁹ Playwrights often announced their tragedy's plans or read their plays at salon evenings and the audience responded with their comments. We have seen in the case of *Les États de Blois* (1810/1814) that this entailed the removal of the King from the tragedy. In this social arena, censorship was both enforced—a high official had diverted Étienne de Jouy from his *Bélisaire* (1818)—and circumvented through orality or manuscript copies. The Comédie-Française played an essential role in distributing agency, from accepting and correcting plays, to rewriting both new and old works either through chosen adapters such as François Andrieux or by the actors themselves. The Ministère de l'Intérieur and the Ministère de la Police additionally demanded and revoked corrections. Indeed, creative agency was not so much distributed as scattered, with important ramifications for how we attribute intentionality.

This thesis has also amended the dominant opinion that Napoleonic tragedies were simply *classiques*, tired copies of their seventeenth-century works, and the lull before the storm of Romanticism. By situating my research around intertheatricality, I have studied new tragedies alongside their hypotexts.

⁷ Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le théâtre* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1978), pp. 256–59. Ubersfeld developed her 1978 theories in her three volume new edition of *Lire le théâtre* where in 1996 she argues 'A la base, il y a le "contrat théâtral": je-scripteur vous parle un discours éclaté en plusieurs voix : bien entendu, c'est le moi-scripteur qui m'adresse à vous spectateurs, mais mon discours devra vous arriver par le canal de voix qui sont des interlocuteurs médiats', Anne Ubersfeld, *Lire le théâtre* (Paris: Belin, 1996), III: *Le Dialogue de théâtre*, p. 53.

⁸ One exception is Florence Filippi's analysis of Talma, Florence Filippi, 'Les Comédiens contre le texte : acteurs en quête d'autorité dans le répertoire révolutionnaire' in *Le Théâtre sous la Révolution, politique du répertoire (1789–1799)*, ed. by Martial Poirson (Paris: Editions Desjonquères, 2008), pp. 155–68

⁹ According to André Lefevere works are constrained by 'the dominant concept of what literature should (be allowed to) be – its poetics – and of what society should (be allowed to) be – ideology', André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of the Literary Frame* (London; New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 14.

This dual approach—which involved analysing tragic productions from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries—was vital not just to comprehend how new creations built upon the theatrical past, but also to appreciate the ensuing *classique/romantique* debate of the 1820s and 1830s and the posterior rewriting of French theatre history. The narrative of this ‘bataille’ was poetologically and ideologically rewritten by the victors, the Romantics, who emphasised their novelty by denouncing the previous era as *classique*. Over time, theatre historians have increasingly narrowed the definition of *classique* to a shorthand for a universal reference to seventeenth-century productions, thus increasing the neglect to which Napoleonic tragedy is subjected when it is qualified as *classique*.

To contest the current understanding of the evolution from Classicism to Romanticism, I firstly challenged the foundation of the qualifier *classique*. Although its definitions vary, at the basis of all of these fluctuating demarcations lies the work of Pierre Corneille and Jean Racine. I have exposed how these models were constantly rewritten over time; this ‘héritage classique’ was not as we find it today in the Pléiade editions nor in most academic scholarship. Napoleonic society inherited a set of practices regarding the updating of pre-existing plays, continued them, and the Restoration followed suit. Consequently, the very basis of the *classique* aesthetic remained in a rewritten state, even during the *classique/romantique* battle. The modern scholarly use of *classique* denies this historicization, whence the need to specify the ‘classique’ tragic inheritance and thus the received ‘classique’ model which was supposed to be imitated by Napoleonic playwrights.

Secondly, to assess how new Napoleonic tragedies maintained or departed from this ‘classique’ inheritance, I employed a historical approach to genre. I developed a ‘classique’ model from contemporary sources to reconstruct the inherited model that Napoleonic tragic playwrights were supposed to imitate. My examination of the corpus of new tragedies performed under Napoleon at the Comédie-Française showed that whilst the majority of works abided by the generic standards, there were digressions, notably the use of modern history, the extension of the unity of time, and the social diversification of tragic characters. Furthermore, Napoleonic tragedies were at times freer than their Restoration successors, especially in the matter of the unity of place and the temporal

distance between tragic subject and the present of the performance. Certain avant-garde productions such as *Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur* (1802) with its change of place, social mix of characters, lower language, and graphic murder on-stage, were significant precursors to later productions. These findings revise the traditional emphasis on the novelty of the *drame romantique* attributed to a new wave of revolutionary playwrights, and the more modern approaches which underline the emphasis of boulevard genres such as melodrama. Tragedy must be understood as part of this evolution too.

Thirdly, I have contested the dominant narratives of the evolution from Classicism to Romanticism by using reception history. Romantic theatre scholars have disregarded the Napoleonic period, focusing on the Revolution and then the Restoration. I have shown not only the poetic evolutions of Napoleonic tragedy but how these developments reflected the interests of contemporary audiences, who used the tragic representation of history and society to work through the Revolution, as Chapters Two, Three, and Four have confirmed. Tragedies were therefore very much linked with the present—in composition, performance, and reception—well before the 1820s which is the date commonly advanced by later nineteenth-century theatre historians.¹⁰ Privileging reception has also unearthed some contemporary dramatic ‘bestsellers’, notably *Les Templiers* (1805), *La Mort de Henri IV* (1806), *Artaxerce* (1808), and *Hector* (1809), critical editions of which would deepen our knowledge of imperial theatre. These works are not just insights into the development from Classicism to Romanticism, but they show that regardless of the ‘quality’ that critics and historians award new productions, these compositions are part of the intertheatrical backdrop against which the next generation of plays are performed.

My revisionary arguments are based on archival findings but also on new methodologies for the analysis of post-revolutionary culture. At the basis of my enquiry has been André Lefevere’s notion of rewriting, where all production is limited by poetological and ideological constraints.¹¹ In this thesis we are dealing

¹⁰ Florence Naugrette, *Le Théâtre romantique en France, Histoire, écriture, mise en scène* (Paris: Seuil, 2001), p. 61 and Maurizio Melai, “‘Sylla’ d’Étienne Jouy, ou ‘le lendemain de Waterloo’: régimes tragiques de symbolisation de l’histoire”, *Études littéraires*, 43 (2012), 41–56.

¹¹ Lefevere, p. 7.

with at least a triple rewriting: the rewriting of French theatre history; how this narrative has overlooked the tragic rewritings of hypotexts during the Napoleonic era for new productions; and the rewritten tragic inheritance from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The notion of performance has also been key to liberate the theatrical event and reintegrate numerous agents such as actors, bureaucrats, police agents, spectators, critics, and theorists, back into this era's theatre history. The concept of intertheatricality has also been central, entailing the analysis of both pre-existing and new works over the period and in a variety of media like manuscripts and printed editions. I have shown that politics is an inherent part of Napoleonic intertheatricality too: the Comédie-Française was not only funded by the State but the audience read political messages into the play, which were then related and commented upon in periodicals. These readings thus become part of the 'fabric of that memory' at the basis of intertheatricality, exemplified by Napoleon's reliance on this 'mesh of connections' when using tragedy for propaganda or by the Direction générale's suspicion of works on the Templiers.¹² In Chapter Three I moderated Sheryl Tuttle Ross's definition of propaganda as the 'intention to persuade' on behalf of the Sender to allow for the meanings created in reception: it is the Receiver who creates the Message which might be aligned with the Sender's intentions or against them.¹³ I have also introduced my own usage of 'classique' and 'lateral censorship'. By developing my own terminology, which has not been used by current theatre history, I hope to explain more precisely the particular systems in place during this specific era.

Nonetheless, if I may make claims for my treatment of Napoleonic tragedy as innovative and revisionist, I cannot claim it is exhaustive. My findings open up a number of further lines of inquiry. Not least of these is further archival work, whose benefits I have clearly demonstrated. A calendar of all the theatres in Paris, including takings where possible, would allow us to understand how the theatrical world functioned as a whole (at least in

¹² Jacky Bratton, *New Readings in Theatre History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 38 and 37 respectively.

¹³ Sheryl Tuttle Ross, 'Understanding Propaganda: The Epistemic Merit Model and Its Application to Art', *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 36 (2002), 16–30 (p. 17).

Paris; the provinces would be yet another project).¹⁴ André Tissier's volume on Revolutionary theatre, for instance, facilitates the comparison of performances at different institutions for one evening, which combined with the financial figures recorded in the Comédie-Française database, offers an insight into theatrical competition.¹⁵ Likewise, the statistical analysis of play performances and titles would exhume the performance landscape at the time. From the literary overviews offered by the likes of Gustave Merlet, a scholar would be tempted to focus on new works,¹⁶ but *ancien régime* tragedies accounted for eighty-one per cent of performances at the Comédie-Française.¹⁷ The takings of this larger calendar would also allow us to properly question the impact of the theatre decrees in 1806 and 1807. From the Comédie-Française takings it is clear that they did not have much effect, but this does not mean that their impact on other theatres should be discounted. What is more, with the reduction from twenty to eight theatres in Paris, this review would show whether these decrees solidified the financial position of the remaining four 'minor' theatres (Théâtre du Vaudeville, Théâtre des Variétés, Théâtre de l'Ambigu-Comique, and Théâtre de la Gaîté) and thus their attributed genres.

Another avenues for further research are suggested by the interplay of contemporary literary and theatrical theory, texts, and hypotexts. The considerable amount of dramatic theory developed by critics during the Napoleonic era, notably those around Madame de Staël at Coppet, but also those reacting to Germanic and British theatre in Paris, could itself form the basis of an investigation; likewise the public's interaction with other theatrical media, such

¹⁴ For example, the theatres, even 'minor' theatres like the Théâtre de la Cité, had to pay a daily tax and consequently takings were sent to the government. For example Paris, AN, F/17/1303-1305. There are also several collections awaiting cataloguing.

¹⁵ André Tissier, *Les Spectacles à Paris pendant la Révolution: répertoire analytique, chronologique et bibliographique : de la réunion des États généraux à la chute de la royauté 1789-1792*, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1992) and 'Registres de la Comédie-Française', available at <<http://cfregisters.org/fr/nos-donn%C3%A9es>> [accessed 31 March 2016].

¹⁶ Gustave Merlet, *Tableau de la littérature française, 1800–1815* (Paris: Didier et Cie, 1878).

¹⁷ See the Calendar of Performances in Appendix A and the statistics in Appendix B.

as songs and theatrical representations in prints. Whilst these forms have been studied for the Revolutionary period or abroad in regard to Napoleon, a French-focused analysis would further enrich our understanding of Napoleonic society.¹⁸ This might, for example, explain the prevalence of theatrical metaphors when historians describe the man himself. Theatre was a fundamental part of political reality and remains a coherent part of Napoleon's imaginary.

To write about Napoleonic theatre could be yet another contribution to the myth-making surrounding the great man in both academic and popular history writing. Instead, however, my thesis addresses the distinctive absence of extensive treatments of this subject matter, via an original methodology that combines modern critical approaches to theatre, literature, and history with extensive archival research. I have argued that new Napoleonic tragedies departed from the received 'classique' model, a development which calls into question the traditional narratives of the rise of theatrical Romanticism, and through the analysis of tragedy's reception and control I have revealed the public and the government's use of tragedy to reconstruct the French nation after the Revolution. At the time and since, tragedy is an integral part of Napoleonic history.

¹⁸ See for example Laura Mason, *Singing the French Revolution: Popular Culture and Politics, 1787-1799* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996) and Oskar Cox-Jensen, *Napoleon and British Song* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Appendix A – Calendar of Performances 30 May 1799–9 July 1815

Paris, BMCF, R 239–R 247 and R 323–338

This calendar of performances has been established from the ‘registres de feux’ held at the Bibliothèque-Musée de la Comédie-Française. The ‘registres de recettes’ were used for the takings information. The titles in the ‘feux’ were often written in shorthand, and where this was unclear the performances have been cross-referenced firstly against the ‘registres de recettes’ and then the plays listed in A. Joannidès, *La Comédie Française de 1680 à 1900. Dictionnaire général des pièces et des auteurs*, and the files of plays performed at the Comédie-Française. These files (on index cards) list the full title of the play (with modernised spelling where appropriate), the genre, and the date of the first performance. The genre listed is that announced at the time; consequently, many plays which would be deemed *dramas* are listed as ‘comédie’. This does skew the data for *dramas* somewhat, but given the methodology of this project, it was necessary to retain the contemporary generic labels. Where further clarification was needed, the *Journal des débats*, later the *Journal de l’Empire* was used. Within this thesis format it was not possible to add the genre, author, and first performance date for both daily plays, but this information has been stored in the master spread sheet.

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	31	5	1799	Le Glorieux	Minuit	4075.60
Fri	30	5	1799	Le Cid	L'École des maris	1485.60
Sat	1	6	1799	Abufar, ou la famille arabe	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1279.10
Sun	2	6	1799	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1762.55
Mon	3	6	1799	Le Misanthrope	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1406.00
Tues	4	6	1799	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1295.00
Weds	5	6	1799	Le Père de famille	Le Legs	1068.50
Thurs	6	6	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Minuit	933.10
Fri	7	6	1799	Les Victimes cloîtrées	La Pupille	541.00
Sat	8	6	1799	Relâche		
Sun	9	6	1799	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Feinte par amour	842.50
Mon	10	6	1799	Le Méchant	Le Somnambule	482.45
Tues	11	6	1799	Épicharis et Néron, ou Conspiration pour la liberté	Les Fausses Infidélités	1489.40
Weds	12	6	1799	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1444.45
Thurs	13	6	1799	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	799.40
Fri	14	6	1799	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Heureusement	764.65
Sat	15	6	1799	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1172.75
Sun	16	6	1799	L'École des pères	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	563.75
Mon	17	6	1799	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	625.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	18	6	1799	L'Amant bourru	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	680.30
Weds	19	6	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	682.40
Thurs	20	6	1799	Eugénie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	418.20
Fri	21	6	1799	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	353.55
Sat	22	6	1799	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	442.10
Sun	23	6	1799	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	206.55
Mon	24	6	1799	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Fausses Infidélités	828.30
Tues	25	6	1799	L'Avare	Le Médecin malgré lui	454.80
Weds	26	6	1799	Épicharis et Néron, ou Conspiration pour la liberté	La Pupille	895.55
Thurs	27	6	1799	Mathilde	Le Marchand de Smyrne	3463.95
Fri	28	6	1799	Le Cid	La Feinte par amour	1249.85
Sat	29	6	1799	Mathilde	Le Legs	2297.40
Sun	30	6	1799	Le Misanthrope	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	432.20
Mon	1	7	1799	Mathilde	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1833.80
Tues	2	7	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2400.80
Weds	3	7	1799	Le Glorieux	Minuit	758.35
Thurs	4	7	1799	Mathilde	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	1179.55
Fri	5	7	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Le Legs	976.55
Sat	6	7	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'École des maris	262.90
Sun	7	7	1799	Mathilde	Les Fausses Infidélités	614.00
Mon	8	7	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Heureusement	523.30
Tues	9	7	1799	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Crispin rival de son maître	289.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	10	7	1799	Mathilde	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	551.80
Thurs	11	7	1799	Brutus	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	783.65
Fri	12	7	1799	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	285.00
Sat	13	7	1799	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	870.65
Sun	14	7	1799	Brutus	Crispin rival de son maître	671.65
Mon	15	7	1799	Mathilde	L'Épreuve délicate	1373.55
Tues	16	7	1799	Turcaret	L'Épreuve délicate	699.95
Weds	17	7	1799	Mathilde	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	856.00
Thurs	18	7	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2094.40
Fri	19	7	1799	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2091.25
Sat	20	7	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Le Marchand de Smyrne	999.15
Sun	21	7	1799	Eugénie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	634.60
Mon	22	7	1799	Mathilde	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	775.90
Tues	23	7	1799	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	L'Étourderie	570.00
Weds	24	7	1799	(Le distrait)	La Feinte par amour	611.25
Thurs	25	7	1799	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Crispin rival de son maître	488.30
Fri	26	7	1799	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	487.10
Sat	27	7	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	633.55
Sun	28	7	1799	Mathilde	L'Étourderie	1481.85
Mon	29	7	1799	Les Deux Frères	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2612.50
Tues	30	7	1799	Les Deux Frères	Minuit	935.55
Weds	31	7	1799	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	694.55
Thurs	1	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	769.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	2	8	1799	Turcaret	Les Fausses Infidélités	220.35
Sat	3	8	1799	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	L'Impromptu de campagne	879.25
Sun	4	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	Crispin rival de son maître	723.35
Mon	5	8	1799	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Le Marchand de Smyrne	701.75
Tues	6	8	1799	L'Avare	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	462.00
Weds	7	8	1799	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	717.90
Thurs	8	8	1799	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	614.20
Fri	9	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	La Feinte par amour	965.80
Sat	10	8	1799	Brutus	Crispin médecin	444.10
Sun	11	8	1799	Mathilde	L'Étourderie	897.30
Mon	12	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	578.25
Tues	13	8	1799	Agamemnon	L'Impromptu de campagne	933.65
Weds	14	8	1799	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	293.80
Thurs	15	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	477.35
Fri	16	8	1799	Agamemnon	Le Médecin malgré lui	610.70
Sat	17	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1109.45
Sun	18	8	1799	Mathilde	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1040.00
Mon	19	8	1799	Iphigénie en Tauride	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	748.80
Tues	20	8	1799	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1233.30
Weds	21	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	La Feinte par amour	716.25
Thurs	22	8	1799	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	674.25
Fri	23	8	1799	Mathilde	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	667.80
Sat	24	8	1799	Le Distrait	L'Avocat Patelin	502.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	25	8	1799	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	L'École des maris	430.25
Mon	26	8	1799	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Le Marchand de Smyrne	640.35
Tues	27	8	1799	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Crispin rival de son maître	822.20
Weds	28	8	1799	Mathilde	Les Statuaires d'Athènes	1669.65
Thurs	29	8	1799	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	785.50
Fri	30	8	1799	Les Deux Frères	Les Statuaires d'Athènes	546.10
Sat	31	8	1799	Marius à Minturnes	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	670.25
Sun	1	9	1799	Le Père de famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	310.10
Mon	2	9	1799	Les Deux Frères	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	502.20
Tues	3	9	1799	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Minuit	530.30
Weds	4	9	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin médecin	483.25
Thurs	5	9	1799	Eugénie	L'École des maris	228.80
Fri	6	9	1799	Clémentine et Désormes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	352.90
Sat	7	9	1799	Alzire, ou les Américains	La Pupille	460.75
Sun	8	9	1799	Le Légataire universel	L'Impromptu de campagne	232.20
Mon	9	9	1799	Clémentine et Désormes	Le Grondeur	860.35
Tues	10	9	1799	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	L'École des maris	857.40
Weds	11	9	1799	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	729.35
Thurs	12	9	1799	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	L'École des maris	586.90
Fri	13	9	1799	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Les Plaideurs	674.65
Sat	14	9	1799	Le Père de famille	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	259.30
Sun	15	9	1799	Clémentine et Désormes	La Jeune Hôtesse	946.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	16	9	1799	Gabrielle de Vergy	La Jeune Hôtesse	1177.30
Tues	17	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	L'Impromptu de campagne	2820.00
Weds	18	9	1799	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1163.00
Thurs	19	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	La Pupille	3806.85
Fri	20	9	1799	Clémentine et Désormes	Le Grondeur	788.65
Sat	21	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	Heureusement	3943.65
Sun	22	9	1799	Les Deux Frères	Amphitryon	1253.85
Mon	23	9	1799	Épicharis et Néron, ou Conspiration pour la liberté	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1350.10
Tues	24	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Médecin malgré lui	3773.40
Weds	25	9	1799	Mathilde	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	790.85
Thurs	26	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	3815.35
Fri	27	9	1799	Iphigénie en Aulide	(Minuit) Crispin rival de son maître	750.00
Sat	28	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Marchand de Smyrne	3337.50
Sun	29	9	1799	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Fausses Infidélités	899.00
Mon	30	9	1799	Les Précepteurs	Crispin médecin	3350.00
Tues	1	10	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	La Jeune Hôtesse	2116.88
Weds	2	10	1799	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2319.55
Thurs	3	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	La Pupille	3199.40
Fri	4	10	1799	Le Cid	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1169.90
Sat	5	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	L'Avocat Patelin	3130.55
Sun	6	10	1799	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	600.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	7	10	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	4601.30
Tues	8	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Grondeur	2858.15
Weds	9	10	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	3293.70
Thurs	10	10	1799	Les Deux Frères	Amphitryon	845.00
Fri	11	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	Crispin rival de son maître	2249.45
Sat	12	10	1799	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Le Grondeur	1204.65
Sun	13	10	1799	Le Misanthrope	Le Dédit	1853.10
Mon	14	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Médecin malgré lui	2394.75
Tues	15	10	1799	Épicharis et Néron, ou Conspiration pour la liberté	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1404.40
Weds	16	10	1799	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	915.45
Thurs	17	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2004.20
Fri	18	10	1799	L'Avare	La Jeune Hôtesse	519.10
Sat	19	10	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	L'Impromptu de campagne	3647.70
Sun	20	10	1799	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Babillard	1931.10
Mon	21	10	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	Crispin rival de son maître	1867.20
Tues	22	10	1799	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2540.65
Weds	23	10	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1755.82
Thurs	24	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Somnambule	2055.30
Fri	25	10	1799	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Le Dédit	1131.20
Sat	26	10	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'Entrevue	2085.35

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	27	10	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	L'Étourderie	1590.20
Mon	28	10	1799	Les Précepteurs	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1157.40
Tues	29	10	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	Le Legs	1599.30
Weds	30	10	1799	Les Deux Frères	Le Grondeur	570.70
Thurs	31	10	1799	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'Entrevue	1098.70
Fri	1	11	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2516.60
Sat	2	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Consentement forcé	1868.30
Sun	3	11	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Dédit	1167.75
Mon	4	11	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	La Dupe de soi-même	1039.65
Tues	5	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1590.30
Weds	6	11	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'Entrevue	1779.45
Thurs	7	11	1799	Clémentine et Désormes	La Dupe de soi-même	585.55
Fri	8	11	1799	Alzire, ou les Américains	La Jeune Hôtesse	571.00
Sat	9	11	1799	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Dédit	588.35
Sun	10	11	1799	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Le Retour du mari	501.00
Mon	11	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2454.00
Tues	12	11	1799	Le Méchant	L'Impatient	1429.10
Weds	13	11	1799	Le Cid	Minuit	524.70
Thurs	14	11	1799	Le Glorieux	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	637.60
Fri	15	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1580.25
Sat	16	11	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'Impatient	1551.25

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	17	11	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	La Jeune Hôtesse	1103.85
Mon	18	11	1799	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Fourberies de Scapin	644.20
Tues	19	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1641.10
Weds	20	11	1799	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	516.55
Thurs	21	11	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'Impatient	2280.20
Fri	22	11	1799	L'Avare	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	338.80
Sat	23	11	1799	Le Père de famille	L'Avocat Patelin	329.30
Sun	24	11	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	L'Amant bourru	1060.80
Mon	25	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Les Fausses Infidélités	1526.25
Tues	26	11	1799	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Deuil prématuré	771.85
Weds	27	11	1799	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		1365.00
Thurs	28	11	1799	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	466.55
Fri	29	11	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Deuil prématuré	1485.80
Sat	30	11	1799	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		1192.80
Sun	1	12	1799	Le Misanthrope	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1601.10
Mon	2	12	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Consentement forcé	1073.80
Tues	3	12	1799	Britannicus	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	690.55
Weds	4	12	1799	Eugénie	La Jeune Hôtesse	308.10
Thurs	5	12	1799	Tancrède	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1263.55
Fri	6	12	1799	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		1213.85
Sat	7	12	1799	Marius à Minturnes	Les Tuteurs vengés	1466.00
Sun	8	12	1799	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	L'École des maris	642.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	9	12	1799	Tancrède	Les Tuteurs vengés	1491.65
Tues	10	12	1799	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Heureusement	1123.85
Weds	11	12	1799	Étéocle et Polynice	Les Tuteurs vengés	2078.30
Thurs	12	12	1799	Les Deux Frères	Les Tuteurs vengés	628.15
Fri	13	12	1799	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1424.00
Sat	14	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Crispin rival de son maître	3161.40
Sun	15	12	1799	Le Cid	Les Tuteurs vengés	824.20
Mon	16	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Avocat Patelin	3971.50
Tues	17	12	1799	Sémiramis	Les Tuteurs vengés	769.35
Weds	18	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Marchand de Smyrne	4399.30
Thurs	19	12	1799	Britannicus	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	474.60
Fri	20	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Consentement forcé	3431.30
Sat	21	12	1799	Les Précepteurs	Le Deuil prématuré	2062.30
Sun	22	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	3966.45
Mon	23	12	1799	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Tuteurs vengés	1069.15
Tues	24	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Dédit	3513.90
Weds	25	12	1799	Tancrède	Le Bourru bienfaisant	772.65
Thurs	26	12	1799	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	3086.80
Fri	27	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Pupille	3785.95
Sat	28	12	1799	Turcaret	Le Grondeur	439.40
Sun	29	12	1799	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Dédit	3089.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	30	12	1799	Le Méchant	Le Babillard	1212.75
Tues	31	12	1799	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	La Nouveauté	1118.10
Weds	1	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Crispin rival de son maître	3153.90
Thurs	2	1	1800	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2548.00
Fri	3	1	1800	Les Précepteurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1569.10
Sat	4	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Nouveauté	2965.50
Sun	5	1	1800	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Amphitryon	1302.60
Mon	6	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Médecin malgré lui	2774.55
Tues	7	1	1800	Sémiramis	La Feinte par amour	639.00
Weds	8	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Tuteurs vengés	3256.80
Thurs	9	1	1800	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	451.75
Fri	10	1	1800	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2122.45
Sat	11	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Jeune Hôtesse	2895.80
Sun	12	1	1800	Le Jaloux sans amour	Les Fausses Confidences	5848.00
Mon	13	1	1800	Ophis	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	650.45
Tues	14	1	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Legs	4693.15
Weds	15	1	1800	Ophis	Le Buste de Préville	1598.10
Thurs	16	1	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Buste de Préville	1026.80
Fri	17	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Tuteurs vengés	3236.85
Sat	18	1	1800	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		3105.50
Sun	19	1	1800	Le Lord impromptu	Le Grondeur	2183.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	20	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Avocat Patelin	3575.80
Tues	21	1	1800	Les Précepteurs	Le Médecin malgré lui	1406.80
Weds	22	1	1800	La Coquette corrigée	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	4711.70
Thurs	23	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2995.30
Fri	24	1	1800	Ophis	Les Fourberies de Scapin	532.20
Sat	25	1	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Mariage secret	3845.00
Sun	26	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2984.90
Mon	27	1	1800	Alzire, ou les Américains	Amphitryon	1061.90
Tues	28	1	1800	Le Séducteur	Les Épreuves	4308.00
Weds	29	1	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2170.30
Thurs	30	1	1800	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	Les Femmes	3795.65
Fri	31	1	1800	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Le Bourru bienfaisant	806.70
Sat	1	2	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Deuil prématuré	2142.30
Sun	2	2	1800	Le Séducteur	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	3842.25
Mon	3	2	1800	Agamemnon	L'École des maris	824.30
Tues	4	2	1800	Le Distrain	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	931.45
Weds	5	2	1800	La Femme jalouse	L'Original	2881.50
Thurs	6	2	1800	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	La Jeune Hôtesse	790.45
Fri	7	2	1800	La Coquette corrigée	La Gageure imprévue	2988.55
Sat	8	2	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	502.20
Sun	9	2	1800	L'Amant bourru	Les Femmes	2867.35
Mon	10	2	1800	L'Avare	L'Impromptu de campagne	270.75
Tues	11	2	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	665.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	12	2	1800	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4283.70
Thurs	13	2	1800	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4052.35
Fri	14	2	1800	Le Père de famille	Le Marchand de Smyrne	254.25
Sat	15	2	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Jeune Hôtesse	3056.25
Sun	16	2	1800	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	941.40
Mon	17	2	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	René Descartes	2265.20
Tues	18	2	1800	Le Cid	La Feinte par amour	1441.30
Weds	19	2	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	L'Entrevue	3744.65
Thurs	20	2	1800	Gabrielle de Vergy	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1033.50
Fri	21	2	1800	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	341.65
Sat	22	2	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	3032.00
Sun	23	2	1800	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3959.40
Mon	24	2	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	728.650
Tues	25	2	1800	Le Séducteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4267.90
Weds	26	2	1800	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1521.55
Thurs	27	2	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Jeune Hôtesse	1663.45
Fri	28	2	1800	Camille	Crispin rival de son maître	2499.25
Sat	1	3	1800	Le Glorieux	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1430.90
Sun	2	3	1800	Les Précepteurs	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1975.30
Mon	3	3	1800	Marius à Minturnes	Les Deux Frères	569.75
Tues	4	3	1800	La Femme jalouse	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2855.60
Weds	5	3	1800	Oscar, fils d'Ossian	Le Grondeur	1254.20
Thurs	6	3	1800	Le Père de famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	566.25

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	7	3	1800	Relâche		
Sat	8	3	1800	Les Précepteurs	L'École des maris	900.30
Sun	9	3	1800	La Surprise de l'amour	Les Femmes	1745.30
Mon	10	3	1800	Oscar, fils d'Ossian	L'École des bourgeois	1203.10
Tues	11	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	3633.45
Weds	12	3	1800	Jaloux	La Gageure imprévue	3085.35
Thurs	13	3	1800	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	839.25
Fri	14	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Tuteurs vengés	2249.20
Sat	15	3	1800	Jaloux	Le Mariage secret	2530.35
Sun	16	3	1800	Oscar, fils d'Ossian	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	810.20
Mon	17	3	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3308.25
Tues	18	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	(La Jeune Hôtesse) Le Dédit	2160.55
Weds	19	3	1800	Oscar, fils d'Ossian	La Jeune Hôtesse	690.35
Thurs	20	3	1800	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	690.80
Fri	21	3	1800	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1030.55
Sat	22	3	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		5478.75
Sun	23	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2120.50
Mon	24	3	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		3342.75
Tues	25	3	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		2445.45
Weds	26	3	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	638.00
Thurs	27	3	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		2860.65
Fri	28	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'École des bourgeois	1893.10
Sat	29	3	1800	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Dupuis et Desronais	599.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	30	3	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		1962.35
Mon	31	3	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2609.00
Tues	1	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Consentement forcé	1957.65
Weds	2	4	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		1824.90
Thurs	3	4	1800	Les Précepteurs	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1082.30
Fri	4	4	1800	Le Misanthrope	La Jeune Hôtesse	1067.00
Sat	5	4	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	448.05
Sun	6	4	1800	Phèdre	Le Marchand de Smyrne	3978.10
Mon	7	4	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Nouveauté	1154.50
Tues	8	4	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	1344.70
Weds	9	4	1800	Relâche		
Thurs	10	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée		2258.55
Fri	11	4	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée		577.00
Sat	12	4	1800	Sémiramis	Heureusement	3171.40
Sun	13	4	1800	Le Bienfait anonyme	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	915.70
Mon	14	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Babillard	2262.10
Tues	15	4	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Crispin rival de son maître	2710.80
Weds	16	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	L'Entrevue	929.35
Thurs	17	4	1800	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1650.45
Fri	18	4	1800	Pinto, ou la journée d'une conspiration		1512.45
Sat	19	4	1800	Marius à Mitaurnes	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	1047.70
Sun	20	4	1800	Sémiramis	Le Médecin malgré lui	2306.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	21	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Retour du mari	1041.20
Tues	22	4	1800	L'École des femmes	L'École des maris	571.90
Weds	23	4	1800	Le Glorieux	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	659.45
Thurs	24	4	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	1647.25
Fri	25	4	1800	Andromaque	Le Dédit	2668.75
Sat	26	4	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	908.80
Sun	27	4	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	L'Impatient	1364.65
Mon	28	4	1800	Le Misanthrope	L'Entrevue	669.20
Tues	29	4	1800	Andromaque	Le Somnambule	3471.50
Weds	30	4	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Feinte par amour	1706.40
Thurs	1	5	1800	Turcaret	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	421.75
Fri	2	5	1800	Andromaque	L'Impatient	2294.80
Sat	3	5	1800	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	L'Avocat Patelin	247.55
Sun	4	5	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1447.20
Mon	5	5	1800	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Retour du mari	343.20
Tues	6	5	1800	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Crispin rival de son maître	1086.25
Weds	7	5	1800	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	160.70
Thurs	8	5	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Impromptu de campagne	1313.10
Fri	9	5	1800	Le Distrait	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	351.25
Sat	10	5	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2168.10
Sun	11	5	1800	Le Méchant	La Jeune Hôtesse	668.45
Mon	12	5	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2461.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	13	5	1800	L'Inconstant	La Pupille	1184.25
Weds	14	5	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	876.35
Thurs	15	5	1800	Tancrède	Le Dédit	3267.55
Fri	16	5	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Mariage secret	1731.90
Sat	17	5	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'École des maris	1832.45
Sun	18	5	1800	Tancrède	Le Consentement forcé	2067.20
Mon	19	5	1800	La Maison de Molière	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1944.80
Tues	20	5	1800	Andromaque	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2915.30
Weds	21	5	1800	L'Amant bourru	La Maison de Molière	1076.80
Thurs	22	5	1800	Phèdre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1700.80
Fri	23	5	1800	Les Précepteurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1113.70
Sat	24	5	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Maison de Molière	1216.90
Sun	25	5	1800	Andromaque	L'Impromptu de campagne	3265.80
Mon	26	5	1800	La Maison de Molière	L'École des bourgeois	401.80
Tues	27	5	1800	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Bienfait anonyme	628.90
Weds	28	5	1800	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	252.30
Thurs	29	5	1800	Turcaret	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	622.40
Fri	30	5	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Retour imprévu	3300.80
Sat	31	5	1800	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	La Jeune Hôtesse	1209.35
Sun	1	6	1800	Montmorency		5591.55
Mon	2	6	1800	Eugénie	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	700.35
Tues	3	6	1800	Montmorency	Crispin rival de son maître	2465.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	4	6	1800	L'École des pères	Le Bourru bienfaisant	997.00
Thurs	5	6	1800	Montmorency	Le Somnambule	2562.90
Fri	6	6	1800	Le Glorieux	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1086.70
Sat	7	6	1800	Montmorency	Le Consentement forcé	2057.15
Sun	8	6	1800	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	584.25
Mon	9	6	1800	Montmorency	La Nouveauté	2046.80
Tues	10	6	1800	L'École des pères	Le Babillard	608.65
Weds	11	6	1800	Montmorency	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1695.60
Thurs	12	6	1800	Le Festin de Pierre	Minuit	592.90
Fri	13	6	1800	Zaïre	Les Fausses Infidélités	5443.90
Sat	14	6	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	L'Impatient	1328.90
Sun	15	6	1800	Zaïre	L'Avocat Patelin	4886.05
Mon	16	6	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'École des bourgeois	1274.35
Tues	17	6	1800	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Minuit	591.35
Weds	18	6	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Jeune Hôtesse	532.65
Thurs	19	6	1800	Andromaque	La Feinte par amour	2598.65
Fri	20	6	1800	L'Inconstant	L'Heureuse Erreur	698.00
Sat	21	6	1800	Le Méchant	Le Grondeur	531.75
Sun	22	6	1800	Le Festin de Pierre	L'École des maris	485.80
Mon	23	6	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	4213.70
Tues	24	6	1800	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	L'Impromptu de campagne	2833.70
Weds	25	6	1800	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Bourru bienfaisant	785.70

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	26	6	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Le Médecin malgré lui	196.45
Fri	27	6	1800	Le Distrain	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	200.10
Sat	28	6	1800	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		2156.20
Sun	29	6	1800	Le Glorieux	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	427.20
Mon	30	6	1800	La Coquette corrigée	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2916.55
Tues	1	7	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	452.20
Weds	2	7	1800	Relâche		
Thurs	3	7	1800	L'Inconstant	L'Heureuse Erreur	698.25
Fri	4	7	1800	Le Père de famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	158.00
Sat	5	7	1800	Eugénie	La Jeune Hôtesse	175.35
Sun	6	7	1800	Le Méchant	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	353.20
Mon	7	7	1800	Sémiramis	Le Retour imprévu	1649.35
Tues	8	7	1800	L'École des pères	Les deux Poètes	799.70
Weds	9	7	1800	Sémiramis	L'École des maris	1096.35
Thurs	10	7	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les deux Poètes	615.30
Fri	11	7	1800	Montmorency	Le Babillard	734.30
Sat	12	7	1800	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	2293.90
Sun	13	7	1800	Horace	Le Marchand de Smyrne	Gratis
Mon	14	7	1800	Relâche		
Tues	15	7	1800	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Legs	2359.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	16	7	1800	Le Distrait	Les deux Poètes	450.55
Thurs	17	7	1800	Le Légataire universel	L'Impromptu de campagne	168.20
Fri	18	7	1800	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2316.25
Sat	19	7	1800	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Somnambule	1363.25
Sun	20	7	1800	Le Festin de Pierre	La Jeune Hôtesse	321.35
Mon	21	7	1800	Zaïre	Les deux Poètes	2857.70
Tues	22	7	1800	Amphitryon	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1177.65
Weds	23	7	1800	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Femmes	1265.00
Thurs	24	7	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1927.45
Fri	25	7	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	L'Époux par supercherie	294.45
Sat	26	7	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		4815.70
Sun	27	7	1800	Zaïre	L'Époux par supercherie	1816.45
Mon	28	7	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		2768.60
Tues	29	7	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	511.45
Weds	30	7	1800	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1077.40
Thurs	31	7	1800	Tancrède	Le Dédit	799.00
Fri	1	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		2127.95
Sat	2	8	1800	Turcaret	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	320.30
Sun	3	8	1800	Le Cid	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	297.70
Mon	4	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes		1499.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
				femmes		
Tues	5	8	1800	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2499.10
Weds	6	8	1800	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	714.90
Thurs	7	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		2292.70
Fri	8	8	1800	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1799.30
Sat	9	8	1800	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les deux Poètes	987.10
Sun	10	8	1800	Clémentine et Désormes	(Les deux pages) Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	519.55
Mon	11	8	1800	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	659.00
Tues	12	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		1640.20
Weds	13	8	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	610.25
Thurs	14	8	1800	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1234.00
Fri	15	8	1800	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	232.60
Sat	16	8	1800	Andromaque	L'Avocat Patelin	453.10
Sun	17	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		1027.45
Mon	18	8	1800	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	288.55
Tues	19	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		787.65
Weds	20	8	1800	Britannicus	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1214.80
Thurs	21	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Legs	3187.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	22	8	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	466.20
Sat	23	8	1800	Clémentine et Désormes	Le Médecin malgré lui	459.55
Sun	24	8	1800	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Avocat Patelin	1217.00
Mon	25	8	1800	Britannicus	L'École des maris	2976.90
Tues	26	8	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	L'Original	3251.90
Weds	27	8	1800	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	657.90
Thurs	28	8	1800	Andromaque	(La Fausse Agnès) Le Médecin Malgré lui	2236.60
Fri	29	8	1800	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2470.80
Sat	30	8	1800	Misanthropie et repentir		2403.55
Sun	31	8	1800	Sémiramis	La Nouveauté	1345.80
Mon	1	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir		1856.35
Tues	2	9	1800	Britannicus	Le Grondeur	1108.75
Weds	3	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Consentement forcé	1476.90
Thurs	4	9	1800	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2751.40
Fri	5	9	1800	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1566.30
Sat	6	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Somnambule	1691.50
Sun	7	9	1800	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3528.55
Mon	8	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	La Pupille	1621.35
Tues	9	9	1800	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	L'École des bourgeois	1707.45
Weds	10	9	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	785.55
Thurs	11	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1709.55
Fri	12	9	1800	Zaïre	Le Retour imprévu	3178.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	13	9	1800	Relâche		
Sun	14	9	1800	Amphitryon	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1041.40
Mon	15	9	1800	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Le Triple Mariage	813.80
Tues	16	9	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	L'Entrevue	2110.80
Weds	17	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1427.45
Thurs	18	9	1800	Le Joueur	L'Heureuse Erreur	1407.45
Fri	19	9	1800	Le Roi Lear	Heureusement	1661.00
Sat	20	9	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Les Épreuves	2290.50
Sun	21	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2093.75
Mon	22	9	1800	Le Cid	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Gratis
Tues	23	9	1800	Relâche		
Weds	24	9	1800	Le Roi Lear	L'Heureuse Erreur	1763.80
Thurs	25	9	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	3586.75
Fri	26	9	1800	Le Joueur	Les deux Poètes	1677.45
Sat	27	9	1800	Le Cid	Les Fourberies de Scapin	4503.20
Sun	28	9	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3801.20
Mon	29	9	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Triple Mariage	965.50
Tues	30	9	1800	Relâche		
Weds	1	10	1800	Didon	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2705.70
Thurs	2	10	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1339.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	3	10	1800	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'Avocat Patelin	4189.70
Sat	4	10	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Caroline, ou le tableau	1075.70
Sun	5	10	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Legs	2760.20
Mon	6	10	1800	Le Roi Lear	Caroline, ou le tableau	1755.80
Tues	7	10	1800	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Consentement forcé	1051.10
Weds	8	10	1800	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Les Épreuves	1680.35
Thurs	9	10	1800	Phèdre	Caroline, ou le tableau	2373.05
Fri	10	10	1800	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1363.90
Sat	11	10	1800	Didon	Caroline, ou le tableau	1359.10
Sun	12	10	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1869.60
Mon	13	10	1800	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'Avocat Patelin	2689.00
Tues	14	10	1800	Le Distrait	Caroline, ou le tableau	733.20
Weds	15	10	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1022.40
Thurs	16	10	1800	Le Roi Lear	Caroline, ou le tableau	1145.20
Fri	17	10	1800	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Jeune Hôtesse	543.00
Sat	18	10	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Caroline, ou le tableau	1165.10
Sun	19	10	1800	Sémiramis	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3534.35
Mon	20	10	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	991.55
Tues	21	10	1800	Sémiramis	Minuit	1977.65
Weds	22	10	1800	Clémentine et Désormes	(Amphitryon) Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	734.00
Thurs	23	10	1800	Philoctète	L'École des femmes	1955.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	24	10	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Caroline, ou le tableau	710.70
Sat	25	10	1800	Eugénie	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	800.45
Sun	26	10	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2998.80
Mon	27	10	1800	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	659.15
Tues	28	10	1800	Amphitryon	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1662.55
Weds	29	10	1800	Andromaque – par ordre	(Le Triple Mariage) Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode - par ordre	3036.35
Thurs	30	10	1800	Le Père de famille	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	283.20
Fri	31	10	1800	Le Cid	Les Folies amoureuses	1721.55
Sat	1	11	1800	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1537.35
Sun	2	11	1800	Gaston et Bayard	Le Triple Mariage	4028.30
Mon	3	11	1800	L'Avare	Le Médecin malgré lui	570.70
Tues	4	11	1800	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	784.90
Weds	5	11	1800	Gaston et Bayard	Les Tuteurs vengés	2985.90
Thurs	6	11	1800	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	895.55
Fri	7	11	1800	Misanthropie et repentir	Caroline, ou le tableau	1890.40
Sat	8	11	1800	Othello	Le Consentement forcé	4338.05
Sun	9	11	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Deux Frères	2376.45
Mon	10	11	1800	Othello	Les Folies amoureuses	3204.85
Tues	11	11	1800	Le Glorieux	Les Deux Frères	2543.55
Weds	12	11	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Tuteurs vengés	2356.70
Thurs	13	11	1800	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3331.50
Fri	14	11	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1642.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	15	11	1800	Œdipe	Heureusement	5177.70
Sun	16	11	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Gageure imprévue	2925.90
Mon	17	11	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Caroline, ou le tableau	1705.35
Tues	18	11	1800	Othello	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2774.70
Weds	19	11	1800	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1717.70
Thurs	20	11	1800	Œdipe	L'Avocat Patelin	3863.45
Fri	21	11	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Legs	2891.30
Sat	22	11	1800	Médée	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2036.60
Sun	23	11	1800	L'Abbé et l'Épée	Les Deux Frères	2472.90
Mon	24	11	1800	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		1945.60
Tues	25	11	1800	Thésée		4253.80
Weds	26	11	1800	Le Bourru bienfaisant	Le Mariage secret	1577.20
Thurs	27	11	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Babillard	1903.05
Fri	28	11	1800	Thésée	Crispin rival de son maître	1653.15
Sat	29	11	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Jeune Hôtesse	1298.25
Sun	30	11	1800	Tancrède	Le Dédit	3039.30
Mon	1	12	1800	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Feinte par amour	1923.45
Tues	2	12	1800	Thésée	Caroline, ou le tableau	1879.85
Weds	3	12	1800	Le Glorieux	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	643.25
Thurs	4	12	1800	Les Deux Frères	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1121.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	5	12	1800	Œdipe	Le Médecin malgré lui	2807.10
Sat	6	12	1800	Les Femmes savantes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	536.45
Sun	7	12	1800	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	3212.90
Mon	8	12	1800	Britannicus	Les Fausses Infidélités	1486.80
Tues	9	12	1800	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1274.80
Weds	10	12	1800	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Le Babillard	2343.95
Thurs	11	12	1800	Le Misanthrope	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1578.15
Fri	12	12	1800	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Mariage Supposé	2029.45
Sat	13	12	1800	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1129.10
Sun	14	12	1800	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	L'École des maris	3056.00
Mon	15	12	1800	Mérobe	Le Somnambule	3006.35
Tues	16	12	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	754.10
Weds	17	12	1800	Le Jaloux sans amour	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1167.90
Thurs	18	12	1800	Zaïre	Crispin rival de son maître	4122.55
Fri	19	12	1800	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	608.35
Sat	20	12	1800	Mérobe	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1871.55
Sun	21	12	1800	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Mariage secret	3031.70
Mon	22	12	1800	Thésée	L'Époux par supercherie	1251.80
Tues	23	12	1800	Le Distrait	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	689.45
Weds	24	12	1800	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	233.65
Thurs	25	12	1800	Thésée	Les Fausses Infidélités	1455.60
Fri	26	12	1800	Le Glorieux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	672.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	27	12	1800	Les Deux Frères	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	585.35
Sun	28	12	1800	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Avocat Patelin	2855.45
Mon	29	12	1800	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Calvinistes, ou Villars à Nîmes	919.10
Tues	30	12	1800	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Les Calvinistes, ou Villars à Nîmes	820.35
Weds	31	12	1800	La Coquette corrigée	L'Entrevue	1649.05
Thurs	1	1	1801	Thésée	La Jeune Hôtesse	1627.80
Fri	2	1	1801	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	Le Consentement forcé	1373.10
Sat	3	1	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1599.35
Sun	4	1	1801	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Calvinistes, ou Villars à Nîmes	2520.00
Mon	5	1	1801	Eugénie	Les Deux Frères	577.35
Tues	6	1	1801	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Gageure imprévue	3380.50
Weds	7	1	1801	Philoctète	Le Bienfait anonyme	647.55
Thurs	8	1	1801	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	La Jeune Hôtesse	490.20
Fri	9	1	1801	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Fausses Infidélités	1412.25
Sat	10	1	1801	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1058.35
Sun	11	1	1801	Spartacus	La Feinte par amour	2893.75
Mon	12	1	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Bienfait anonyme	711.10
Tues	13	1	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1760.00
Weds	14	1	1801	Le Cid	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1371.65
Thurs	15	1	1801	La Favorite (L'Amour et l'Intrigue)	L'École des maris	3347.40
Fri	16	1	1801	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Legs	1281.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	17	1	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Calvinistes, ou Villars à Nîmes	1171.90
Sun	18	1	1801	Marius à Mitaurnes	Les Deux Frères	1205.00
Mon	19	1	1801	Britannicus	La Jeune Hôtesse	1264.00
Tues	20	1	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Feinte par amour	923.55
Weds	21	1	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	1648.25
Thurs	22	1	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1949.90
Fri	23	1	1801	Le Glorieux	Le Consentement forcé	881.90
Sat	24	1	1801	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	742.00
Sun	25	1	1801	L'Abbé et l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2241.10
Mon	26	1	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Mariage secret	1712.00
Tues	27	1	1801	Henri VIII	Le Consentement forcé	2287.70
Weds	28	1	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	621.10
Thurs	29	1	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1604.35
Fri	30	1	1801	Henri VIII	Les Folies amoureuses	2852.65
Sat	31	1	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	2773.15
Sun	1	2	1801	Henri VIII	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2625.10
Mon	2	2	1801	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1234.45
Tues	3	2	1801	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1684.00
Weds	4	2	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Deux Frères	998.50
Thurs	5	2	1801	L'École des pères	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1171.25
Fri	6	2	1801	Horace (4 actes)	Le Joueur	3510.85
Sat	7	2	1801	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Feinte par amour	1708.25

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	8	2	1801	Othello	L'Avocat	2431.55
Mon	9	2	1801	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1502.80
Tues	10	2	1801	Le Jaloux sans amour	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2266.85
Weds	11	2	1801	Philoctète	L'Avare	870.20
Thurs	12	2	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3795.15
Fri	13	2	1801	Sémiramis	Les Calvinistes, ou Villars à Nîmes	1808.45
Sat	14	2	1801	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Deux Frères	952.20
Sun	15	2	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		4226.30
Mon	16	2	1801	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Somnambule	2564.00
Tues	17	2	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		4306.10
Weds	18	2	1801	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	1993.50
Thurs	19	2	1801	Zaïre	L'Avocat Patelin	2842.65
Fri	20	2	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3376.40
Sat	21	2	1801	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Babillard	1858.30
Sun	22	2	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Surprise de l'amour	2640.00
Mon	23	2	1801	Zaïre	Les Fausses Infidélités	3075.05
Tues	24	2	1801	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	854.60
Weds	25	2	1801	Le Vieillard aimable	Le Consentement forcé	4326.95
Thurs	26	2	1801	Gaston et Bayard	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1729.65
Fri	27	2	1801	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des maris	623.35
Sat	28	2	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2617.20
Sun	1	3	1801	Zaïre	La Pupille	3286.15

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	2	3	1801	Marius à Mitaurnes	Le Distrain	1098.50
Tues	3	3	1801	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Caroline, ou le tableau	1074.60
Weds	4	3	1801	La Coquette corrigée	Le Bienfait anonyme	1822.10
Thurs	5	3	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2649.45
Fri	6	3	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Crispin médecin	1647.55
Sat	7	3	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2022.00
Sun	8	3	1801	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Somnambule	2932.09
Mon	9	3	1801	Les Précepteurs	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1540.16
Tues	10	3	1801	L'École des pères	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1015.14
Weds	11	3	1801	Horace (4 actes)	L'École des femmes	2611.18
Thurs	12	3	1801	Les Précepteurs	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1666.40
Fri	13	3	1801	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2200.18
Sat	14	3	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2268.18
Sun	15	3	1801	Mérope	La Feinte par amour	2403.14
Mon	16	3	1801	Marius à Mitaurnes	Le Distrain	581.00
Tues	17	3	1801	Les Précepteurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1580.16
Weds	18	3	1801	Oscar, fils d'Ossian	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1408.00
Thurs	19	3	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'École des maris	752.07
Fri	20	3	1801	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2529.08
Sat	21	3	1801	Les Deux Frères	Le Médecin malgré lui	Gratis
Sun	22	3	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Jeune Hôtesse	1722.02

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	23	3	1801	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Minuit	1143.16
Tues	24	3	1801	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1900.90
Weds	25	3	1801	Britannicus	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1180.09
Thurs	26	3	1801	Relâche		
Fri	27	3	1801	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1329.16
Sat	28	3	1801	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Impromptu de campagne	2834.12
Sun	29	3	1801	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Le Consentement forcé	2336.04
Mon	30	3	1801	L'École des pères	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1555.09
Tues	31	3	1801	Épicharis et Néron, ou Conspiration pour la liberté	L'École des maris	981.05
Weds	1	4	1801	Les Précepteurs		457.09
Thurs	2	4	1801	Relâche		
Fri	3	4	1801	Relâche		
Sat	4	4	1801	Le Cid	La Jeune Hôtesse	1349.18
Sun	5	4	1801	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Feinte par amour	2274.09
Mon	6	4	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	1289.14
Tues	7	4	1801	Les Précepteurs	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1429.18
Weds	8	4	1801	Le Misanthrope	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1302.00
Thurs	9	4	1801	Didon	Le Médecin malgré lui	3725.08
Fri	10	4	1801	Le Glorieux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1089.07
Sat	11	4	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Deux Frères	1028.18
Sun	12	4	1801	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1354.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	13	4	1801	La Jeunesse du duc de Richelieu, ou le Lovelace français	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1612.07
Tues	14	4	1801	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Faux Savant	1959.06
Weds	15	4	1801	Marius à Mitaumes	L'Abbé de l'Épée	1946.11
Thurs	16	4	1801	L'Avare	Les Plaideurs	846.10
Fri	17	4	1801	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1988.05
Sat	18	4	1801	Turcaret	Le Faux Savant	1095.00
Sun	19	4	1801	Le Distrait	Amphitryon	1337.05
Mon	20	4	1801	Charles IX, ou l'école des rois	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1384.10
Tues	21	4	1801	Eugénie	Le Marchand de Smyrne	337.11
Weds	22	4	1801	Sémiramis	Les Fausses Infidélités	1920.13
Thurs	23	4	1801	Le Père de famille	Le Faux Savant	871.18
Fri	24	4	1801	Phœdor et Valdamir		4071.06
Sat	25	4	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	909.15
Sun	26	4	1801	Phœdor et Valdamir	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1259.15
Mon	27	4	1801	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2968.09
Tues	28	4	1801	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	702.02
Weds	29	4	1801	Phœdor et Valdamir	Les Deux Frères	991.04
Thurs	30	4	1801	Turcaret	Le Dédit	712.14
Fri	1	5	1801	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	920.07
Sat	2	5	1801	Mérove	L'Entrevue	2258.17
Sun	3	5	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2302.00
Mon	4	5	1801	Britannicus	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	3535.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	5	5	1801	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Impatient	2150.18
Weds	6	5	1801	L'Avare	Le Marchand de Smyrne	469.06
Thurs	7	5	1801	Britannicus	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3769.18
Fri	8	5	1801	Le Misanthrope	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	901.17
Sat	9	5	1801	Le Père de famille	Les Plaideurs	446.09
Sun	10	5	1801	Le Glorieux	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	793.14
Mon	11	5	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1359.04
Tues	12	5	1801	Œdipe	Le Consentement forcé	1712.11
Weds	13	5	1801	Le Distrait	L'Avocat Patelin	496.13
Thurs	14	5	1801	Le Cid	L'École des maris	1556.03
Fri	15	5	1801	Andromaque	Heureusement	3790.05
Sat	16	5	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	1193.00
Sun	17	5	1801	Thésée	Le Grondeur	1658.15
Mon	18	5	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	979.18
Tues	19	5	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1285.13
Weds	20	5	1801	Œdipe	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2710.00
Thurs	21	5	1801	L'Avare	Les Plaideurs	675.12
Fri	22	5	1801	Le Festin de Pierre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	424.03
Sat	23	5	1801	Relâche		
Sun	24	5	1801	Les Deux Frères	Amphitryon	789.14
Mon	25	5	1801	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	491.17
Tues	26	5	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1583.02

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	27	5	1801	Andromaque	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	3465.00
Thurs	28	5	1801	Le Père de famille	La Pupille	311.01
Fri	29	5	1801	Œdipe - par ordre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	4559.00
Sat	30	5	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Plaideurs	536.15
Sun	31	5	1801	Iphigénie en Aulide - par ordre	Le Babillard	4441.15
Mon	1	6	1801	Les Femmes savantes	Le Grondeur	711.05
Tues	2	6	1801	Le Cid - par ordre	L'Amant bourru	3361.05
Weds	3	6	1801	Le Glorieux	Les Fausses Infidélités	1092.15
Thurs	4	6	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3596.08
Fri	5	6	1801	Le Misanthrope	Les Fourberies de Scapin	773.12
Sat	6	6	1801	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Consentement forcé	1773.04
Sun	7	6	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	688.13
Mon	8	6	1801	L'Amant bourru - par ordre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1185.00
Tues	9	6	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Médecin malgré lui	1737.19
Weds	10	6	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Feinte par amour	314.14
Thurs	11	6	1801	Le Misanthrope - par ordre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1732.07
Fri	12	6	1801	Gaston et Bayard	L'Avocat Patelin	1091.03
Sat	13	6	1801	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Marchand de Smyrne	631.10
Sun	14	6	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	4849.15
Mon	15	6	1801	Le Distrain	Les Deux Frères	836.18
Tues	16	6	1801	Sémiramis	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1298.02
Weds	17	6	1801	L'Avare	Le Médecin malgré lui	455.03
Thurs	18	6	1801	Sémiramis	La Jeune Hôtesse	1741.08

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	19	6	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	965.05
Sat	20	6	1801	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	568.55
Sun	21	6	1801	Gaston et Bayard	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1712.35
Mon	22	6	1801	L'École des pères	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1282.20
Tues	23	6	1801	Le Père de famille	La Pupille	345.25
Weds	24	6	1801	La Mort de César	Les Femmes savantes	2930.30
Thurs	25	6	1801	Le Méchant	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	700.25
Fri	26	6	1801	Zaïre	Le Somnambule	3839.70
Sat	27	6	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	379.60
Sun	28	6	1801	Turcaret	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	405.10
Mon	29	6	1801	L'Avare	Les Plaideurs	295.75
Tues	30	6	1801	Zaïre	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	3608.20
Weds	1	7	1801	Le Festin de Pierre	La Jeune Hôtesse	389.20
Thurs	2	7	1801	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Feinte par amour	1151.85
Fri	3	7	1801	L'École des pères	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1126.00
Sat	4	7	1801	Zaïre	La Nouveauté	3296.20
Sun	5	7	1801	Les Femmes savantes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	929.80
Mon	6	7	1801	Mérope	L'École des maris	1592.20
Tues	7	7	1801	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1160.25
Weds	8	7	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	4430.20
Thurs	9	7	1801	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	379.60

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	10	7	1801	Zaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3562.80
Sat	11	7	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Consentement forcé	681.70
Sun	12	7	1801	Le Légataire universel	La Pupille	607.15
Mon	13	7	1801	Sémiramis	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	Gratis
Tues	14	7	1801	Relâche		
Weds	15	7	1801	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même (en 4 actes)	La Jeune Hôtesse	1812.65
Thurs	16	7	1801	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	3977.00
Fri	17	7	1801	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	785.00
Sat	18	7	1801	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Grondeur	2594.00
Sun	19	7	1801	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	2353.90
Mon	20	7	1801	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même	Turcaret	678.00
Tues	21	7	1801	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'École des maris	936.90
Weds	22	7	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	912.55
Thurs	23	7	1801	L'École des pères	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même	905.40
Fri	24	7	1801	Britannicus	La Nouveauté	3081.20
Sat	25	7	1801	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	4400.80
Sun	26	7	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Joueur	3432.90
Mon	27	7	1801	La Métomanie, ou le poète	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	648.40
Tues	28	7	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Distrain	2653.70
Weds	29	7	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	999.00
Thurs	30	7	1801	Tancrède	L'Avocat Patelin	4023.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	31	7	1801	L'Intrigant dupé par lui-même	La Jeune Hôtesse	320.90
Sat	1	8	1801	Tancrède	Le Dédit	3750.00
Sun	2	8	1801	Le Misanthrope	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1888.10
Mon	3	8	1801	Les Femmes savantes	Le Médecin malgré lui	574.45
Tues	4	8	1801	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	3677.70
Weds	5	8	1801	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Fausses Infidélités	3596.65
Thurs	6	8	1801	Le Glorieux	Le Confident par hasard	853.00
Fri	7	8	1801	Le Méchant	Le Confident par hasard	883.90
Sat	8	8	1801	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2531.60
Sun	9	8	1801	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2638.50
Mon	10	8	1801	Le Père de famille	Les Plaideurs	222.75
Tues	11	8	1801	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	530.62
Weds	12	8	1801	Andromaque	Le Consentement forcé	2600.05
Thurs	13	8	1801	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	650.20
Fri	14	8	1801	Le Célibataire	Les Fausses Confidences	3179.85
Sat	15	8	1801	Andromaque	Le Confident par hasard	2512.05
Sun	16	8	1801	L'École des pères	Le Confident par hasard	562.80
Mon	17	8	1801	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Plaideurs	445.70
Tues	18	8	1801	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1875.95
Weds	19	8	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Médecin malgré lui	402.25
Thurs	20	8	1801	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	21	8	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'Entrevue	473.35
Sat	22	8	1801	Le Glorieux	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	523.55
Sun	23	8	1801	La Mort d'Abel	L'Intrigue épistolaire	1363.25
Mon	24	8	1801	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	244.20
Tues	25	8	1801	Relâche		
Weds	26	8	1801	La Mort d'Abel	La Jeune Hôtesse	887.04
Thurs	27	8	1801	Didon	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1445.10
Fri	28	8	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Joueur	766.35
Sat	29	8	1801	Le Misanthrope	Le Confident par hasard	837.15
Sun	30	8	1801	Didon	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	945.75
Mon	31	8	1801	Les Femmes savantes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	428.25
Tues	1	9	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1563.40
Weds	2	9	1801	Didon	Pygmalion	1837.65
Thurs	3	9	1801	L'École des pères	Le Babillard	731.75
Fri	4	9	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1568.40
Sat	5	9	1801	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1062.00
Sun	6	9	1801	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2857.60
Mon	7	9	1801	Le Misanthrope	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2271.75
Tues	8	9	1801	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	826.45
Weds	9	9	1801	Le Distrait	L'École des maris	622.35
Thurs	10	9	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2168.20
Fri	11	9	1801	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	536.45
Sat	12	9	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1211.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	13	9	1801	Le Misanthrope	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2240.15
Mon	14	9	1801	Le Cid	Le Dédit	2086.40
Tues	15	9	1801	La Mort d'Abel	L'Écoles des femmes	907.55
Weds	16	9	1801	Philoctète	Le Bourru bienfaisant	850.25
Thurs	17	9	1801	Alzire, ou les Américains	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1587.25
Fri	18	9	1801	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Grondeur	664.10
Sat	19	9	1801	Tancrède	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1619.15
Sun	20	9	1801	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	3836.60
Mon	21	9	1801	Hypermnestre	Le Confident par hasard	2227.60
Tues	22	9	1801	La Mort d'Abel	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Gratis
Weds	23	9	1801	Relâche		
Thurs	24	9	1801	Hypermnestre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1486.55
Fri	25	9	1801	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Mariage secret	3763.90
Sat	26	9	1801	Le Joueur	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1354.50
Sun	27	9	1801	Didon	Pygmalion	2470.90
Mon	28	9	1801	L'École des femmes	La Pupille	488.55
Tues	29	9	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Mariage secret	3154.40
Weds	30	9	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Père de famille	933.35
Thurs	1	10	1801	Le Cid	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2146.35
Fri	2	10	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Consentement forcé	1257.90
Sat	3	10	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	660.10
Sun	4	10	1801	La Mere coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	La Pupille	3390.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	5	10	1801	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	397.45
Tues	6	10	1801	Zaïre	Le Confident par hasard	3176.10
Weds	7	10	1801	Le Père de famille	Le Consentement forcé	341.80
Thurs	8	10	1801	L'École des femmes	L'École des maris	539.20
Fri	9	10	1801	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2359.20
Sat	10	10	1801	Philoctète	Les Femmes savantes	588.55
Sun	11	10	1801	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	3621.05
Mon	12	10	1801	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Confident par hasard	1595.25
Tues	13	10	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Bienfait anonyme	1482.00
Weds	14	10	1801	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	330.70
Thurs	15	10	1801	Gabrielle de Vergy	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1248.20
Fri	16	10	1801	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Maison donnée	3459.75
Sat	17	10	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	L'École des maris	1100.80
Sun	18	10	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3286.10
Mon	19	10	1801	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1093.95
Tues	20	10	1801	Le Joueur	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	656.80
Weds	21	10	1801	Le Cid	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1633.80
Thurs	22	10	1801	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Amphitryon	1716.80
Fri	23	10	1801	Le Distract	Le Marchand de Smyrne	479.20
Sat	24	10	1801	Tancrède	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1676.15
Sun	25	10	1801	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'Entrevue	3000.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	26	10	1801	L'Avare	L'Avocat Patelin	643.35
Tues	27	10	1801	L'École des femmes	Le Consentement forcé	340.00
Weds	28	10	1801	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2671.95
Thurs	29	10	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Pupille	387.20
Fri	30	10	1801	Les Femmes savantes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	341.35
Sat	31	10	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	4146.60
Sun	1	11	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	2872.70
Mon	2	11	1801	Le Distrait	Le Grondeur	581.45
Tues	3	11	1801	Andromaque	Les Fausses Infidélités	3319.20
Weds	4	11	1801	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	627.10
Thurs	5	11	1801	Amphytrion	L'Intrigue épistolaire	1452.45
Fri	6	11	1801	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2525.55
Sat	7	11	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	959.60
Sun	8	11	1801	L'Avare	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	Gratis
Mon	9	11	1801	Relâche		
Tues	10	11	1801	Gabrielle de Vergy	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu	2651.90
Weds	11	11	1801	Le Cid	L'Amant bourru	3799.30
Thurs	12	11	1801	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		5163.70
Fri	13	11	1801	Le Père de famille	L'Avocat Patelin	531.75
Sat	14	11	1801	Zaïre	Le Confident par hasard	3266.35
Sun	15	11	1801	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		4438.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	16	11	1801	Mithridate	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	3030.30
Tues	17	11	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'École des maris	608.65
Weds	18	11	1801	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4464.10
Thurs	19	11	1801	Mithridate	Le Dédit	1786.10
Fri	20	11	1801	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1749.40
Sat	21	11	1801	Amphytrion	L'Intrigue épistolaire	904.00
Sun	22	11	1801	Zaïre	L'Impromptu de campagne	2864.45
Mon	23	11	1801	Le Légataire universel	La Jeune Hôtesse	381.75
Tues	24	11	1801	Alzire, ou les Américains	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1394.70
Weds	25	11	1801	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4204.85
Thurs	26	11	1801	Mithridate	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1342.80
Fri	27	11	1801	Gaston et Bayard	Le Grondeur	1034.30
Sat	28	11	1801	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	L'École des femmes	4332.30
Sun	29	11	1801	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes		3006.35
Mon	30	11	1801	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	L'École des maris	2996.45
Tues	1	12	1801	Abufar, ou la famille arabe	L'Amant bourru	3323.95
Weds	2	12	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	744.45
Thurs	3	12	1801	Abufar, ou la famille arabe	L'École des bourgeois	1637.55
Fri	4	12	1801	La Coquette corrigée	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	3549.00
Sat	5	12	1801	Zaïre	Le Médecin malgré lui	3280.10
Sun	6	12	1801	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2303.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	7	12	1801	L'École des pères	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	866.10
Tues	8	12	1801	Zaïre	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	3376.95
Weds	9	12	1801	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	2025.50
Thurs	10	12	1801	Tancrède	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu	1935.30
Fri	11	12	1801	Zaïre	L'Impromptu de campagne	3488.15
Sat	12	12	1801	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3025.50
Sun	13	12	1801	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	L'École des pères	2529.65
Mon	14	12	1801	Alhamar	Le Médecin malgré lui	3611.10
Tues	15	12	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	1904.10
Weds	16	12	1801	Andromaque	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1219.90
Thurs	17	12	1801	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Femmes	3682.45
Fri	18	12	1801	Mithridate	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3415.35
Sat	19	12	1801	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	516.95
Sun	20	12	1801	Mithridate	L'Avocat Patelin	3319.45
Mon	21	12	1801	Le Glorieux	La Feinte par amour	1413.25
Tues	22	12	1801	Mithridate	La Pupille	2945.00
Weds	23	12	1801	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Médecin malgré lui	458.15
Thurs	24	12	1801	Inès de Castro	L'École des maris	2534.80
Fri	25	12	1801	Les Fausses Confidences	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4037.90
Sat	26	12	1801	Inès de Castro	L'Avocat Patelin	1089.50
Sun	27	12	1801	La Mort d'Abel	Le Légataire universel	1806.45
Mon	28	12	1801	Le Vieux Célibataire	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3593.65
Tues	29	12	1801	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	328.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	30	12	1801	Zaire	La Pupille	2740.35
Thurs	31	12	1801	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	L'École des maris	1265.55
Fri	1	1	1802	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	2274.20
Sat	2	1	1802	Didon	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	705.55
Sun	3	1	1802	Le Vieux Célibataire	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3817.20
Mon	4	1	1802	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	775.55
Tues	5	1	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	3329.00
Weds	6	1	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	473.45
Thurs	7	1	1802	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe		1988.40
Fri	8	1	1802	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	300.50
Sat	9	1	1802	La Mort d'Abel	Le Légataire universel	804.45
Sun	10	1	1802	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Les Fausses Confidences	2777.70
Mon	11	1	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	782.55
Tues	12	1	1802	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	281.45
Weds	13	1	1802	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	L'École des maris	2172.80
Thurs	14	1	1802	Relâche		
Fri	15	1	1802	Gabrielle de Vergy	Caroline, ou le tableau	672.65
Sat	16	1	1802	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Médecin malgré lui	460.65
Sun	17	1	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis (1 ^{re} pièce)	1218.90
Mon	18	1	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3598.45
Tues	19	1	1802	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Les Deux Frères	1009.65
Weds	20	1	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Médecin malgré lui	3444.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	21	1	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Deux Frères	1111.55
Fri	22	1	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Babillard	3150.40
Sat	23	1	1802	La Mort d'Abel	Les Châteaux en Espagne	776.55
Sun	24	1	1802	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Mariage secret	3604.40
Mon	25	1	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Les Deux Frères	922.55
Tues	26	1	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Médecin malgré lui	2313.70
Weds	27	1	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	596.35
Thurs	28	1	1802	Relâche		
Fri	29	1	1802	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2176.90
Sat	30	1	1802	Les Deux Frères	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	1780.80
Sun	31	1	1802	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Babillard	2552.80
Mon	1	2	1802	L'École des femmes	Les Plaideurs	268.80
Tues	2	2	1802	Les Deux Frères	Caroline, ou le tableau	1143.00
Weds	3	2	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2893.90
Thurs	4	2	1802	Les Deux Frères	Caroline, ou le tableau	931.90
Fri	5	2	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Médecin malgré lui	2284.95
Sat	6	2	1802	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	L'École des maris	879.00
Sun	7	2	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Plaideurs	832.00
Mon	8	2	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3076.60
Tues	9	2	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Deux Frères	2625.30
Weds	10	2	1802	Philoctète	La Métromanie, ou le poète	640.65
Thurs	11	2	1802	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Bourru bienfaisant	922.20
Fri	12	2	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Deux Frères	1892.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	13	2	1802	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	2185.50
Sun	14	2	1802	Andromaque	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2328.00
Mon	15	2	1803	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2571.10
Tues	16	2	1802	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2245.55
Weds	17	2	1802	Philoctète	Le Légataire universel	437.45
Thurs	18	2	1802	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	L'Avocat Patelin	2976.95
Fri	19	2	1802	Le Cid	Les Deux Frères	2260.35
Sat	20	2	1802	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Les Plaideurs	3796.25
Sun	21	2	1802	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1673.45
Mon	22	2	1802	Zaïre	L'Impromptu de campagne	3714.45
Tues	23	2	1802	Le Méchant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1474.70
Weds	24	2	1802	Philoctète	La Métromanie, ou le poète	761.65
Thurs	25	2	1802	La Femme jalouse	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	3005.00
Fri	26	2	1802	Tancrède	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2002.00
Sat	27	2	1802	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	384.90
Sun	28	2	1802	Le Joueur	Les Deux Frères	1954.00
Mon	1	3	1802	Le Cid	(Le Florentin)	3179.95
Tues	2	3	1802	La Femme jalouse	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3607.30
Weds	3	3	1802	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Florentin	1758.10
Thurs	4	3	1802	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Médecin malgré lui	3622.65
Fri	5	3	1802	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	926.75
Sat	6	3	1802	Andromaque	L'Amant bourru	2791.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	7	3	1802	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3169.95
Mon	8	3	1802	Philoctète	Les Femmes savantes	773.10
Tues	9	3	1802	Le Cid	Le Florentin	1932.90
Weds	10	3	1802	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1982.00
Thurs	11	3	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	L'École des bourgeois	2152.55
Fri	12	3	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2358.15
Sat	13	3	1802	Iphigénie en Tauride	Amphitryon	1203.60
Sun	14	3	1802	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2926.10
Mon	15	3	1802	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	3190.40
Tues	16	3	1802	Tancrède	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1237.60
Weds	17	3	1802	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2094.10
Thurs	18	3	1802	Bajazet	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	3382.65
Fri	19	3	1802	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3408.85
Sat	20	3	1802	Bajazet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3246.95
Sun	21	3	1802	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	2963.15
Mon	22	3	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	La Jeune Hôtesse	1633.00
Tues	23	3	1802	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des maris	557.35
Weds	24	3	1802	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Gageure imprévue	3621.00
Thurs	25	3	1802	Bajazet	Le Confident par hasard	3034.90
Fri	26	3	1802	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	389.25
Sat	27	3	1802	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	L'Anglais à Bordeaux	2964.95
Sun	28	3	1802	Bajazet	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	2263.40
Mon	29	3	1802	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	30	3	1802	Le Cid	Caroline, ou le tableau	1218.25
Weds	31	3	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2111.05
Thurs	1	4	1802	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1326.80
Fri	2	4	1802	Le Distrait	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	382.80
Sat	3	4	1802	La Mort d'Abel	L'École des maris	482.90
Sun	4	4	1802	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	690.35
Mon	5	4	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	735.65
Tues	6	4	1802	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Legs	2343.35
Weds	7	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Somnambule	3232.20
Thurs	8	4	1802	Tancrède	Le Consentement forcé	1780.20
Fri	9	4	1802	Turcaret	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1141.75
Sat	10	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	3642.95
Sun	11	4	1802	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Femmes	3100.85
Mon	12	4	1802	Philoctète	L'Avare	589.25
Tues	13	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Confident par hasard	3144.80
Weds	14	4	1802	Relâche		
Thurs	15	4	1802	Relâche		
Fri	16	4	1802	Relâche		
Sat	17	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2883.20
Sun	18	4	1802	Relâche		
Mon	19	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Grondeur	1673.70
Tues	20	4	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Femmes	2481.85
Weds	21	4	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Caroline, ou le tableau	2921.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	22	4	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2412.70
Fri	23	4	1802	Le Glorieux	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1040.35
Sat	24	4	1802	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2856.25
Sun	25	4	1802	L'Abbé et l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2180.60
Mon	26	4	1802	Sémiramis	L'École des maris	1849.30
Tues	27	4	1802	Les Femmes savantes	Le Consentement forcé	306.90
Weds	28	4	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	835.20
Thurs	29	4	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Minuit	3008.25
Fri	30	4	1802	Zaïre	Le Médecin malgré lui	1257.20
Sat	1	5	1802	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Fausses Confidences	1195.32
Sun	2	5	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2660.25
Mon	3	5	1802	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2825.80
Tues	4	5	1802	L'École des femmes	Le Consentement forcé	335.20
Weds	5	5	1802	Méropé	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu	1676.15
Thurs	6	5	1802	Le Séducteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1755.90
Fri	7	5	1802	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	931.80
Sat	8	5	1802	Britannicus	Minuit	1648.55
Sun	9	5	1802	Le Glorieux	La Jeune Hôtesse	864.25
Mon	10	5	1802	Mithridate	Les Folies amoureuses	1860.35
Tues	11	5	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	Caroline, ou le tableau	746.00
Weds	12	5	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1318.65
Thurs	13	5	1802	La Mort d'Abel	Turcaret	1276.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	14	5	1802	Le Cid	Les Folies amoureuses	1031.00
Sat	15	5	1802	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Consentement forcé	2135.00
Sun	16	5	1802	Tancrède	Le Florentin	1844.00
Mon	17	5	1802	Philoctète	Les Précepteurs	1847.30
Tues	18	5	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	516.65
Weds	19	5	1802	La Femme jalouse	Les Folies amoureuses	1264.25
Thurs	20	5	1802	Phèdre	Le Florentin	2347.00
Fri	21	5	1802	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	190.00
Sat	22	5	1802	Marius à Minturnes	Les Précepteurs	1151.75
Sun	23	5	1802	Les Deux Frères	Turcaret	582.65
Mon	24	5	1802	Mithridate	Pygmalion	1388.20
Tues	25	5	1802	Le Légataire universel	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	386.25
Weds	26	5	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Consentement forcé	981.10
Thurs	27	5	1802	Didon	L'École des maris	362.10
Fri	28	5	1802	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	191.80
Sat	29	5	1802	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Florentin	1148.30
Sun	30	5	1802	Les Deux Frères	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1025.90
Mon	31	5	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2082.30
Tues	1	6	1802	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Les Folies amoureuses	686.10
Weds	2	6	1802	Marius à Minturnes	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1081.75
Thurs	3	6	1802	Le Cid	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1456.80
Fri	4	6	1802	L'École des maris	Le Médecin malgré lui	199.75
Sat	5	6	1802	Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	4286.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	6	6	1802	La Coquette corrigée	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2817.65
Mon	7	6	1802	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	990.90
Tues	8	6	1802	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Juliette et Bellecour	2281.80
Weds	9	6	1802	La Mort d'Abel	L'École des maris	723.70
Thurs	10	6	1802	Œdipe	La Pupille	791.55
Fri	11	6	1802	Le Glorieux	Juliette et Bellecour	783.90
Sat	12	6	1802	Didon	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	367.25
Sun	13	6	1802	Venceslas	La Pupille	1357.15
Mon	14	6	1802	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2632.70
Tues	15	6	1802	Venceslas	Le Consentement forcé	1107.75
Weds	16	6	1802	Les Précepteurs	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	636.80
Thurs	17	6	1802	La Mort d'Abel	La Jeune Hôtesse	670.90
Fri	18	6	1802	Le Menteur	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	918.65
Sat	19	6	1802	Relâche		
Sun	20	6	1802	Les Deux Frères	Le Menteur	915.55
Mon	21	6	1802	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	9995.60
Tues	22	6	1802	Andromaque	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1293.20
Weds	23	6	1802	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2748.25
Thurs	24	6	1802	Venceslas	L'École des maris	966.65
Fri	25	6	1802	Turcaret	Les Folies amoureuses	480.25
Sat	26	6	1802	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1451.95
Sun	27	6	1802	Andromaque	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1689.05
Mon	28	6	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	645.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	29	6	1802	Zaire	Le Florentin	1673.55
Weds	30	6	1802	Eugénie	Le Médecin malgré lui	775.00
Thurs	1	7	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	La Pupille	2432.90
Fri	2	7	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Folies amoureuses	1629.45
Sat	3	7	1802	Gabrielle de Vergy	La Feinte par amour	1347.20
Sun	4	7	1802	Les Deux Frères	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	877.75
Mon	5	7	1802	Mithridate	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu	1265.55
Tues	6	7	1802	Tancrède	Les Folies amoureuses	560.25
Weds	7	7	1802	Eugénie	Amphitryon	497.75
Thurs	8	7	1802	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	718.70
Fri	9	7	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Galant Coureur, ou l'ouvrage d'un moment	1126.35
Sat	10	7	1802	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Legs	1617.55
Sun	11	7	1802	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1099.10
Mon	12	7	1802	Relâche		
Tues	13	7	1802	Mithridate	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	Gratis
Weds	14	7	1802	Relâche		
Thurs	15	7	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Galant Coureur, ou l'ouvrage d'un moment	1619.25
Fri	16	7	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu	1880.50
Sat	17	7	1802	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	3131.80
Sun	18	7	1802	Oreste	Le Médecin malgré lui	2552.55
Mon	19	7	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Deux Frères	2050.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	20	7	1802	Oreste	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1299.10
Weds	21	7	1802	Relâche		
Thurs	22	7	1802	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1827.80
Fri	23	7	1802	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Fourberies de Scapin	806.45
Sat	24	7	1802	Horace	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1728.25
Sun	25	7	1802	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	756.55
Mon	26	7	1802	Œdipe	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1185.90
Tues	27	7	1802	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeune Hôtesse	489.80
Weds	28	7	1802	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	L'Original	1615.00
Thurs	29	7	1802	Sémiramis	La Pupille	1670.35
Fri	30	7	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	594.90
Sat	31	7	1802	La Coquette corrigée	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1850.35
Sun	1	8	1802	Andromaque	Les Deux Frères	1768.65
Mon	2	8	1802	Ésope à la cour	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1413.75
Tues	3	8	1802	Phèdre	L'Avocat Patelin	2356.85
Weds	4	8	1802	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	632.30
Thurs	5	8	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	367.80
Fri	6	8	1802	Sémiramis	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2383.90
Sat	7	8	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Femmes	1329.00
Sun	8	8	1802	Phèdre	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1941.40
Mon	9	8	1802	Relâche		
Tues	10	8	1802	Le Cid	La Pupille	998.30
Weds	11	8	1802	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeune Hôtesse	279.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	12	8	1802	Sémiramis	Le Médecin malgré lui	1685.45
Fri	13	8	1802	Relâche		
Sat	14	8	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Crispin médecin	Gratis
Sun	15	8	1802	Relâche		
Mon	16	8	1802	Relâche		
Tues	17	8	1802	Andromaque	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	2875.20
Weds	18	8	1802	Zaïre	Crispin médecin	1320.25
Thurs	19	8	1802	Philoctète	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	313.00
Fri	20	8	1802	Andromaque	Le Legs	3093.35
Sat	21	8	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Le Médecin malgré lui	301.85
Sun	22	8	1802	Le Menteur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	468.90
Mon	23	8	1802	Eugénie	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	241.00
Tues	24	8	1802	Phèdre	L'Avocat Patelin	4039.10
Weds	25	8	1802	La Mort d'Abel	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1100.70
Thurs	26	8	1802	Tancrède	La Pupille	1221.65
Fri	27	8	1802	Le Menteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1462.10
Sat	28	8	1802	Phèdre	La Pupille	4637.70
Sun	29	8	1802	L'École des pères	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	352.20
Mon	30	8	1802	Le Glorieux	La Feinte par amour	728.90
Tues	31	8	1802	Sémiramis	Le Legs	1728.35
Weds	1	9	1802	Le Glorieux	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	428.25

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	2	9	1802	Andromaque	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1837.75
Fri	3	9	1802	L'École des pères	La Pupille	392.10
Sat	4	9	1802	La Mort d'Abel	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	530.25
Sun	5	9	1802	Andromaque	L'Avocat Patelin	2495.50
Mon	6	9	1802	Eugénie	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	458.90
Tues	7	9	1802	Philoctète	La Feinte par amour	282.25
Weds	8	9	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	Le Médecin malgré lui	1635.30
Thurs	9	9	1802	L'École des pères	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	605.90
Fri	10	9	1802	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1000.15
Sat	11	9	1802	Le Glorieux	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	972.00
Sun	12	9	1802	Gabrielle de Vergy	Crispin médecin	1856.90
Mon	13	9	1802	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1187.90
Tues	14	9	1802	Marius à Minturnes	Les Deux Frères	853.55
Weds	15	9	1802	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1057.65
Thurs	16	9	1802	Zaïre	Les Fausses Infidélités	2177.90
Fri	17	9	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Consentement forcé	932.80
Sat	18	9	1802	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	535.35
Sun	19	9	1802	Tancrède	Les Deux Frères	1726.90
Mon	20	9	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1226.60
Tues	21	9	1802	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	4609.10
Weds	22	9	1802	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	Gratis
Thurs	23	9	1802	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	24	9	1802	Andromaque	Le Marchand de Smyrne	4289.10
Sat	25	9	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1261.10
Sun	26	9	1802	Le Cid	La Pupille	1764.00
Mon	27	9	1802	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	791.70
Tues	28	9	1802	Phèdre	Le Marchand de Smyrne	4720.90
Weds	29	9	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	841.80
Thurs	30	9	1802	Zaïre	L'Avocat Patelin	1702.75
Fri	1	10	1802	L'École des pères	Amphitryon	639.30
Sat	2	10	1802	Le Cid	La Pupille	1275.30
Sun	3	10	1802	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	843.85
Mon	4	10	1802	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	831.75
Tues	5	10	1802	Didon	Les Fausses Infidélités	3904.20
Weds	6	10	1802	Zaïre	Crispin médecin	1365.80
Thurs	7	10	1802	Le Misanthrope	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1856.40
Fri	8	10	1802	Didon	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2900.95
Sat	9	10	1802	Le Misanthrope	Les Deux Frères	865.90
Sun	10	10	1802	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	1708.20
Mon	11	10	1802	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3619.90
Tues	12	10	1802	L'École des pères	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	457.65
Weds	13	10	1802	Les Deux Frères	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1415.10
Thurs	14	10	1802	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Jeune Hôtesse	1342.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	15	10	1802	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	528.75
Sat	16	10	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	572.00
Sun	17	10	1802	Tancrède	La Pupille	1768.25
Mon	18	10	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	1033.70
Tues	19	10	1802	Bajazet	Le Médecin malgré lui	3981.00
Weds	20	10	1802	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	583.55
Thurs	21	10	1802	Hypermnestre	Les Deux Frères	1072.55
Fri	22	10	1802	Bajazet	L'Avocat Patelin	3352.40
Sat	23	10	1802	Tancrède	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1039.65
Sun	24	10	1802	Le Cid	Amphitryon	2838.65
Mon	25	10	1802	L'École des pères	La Pupille	279.40
Tues	26	10	1802	Bajazet	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3665.55
Weds	27	10	1802	Les Deux Frères	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1040.65
Thurs	28	10	1802	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Originaux	1710.90
Fri	29	10	1802	Phèdre	Le Galant Coureur, ou l'ouvrage d'un moment	4204.50
Sat	30	10	1802	Le Glorieux	Les Originaux	1204.95
Sun	31	10	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	1766.45
Mon	1	11	1802	Zaïre	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2296.35
Tues	2	11	1802	Bajazet	Crispin médecin	2488.30
Weds	3	11	1802	Les Deux Frères	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	815.70
Thurs	4	11	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Épreuve	1879.40
Fri	5	11	1802	Andromaque	Le Médecin malgré lui	3060.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	6	11	1802	Les Femmes savantes	L'Avocat Patelin	644.65
Sun	7	11	1802	Le Glorieux	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1750.50
Mon	8	11	1802	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Originaux	787.50
Tues	9	11	1802	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	4944.90
Weds	10	11	1802	Les Femmes savantes	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	608.55
Thurs	11	11	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	Le Médecin malgré lui	1280.00
Fri	12	11	1802	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	756.45
Sat	13	11	1802	L'École des pères	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	947.80
Sun	14	11	1802	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1655.55
Mon	15	11	1802	Œdipe	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3288.30
Tues	16	11	1802	Le Misanthrope	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	830.45
Weds	17	11	1802	Gaston et Bayard	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	712.70
Thurs	18	11	1802	Œdipe	Les Originaux	3117.95
Fri	19	11	1802	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Le Legs	1516.2
Sat	20	11	1802	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2518.15
Sun	21	11	1802	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2826.50
Mon	22	11	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Caroline, ou le tableau	1597.10
Tues	23	11	1802	Philoctète	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	929.00
Weds	24	11	1802	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Fausses Infidélités	2421.85
Thurs	25	11	1802	L'Homme singulier	Les Originaux	1494.90
Fri	26	11	1802	La Mort d'Abel	L'Amant bourru	619.00
Sat	27	11	1802	Venceslas	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1812.40
Sun	28	11	1802	L'Abbé et l'Épée	Caroline, ou le tableau	2387.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	29	11	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	4475.55
Tues	30	11	1802	Le Légataire universel	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	614.20
Weds	1	12	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	4121.00
Thurs	2	12	1802	L'École des pères	Les Deux Frères	733.30
Fri	3	12	1802	Le Misanthrope	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	808.30
Sat	4	12	1802	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	4012.05
Sun	5	12	1802	Venceslas	L'Amant bourru	2313.65
Mon	6	12	1802	L'Homme singulier	Les Deux Frères	1525.00
Tues	7	12	1802	Mithridate	Le Florentin	1425.00
Weds	8	12	1802	Tancrède	Minuit	4298.00
Thurs	9	12	1802	Les Précepteurs	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	907.10
Fri	10	12	1802	Le Misanthrope	L'Ami vrai	878.25
Sat	11	12	1802	Tancrède	Le Consentement forcé	4201.80
Sun	12	12	1802	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	3789.50
Mon	13	12	1802	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1760.05
Tues	14	12	1802	Mithridate	Le Florentin	1287.55
Weds	15	12	1802	Le Menteur	L'École des bourgeois	2297.00
Thurs	16	12	1802	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	3816.80
Fri	17	12	1802	Le Glorieux	Les Deux Frères	902.65
Sat	18	12	1802	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Médecin malgré lui	3770.70
Sun	19	12	1802	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	La Pupille	2607.00
Mon	20	12	1802	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'École des maris	1257.35
Tues	21	12	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Fausses Infidélités	3866.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	22	12	1802	Le Cid	La Feinte par amour	940.75
Thurs	23	12	1802	Isule et Orovèse	L'Avocat Patelin	3814.10
Fri	24	12	1802	Paméla, ou la vertu récompensée	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1092.45
Sat	25	12	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	3867.65
Sun	26	12	1802	L'Abbé et l'Epée	Les Deux Frères	2081.70
Mon	27	12	1802	Alzire, ou les Américains	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1251.20
Tues	28	12	1802	L'École des pères	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	471.10
Weds	29	12	1802	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	L'École des bourgeois	1675.65
Thurs	30	12	1802	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Inconstant	4121.55
Fri	31	12	1802	Zaïre	Minuit	1514.35
Sat	1	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		2967.86
Sun	2	1	1803	Philoctète	Le menteur	1874.40
Mon	3	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		2789.05
Tues	4	1	1803	Didon	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3747.80
Weds	5	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		2197.90
Thurs	6	1	1803	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	La Pupille	1086.55
Fri	7	1	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3329.30
Sat	8	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		1968.65
Sun	9	1	1803	Iphigénie en Tauride	Minuit	1747.80
Mon	10	1	1803	Didon	L'École des maris	3821.00
Tues	11	1	1803	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	599.00
Weds	12	1	1803	Alzire, ou les Américains	Melpomène et Thalie, ou la fête d'Apollon	1446.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	13	1	1803	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1408.80
Fri	14	1	1803	Gabrielle de Vergy	Melpomène et Thalie, ou la fête d'Apollon	912.64
Sat	15	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		1783.10
Sun	16	1	1803	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	L'Amant bourru	1920.10
Mon	17	1	1803	Sémiramis	Melpomène et Thalie, ou la fête d'Apollon	3872.30
Tues	18	1	1803	L'Inconstant	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1423.35
Weds	19	1	1803	Sémiramis	Le Médecin malgré lui	3597.20
Thurs	20	1	1803	Le Malade imaginaire		1261.10
Fri	21	1	1803	L'École des pères	La Jeune Hôtesse	385.55
Sat	22	1	1803	Gabrielle de Vergy	Melpomène et Thalie, ou la fête d'Apollon	613.45
Sun	23	1	1803	Sémiramis	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	3923.25
Mon	24	1	1803	Eugénie	Le Séducteur amoureux	2922.10
Tues	25	1	1803	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Séducteur amoureux	1477.00
Weds	26	1	1803	La Coquette corrigée	Les Fausses Confidences	3194.20
Thurs	27	1	1803	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	952.65
Fri	28	1	1803	Relâche		
Sat	29	1	1803	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Le Séducteur amoureux	2044.50
Sun	30	1	1803	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Femmes	3786.70
Mon	31	1	1803	L'École des femmes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	342.10
Tues	1	2	1803	L'École des pères	Le Florentin	249.00
Weds	2	2	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Séducteur amoureux	4713.00
Thurs	3	2	1803	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Melpomène et Thalie, ou la fête d'Apollon	1580.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	4	2	1803	Mithridate	Le Séducteur amoureux	2046.20
Sat	5	2	1803	Médée	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	2355.90
Sun	6	2	1803	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Séducteur amoureux	2309.20
Mon	7	2	1803	Venceslas	L'Impatient	1157.55
Tues	8	2	1803	Le Séducteur amoureux	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1669.90
Weds	9	2	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Avocat Patelin	3454.75
Thurs	10	2	1803	Le Menteur	(Le Séducteur amoureux) L'École des maris	1739.20
Fri	11	2	1803	Siri Brahé, ou les curieuses	Crispin médecin	2366.20
Sat	12	2	1803	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2152.60
Sun	13	2	1803	Siri Brahé, ou les curieuses	L'Amant bourru	1195.00
Mon	14	2	1803	Phèdre	Le Florentin	3943.60
Tues	15	2	1803	Siri Brahé, ou les curieuses	Le Distrait	707.20
Weds	16	2	1803	Zaïre	Le Séducteur amoureux	2712.20
Thurs	17	2	1803	Phèdre	La Pupille	3505.00
Fri	18	2	1803	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	745.50
Sat	19	2	1803	Tancrède	Crispin médecin	4189.00
Sun	20	2	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Séducteur amoureux	3131.00
Mon	21	2	1803	Tancrède	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	2924.85
Tues	22	2	1803	Crispin médecin	Le Malade imaginaire	3558.15
Weds	23	2	1803	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'Entrevue	2631.80
Thurs	24	2	1803	Phèdre	L'Impatient	3933.80
Fri	25	2	1803	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	582.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	26	2	1803	Le Séducteur amoureux	Le Malade imaginaire	3185.60
Sun	27	2	1803	Zaïre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2634.05
Mon	28	2	1803	Sémiramis	Le Babillard	2723.80
Tues	1	3	1803	Les Femmes savantes	L'Avocat Patelin	406.20
Weds	2	3	1803	La Mort de Pompée	Le Marchand de Smyrne	3222.60
Thurs	3	3	1803	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3483.10
Fri	4	3	1803	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	346.75
Sat	5	3	1803	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Roman d'une heure	2948.35
Sun	6	3	1803	Andromaque	La Pucille	3870.20
Mon	7	3	1803	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	651.35
Tues	8	3	1803	La Mort de Pompée	Le Séducteur amoureux	3032.50
Weds	9	3	1803	Venceslas	Le Florentin	1054.75
Thurs	10	3	1803	Sémiramis	Le Babillard	2461.10
Fri	11	3	1803	La Mort de Pompée	Minuit	2011.60
Sat	12	3	1803	Andromaque	Les Fausses Infidélités	3135.35
Sun	13	3	1803	Fénelon, ou les religieuses de Cambrai	Amphitryon	2316.35
Mon	14	3	1803	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Minuit	2153.60
Tues	15	3	1803	Les Précepteurs	Les Deux Frères	1215.45
Weds	16	3	1803	Didon	L'Amant bourru	2787.60
Thurs	17	3	1803	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	2391.85
Fri	18	3	1803	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1071.25
Sat	19	3	1803	Le Cid	Les Deux Frères	1977.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	20	3	1803	Didon	Le Séducteur amoureux	3643.20
Mon	21	3	1803	Mithridate	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1116.35
Tues	22	3	1803	Le Glorieux	Les Deux Frères	861.45
Weds	23	3	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Confidences	2024.40
Thurs	24	3	1803	Andromaque	La Pupille	3375.30
Fri	25	3	1803	L'Homme singulier	Les Fausses Infidélités	585.00
Sat	26	3	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3471.10
Sun	27	3	1803	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2959.05
Mon	28	3	1803	Didon	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1636.00
Tues	29	3	1803	Tancrède	La Jeune Hôtesse	2679.45
Weds	30	3	1803	L'École des pères	Le Veuf amoureux, ou la véritable amie	2011.35
Thurs	31	3	1803	Le Séducteur amoureux	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1499.35
Fri	1	4	1803	Relâche		
Sat	2	4	1803	Britannicus	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2409.00
Sun	3	4	1803	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Séducteur amoureux	2244.10
Mon	4	4	1803	Les Mœurs du jour, ou l'école des jeunes femmes	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2178.10
Tues	5	4	1803	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Feinte par amour	2372.20
Weds	6	4	1803	Relâche		
Thurs	7	4	1803	Relâche		
Fri	8	4	1803	Relâche		
Sat	9	4	1803	Hamlet	Le Florentin	2525.55
Sun	10	4	1803	L'Abbé et l'Épée	Les Deux Frères	1173.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	11	4	1803	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage secret	2194.00
Tues	12	4	1803	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	596.45
Weds	13	4	1803	Hamlet	L'Avocat Patelin	2390.60
Thurs	14	4	1803	Le Muet	Caroline, ou le tableau	1432.20
Fri	15	4	1803	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1656.55
Sat	16	4	1803	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage secret	1356.30
Sun	17	4	1803	Andromaque	Caroline, ou le tableau	2669.60
Mon	18	4	1803	Le Muet	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1732.40
Tues	19	4	1803	Hamlet	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2059.40
Weds	20	4	1803	Sémiramis	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3122.75
Thurs	21	4	1803	Le Muet	Les Deux Frères	1708.10
Fri	22	4	1803	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	437.55
Sat	23	4	1803	Andromaque	La Pupille	2631.35
Sun	24	4	1803	Le Muet	Les Deux Frères	2726.25
Mon	25	4	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	3514.20
Tues	26	4	1803	Relâche		
Weds	27	4	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1972.90
Thurs	28	4	1803	Les Femmes savantes	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2391.60
Fri	29	4	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2996.75
Sat	30	4	1803	La Feinte par amour	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2075.90
Sun	1	5	1803	Philoctète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2302.10
Mon	2	5	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Minuit	311.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	3	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	La Pupille	1680.05
Weds	4	5	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2169.30
Thurs	5	5	1803	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2277.20
Fri	6	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1636.15
Sat	7	5	1803	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Les Rivaux Amis	1487.80
Sun	8	5	1803	Andromaque	L'École des maris	2925.80
Mon	9	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1315.65
Tues	10	5	1803	Les Deux Frères	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1936.20
Weds	11	5	1803	Andromaque	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2923.20
Thurs	12	5	1803	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Babillard	880.30
Fri	13	5	1803	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1448.90
Sat	14	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Le Babillard	1645.85
Sun	15	5	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu rendu	4921.80
Mon	16	5	1803	L'Avare	La Jeune Hôtesse	485.30
Tues	17	5	1803	Philoctète	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1433.80
Weds	18	5	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	4391.90
Thurs	19	5	1803	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1845.65
Fri	20	5	1803	La Femme jalouse	Le Legs	1752.50
Sat	21	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1077.45
Sun	22	5	1803	Sémiramis	Défiance et malice, ou le prêtendu rendu	3142.65
Mon	23	5	1803	Le Menteur	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1475.10
Tues	24	5	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Amphitryon	1040.20
Weds	25	5	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1805.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	26	5	1803	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1276.50
Fri	27	5	1803	Sémiramis	La Jeune Hôtesse	1566.45
Sat	28	5	1803	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Séducteur amoureux	2683.90
Sun	29	5	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	2549.45
Mon	30	5	1803	Le Muet	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1077.75
Tues	31	5	1803	Turcaret	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	402.90
Weds	1	6	1803	Les Femmes savantes	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1058.05
Thurs	2	6	1803	Didon	La Feinte par amour	1244.65
Fri	3	6	1803	Relâche		
Sat	4	6	1803	La Gouvernante	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2680.65
Sun	5	6	1803	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Deux Frères	2325.75
Mon	6	6	1803	Le Glorieux	Le Séducteur amoureux	1860.55
Tues	7	6	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	2549.20
Weds	8	6	1803	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	403.75
Thurs	9	6	1803	Zaïre	Le Séducteur amoureux	1802.35
Fri	10	6	1803	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeune Hôtesse	354.65
Sat	11	6	1803	La Gouvernante	Les Épreuves	2259.10
Sun	12	6	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	796.25
Mon	13	6	1803	Sémiramis	Les Fausses Infidélités	1624.80
Tues	14	6	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Deux Frères	1280.30
Weds	15	6	1803	La Gouvernante	L'Original	1809.05
Thurs	16	6	1803	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1331.80
Fri	17	6	1803	Le Misanthrope	Amphitryon	478.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	18	6	1803	La Gouvernante	Les Fausses Infidélités	1621.55
Sun	19	6	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3676.45
Mon	20	6	1803	L'Avare	La Pupille	352.00
Tues	21	6	1803	Bajazet	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2548.20
Weds	22	6	1803	Andromaque	Le Florentin	1827.65
Thurs	23	6	1803	La Femme jalouse	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2148.20
Fri	24	6	1803	Bajazet	Minuit	2412.75
Sat	25	6	1803	Turcaret	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	449.25
Sun	26	6	1803	Le Séducteur amoureux	Amphitryon	551.00
Mon	27	6	1803	Bajazet	Les Originaux	1391.70
Tues	28	6	1803	Didon	Caroline, ou le tableau	711.20
Weds	29	6	1803	Le Muet	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	257.10
Thurs	30	6	1803	Le Méchant	Minuit	306.20
Fri	1	7	1803	Andromaque	Le Couvent, ou les fruits du caractère et de l'éducation	1040.35
Sat	2	7	1803	Le Méchant	Le Couvent, ou les fruits du caractère et de l'éducation	493.90
Sun	3	7	1803	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1226.40
Mon	4	7	1803	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Couvent, ou les fruits du caractère et de l'éducation	365.20
Tues	5	7	1803	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	269.65
Weds	6	7	1803	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1765.80
Thurs	7	7	1803	Bajazet	Le Couvent, ou les fruits du caractère et de l'éducation	1883.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	8	7	1803	Les Femmes savantes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	106.10
Sat	9	7	1803	Bajazet	La Jeune Hôtesse	921.80
Sun	10	7	1803	Le Menteur	L'École des bourgeois	476.00
Mon	11	7	1803	Le Muet	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	225.85
Tues	12	7	1803	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Femmes	915.30
Weds	13	7	1803	Bajazet	Le Médecin malgré lui	Gratis
Thurs	14	7	1803	Relâche		
Fri	15	7	1803	Le Méchant	Les Deux Frères	672.75
Sat	16	7	1803	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	691.35
Sun	17	7	1803	Tancrède	Le Florentin	1567.90
Mon	18	7	1803	Relâche		
Tues	19	7	1803	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	987.20
Weds	20	7	1803	La Coquette corrigée	Le Séducteur amoureux	912.10
Thurs	21	7	1803	Relâche		
Fri	22	7	1803	Le Misanthrope	L'Heureuse Erreur	457.55
Sat	23	7	1803	Le Tasse	Le Florentin	1925.50
Sun	24	7	1803	Les Deux Frères	Le Muet	433.90
Mon	25	7	1803	Le Tasse	Les Originaux	832.90
Tues	26	7	1803	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'Heureuse Erreur	849.65
Weds	27	7	1803	Le Tasse	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	543.45
Thurs	28	7	1803	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	Les Femmes	456.25
Fri	29	7	1803	Le Distrain	Le Somnambule	268.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	30	7	1803	Le Tasse	Le Séducteur amoureux	600.35
Sun	31	7	1803	Bajazet	Amphitryon	729.45
Mon	1	8	1803	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'Heureuse Erreur	630.20
Tues	2	8	1803	Relâche		
Weds	3	8	1803	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	L'École des bourgeois	596.10
Thurs	4	8	1803	Le Méchant	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	271.10
Fri	5	8	1803	Relâche		
Sat	6	8	1803	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Originaux	528.30
Sun	7	8	1803	Turcaret	Les Deux Frères	716.35
Mon	8	8	1803	Phèdre	Céphise, ou l'erreur de l'esprit	2494.80
Tues	9	8	1803	Relâche		
Weds	10	8	1803	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Fausses Confidences	1240.20
Thurs	11	8	1803	L'Orphelin de la Chine	La Feinte par amour	2093.35
Fri	12	8	1803	Le Distrait	La Pupille	170.75
Sat	13	8	1803	Bajazet	Le Florentin	1132.40
Sun	14	8	1803	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Avocat Patelin	1260.65
Mon	15	8	1803	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	Gratis
Tues	16	8	1803	Relâche		
Weds	17	8	1803	La Femme jalouse	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1454.70
Thurs	18	8	1803	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	La Jeune Hôtesse	411.10
Fri	19	8	1803	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1095.55
Sat	20	8	1803	Ariane	La Pupille	2959.75
Sun	21	8	1803	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Florentin	644.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	22	8	1803	Ariane	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2485.10
Tues	23	8	1803	Le Méchant	Les Fausses Infidélités	308.80
Weds	24	8	1803	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Séducteur amoureux	1518.75
Thurs	25	8	1803	Andromaque	Le Médecin malgré lui	1865.80
Fri	26	8	1803	Ariane	Crispin médecin	1828.65
Sat	27	8	1803	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'Impatient	974.50
Sun	28	8	1803	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'École des bourgeois	1837.40
Mon	29	8	1803	Ariane	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1659.55
Tues	30	8	1803	Les Femmes savantes	Amphitryon	447.65
Weds	31	8	1803	Ariane	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1808.30
Thurs	1	9	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Gageure imprévue	1432.75
Fri	2	9	1803	L'École des femmes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	281.65
Sat	3	9	1803	Polyeucte martyr	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	725.30
Sun	4	9	1803	Mithridate	Le Florentin	1606.75
Mon	5	9	1803	Ariane	La Feinte par amour	1654.90
Tues	6	9	1803	Le Distrain	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	410.55
Weds	7	9	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Babillard	2380.30
Thurs	8	9	1803	L'Homme singulier	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	490.25
Fri	9	9	1803	Le Misanthrope	Le Consentement forcé	726.65
Sat	10	9	1803	Mithridate	L'École des bourgeois	1055.95
Sun	11	9	1803	Ariane	Le Consentement forcé	1843.30
Mon	12	9	1803	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Crispin médecin	1989.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	13	9	1803	Le Glorieux	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	641.35
Weds	14	9	1803	Le Menteur	Les Fausses Infidélités	817.75
Thurs	15	9	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat Patelin	2287.65
Fri	16	9	1803	Phèdre	Le Babillard	5068.95
Sat	17	9	1803	Le Distrait	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	727.90
Sun	18	9	1803	Tancrède	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2625.60
Mon	19	9	1803	Phèdre	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	4577.85
Tues	20	9	1803	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1209.75
Weds	21	9	1803	Tancrède	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2226.00
Thurs	22	9	1803	Ariane	Le Consentement forcé	2382.05
Fri	23	9	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	Gratis
Sat	24	9	1803	Relâche		
Sun	25	9	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	2915.20
Mon	26	9	1803	Le Distrait	Le Marchand de Smyrne	319.20
Tues	27	9	1803	Bajazet	Le Consentement forcé	2088.30
Weds	28	9	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1113.40
Thurs	29	9	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	2328.45
Fri	30	9	1803	Ariane	La Pupille	1816.00
Sat	1	10	1803	Le Misanthrope	Le Legs	645.35
Sun	2	10	1803	Andromaque	Crispin médecin	2379.90
Mon	3	10	1803	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	652.20
Tues	4	10	1803	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	2832.70
Weds	5	10	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Babillard	728.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	6	10	1803	Relâche		
Fri	7	10	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	982.45
Sat	8	10	1803	Les Femmes savantes	Crispin médecin	461.80
Sun	9	10	1803	Le Glorieux	Les Fausses Infidélités	1207.30
Mon	10	10	1803	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	548.55
Tues	11	10	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Babillard	2150.05
Weds	12	10	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	La Pupille	1909.60
Thurs	13	10	1803	Phèdre	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2702.35
Fri	14	10	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1411.80
Sat	15	10	1803	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2385.80
Sun	16	10	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2133.70
Mon	17	10	1803	Le Méchant	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	490.10
Tues	18	10	1803	Ariane	Le Florentin	2576.20
Weds	19	10	1803	Tancrède	Les Deux Frères	1000.30
Thurs	20	10	1803	Phèdre	L'Épreuve	3575.90
Fri	21	10	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'Impatient	531.35
Sat	22	10	1803	Mithridate	Les Deux Frères	1721.70
Sun	23	10	1803	Ariane	L'Épreuve	2538.40
Mon	24	10	1803	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1121.55
Tues	25	10	1803	Phèdre	Heureusement	3796.90
Weds	26	10	1803	Le Tasse	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	770.15
Thurs	27	10	1803	Le Misanthrope	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1214.20
Fri	28	10	1803	Le Tasse	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	719.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	29	10	1803	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Le Séducteur amoureux	1797.25
Sun	30	10	1803	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	L'Épreuve	1836.70
Mon	31	10	1803	Sémiramis	Le Florentin	1591.45
Tues	1	11	1803	Andromaque	L'École des maris	2523.70
Weds	2	11	1803	Le menteur	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	532.25
Thurs	3	11	1803	Ariane	Le Consentement forcé	1164.30
Fri	4	11	1803	Zaïre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	900.30
Sat	5	11	1803	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	543.55
Sun	6	11	1803	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Séducteur amoureux	2458.25
Mon	7	11	1803	Zaïre	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1025.85
Tues	8	11	1803	Andromaque	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	2245.70
Weds	9	11	1803	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1296.30
Thurs	10	11	1803	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Impatient	1453.80
Fri	11	11	1803	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Boîte volée, ou le garçon malade	2182.45
Sat	12	11	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Babillard	1613.60
Sun	13	11	1803	Ariane	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3084.05
Mon	14	11	1803	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	L'École des bourgeois	971.00
Tues	15	11	1803	Agamemnon	Le Florentin	3722.50
Weds	16	11	1803	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	890.45
Thurs	17	11	1803	Agamemnon	Le Consentement forcé	2610.80
Fri	18	11	1803	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du	L'Entrevue	634.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
				Misanthrope		
Sat	19	11	1803	Didon	Les Deux Frères	1354.00
Sun	20	11	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'École des bourgeois	2072.10
Mon	21	11	1803	Agamemnon	L'Épreuve	2303.90
Tues	22	11	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	2310.10
Weds	23	11	1803	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1316.60
Thurs	24	11	1803	Agamemnon	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2088.95
Fri	25	11	1803	Ésope à la cour	Les Originaux	1180.10
Sat	26	11	1803	Agamemnon	Le Babillard	1985.30
Sun	27	11	1803	Didon	Dupuis et Desronais	2566.05
Mon	28	11	1803	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Les Deux Frères	1013.20
Tues	29	11	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Entrevue	1442.40
Weds	30	11	1803	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Dédaigneuse	3223.70
Thurs	1	12	1803	Agamemnon	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2044.85
Fri	2	12	1803	Les Femmes savantes	La Dédaigneuse	296.10
Sat	3	12	1803	Orphanis	Le Consentement forcé	1641.85
Sun	4	12	1803	Agamemnon	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2535.25
Mon	5	12	1803	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Dédaigneuse	710.75
Tues	6	12	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Originaux	1662.40
Weds	7	12	1803	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	3231.55
Thurs	8	12	1803	Agamemnon	L'École des maris	1798.00
Fri	9	12	1803	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'École des bourgeois	1923.20
Sat	10	12	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	2491.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	11	12	1803	Sémiramis	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1886.35
Mon	12	12	1803	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1179.45
Tues	13	12	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Dédit	1732.50
Weds	14	12	1803	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1077.00
Thurs	15	12	1803	Relâche		
Fri	16	12	1803	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Deux Frères	844.70
Sat	17	12	1803	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Dupuis et Desronais	2657.25
Sun	18	12	1803	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Impatient	2769.65
Mon	19	12	1803	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Turcaret	921.25
Tues	20	12	1803	Agamemnon	La Dédaigneuse	2046.45
Weds	21	12	1803	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Dédit	2211.00
Thurs	22	12	1803	Bajazet	La Feinte par amour	1654.20
Fri	23	12	1803	Ésope à la cour	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	610.65
Sat	24	12	1803	Bajazet	Le Cocher supposé	1192.10
Sun	25	12	1803	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Séducteur amoureux	1928.20
Mon	26	12	1803	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1002.35
Tues	27	12	1803	Œdipe	Le Cocher Supposé	2170.35
Weds	28	12	1803	Bajazet	L'École des bourgeois	1315.75
Thurs	29	12	1803	Le Distrait	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	423.10
Fri	30	12	1803	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Amant bourru	1889.95
Sat	31	12	1803	Phèdre	Minuit	2629.75
Sun	1	1	1804	Zaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2195.15
Mon	2	1	1804	Les Femmes savantes	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2418.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	3	1	1804	Œdipe	Minuit	1981.30
Weds	4	1	1804	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Le Séducteur amoureux	1287.75
Thurs	5	1	1804	Gabrielle de Vergy	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	1065.75
Fri	6	1	1804	La Maison de Molière	Amphitryon	1068.45
Sat	7	1	1804	Mithridate	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	1364.50
Sun	8	1	1804	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	La Maison de Molière	2182.75
Mon	9	1	1804	Les Deux Frères	L'Inconstant	767.50
Tues	10	1	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	1577.10
Weds	11	1	1804	Britannicus	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2701.75
Thurs	12	1	1804	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1087.60
Fri	13	1	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	766.45
Sat	14	1	1804	Polyxène	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3754.45
Sun	15	1	1804	La Maison de Molière	L'Homme à bonne fortune	2075.40
Mon	16	1	1804	Polyxène	La Feinte par amour	1982.85
Tues	17	1	1804	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	672.30
Weds	18	1	1804	Bajazet	Pygmalion	2023.55
Thurs	19	1	1804	Polyxène	L'Homme à bonne fortune	1428.15
Fri	20	1	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1072.75
Sat	21	1	1804	Agamemnon	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1461.10
Sun	22	1	1804	Didon	Caroline, ou le tableau	2039.25
Mon	23	1	1804	Polyxène	L'Intrigue épistolaire	1092.35
Tues	24	1	1804	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	La Maison de Molière	727.90
Weds	25	1	1804	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Épreuve	1663.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	26	1	1804	Phèdre	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2939.40
Fri	27	1	1804	Le Distrait	Le Malade imaginaire	1629.45
Sat	28	1	1804	Ariane	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1490.55
Sun	29	1	1804	Sémiramis	Amphitryon	3084.15
Mon	30	1	1804	Médée	Les Originaux	2364.85
Tues	31	1	1804	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'École des maris	402.45
Weds	1	2	1804	Andromaque	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1826.75
Thurs	2	2	1804	La Feinte par amour	Le Malade imaginaire	1494.20
Fri	3	2	1804	Relâche		
Sat	4	2	1804	Guillaume le Conquérant		4243.05
Sun	5	2	1804	Médée	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2449.65
Mon	6	2	1804	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	Le Malade imaginaire	640.55
Tues	7	2	1804	Mithridate	Pygmalion	2375.65
Weds	8	2	1804	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	723.65
Thurs	9	2	1804	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Médecin malgré lui	1767.35
Fri	10	2	1804	Le Glorieux	Le Consentement forcé	427.50
Sat	11	2	1804	Phèdre	L'École des bourgeois	2617.80
Sun	12	2	1804	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	Le Malade imaginaire	3242.60
Mon	13	2	1804	Ariane	L'Amant bourru	2516.85
Tues	14	2	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Malade imaginaire	2972.25
Weds	15	2	1804	Horace	Le Babillard	3735.35
Thurs	16	2	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Deux Frères	672.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	17	2	1804	L'Avare	Le Marchand de Smyrne	518.75
Sat	18	2	1804	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2251.75
Sun	19	2	1804	Zaïre	Le Grondeur	1837.80
Mon	20	2	1804	Phèdre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3124.40
Tues	21	2	1804	Le Menteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1479.65
Weds	22	2	1804	Le Muet	Le Dédit	812.35
Thurs	23	2	1804	Iphigénie en Tauride	Le Séducteur amoureux	1394.00
Fri	24	2	1804	Ariane	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1295.30
Sat	25	2	1804	Le Distrait	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	367.00
Sun	26	2	1804	Agamemnon	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2502.15
Mon	27	2	1804	Britannicus	L'Impatient	2108.45
Tues	28	2	1804	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'École des bourgeois	1183.75
Weds	29	2	1804	Le Méchant	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	424.00
Thurs	1	3	1804	Tancrède	Le Grondeur	1918.90
Fri	2	3	1804	Les Femmes savantes	Amphitryon	365.10
Sat	3	3	1804	Sertorius	(Les Originaux) Le Florentin	1317.90
Sun	4	3	1804	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2203.00
Mon	5	3	1804	Le Cid	L'Inconstant	2135.45
Tues	6	3	1804	Phèdre	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	3155.20
Weds	7	3	1804	Sertorius	L'Amant bourru	1092.00
Thurs	8	3	1804	Le Cid	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	1449.25
Fri	9	3	1804	Alzire, ou les Américains	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2437.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	10	3	1804	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Fausses Confidences	3120.20
Sun	11	3	1804	Phèdre	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	2416.65
Mon	12	3	1804	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Infidélités	530.65
Tues	13	3	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Feinte par amour	1693.90
Weds	14	3	1804	La Coquette corrigée	Les Femmes	2760.95
Thurs	15	3	1804	Andromaque	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2332.00
Fri	16	3	1804	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeune Hôtesse	466.65
Sat	17	3	1804	La Gouvernante	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3147.35
Sun	18	3	1804	Œdipe	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1845.20
Mon	19	3	1804	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Deux Frères	1287.65
Tues	20	3	1804	La Mort de Pompée	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	2195.80
Weds	21	3	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Legs	2875.40
Thurs	22	3	1804	Alzire, ou les Américains	L'Impatient	1864.45
Fri	23	3	1804	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	945.00
Sat	24	3	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	2179.40
Sun	25	3	1804	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Deux Frères	1885.80
Mon	26	3	1804	Le Cid	L'École des bourgeois	1233.15
Tues	27	3	1804	Le Festin de Pierre	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	517.85
Weds	28	3	1804	Relâche		
Thurs	29	3	1804	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	30	3	1804	Relâche		
Sat	31	3	1804	Relâche		
Sun	1	4	1804	Relâche		
Mon	2	4	1804	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Mariage secret	3202.25
Tues	3	4	1804	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1094.45
Weds	4	4	1804	Mithridate	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	1117.90
Thurs	5	4	1804	La Gouvernante	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3227.70
Fri	6	4	1804	Didon	La Jeune Hôtesse	1436.55
Sat	7	4	1804	La Mort de Pompée	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1917.70
Sun	8	4	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Mariage secret	3226.75
Mon	9	4	1804	Agamemnon	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1558.20
Tues	10	4	1804	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1600.25
Weds	11	4	1804	La Fausse Honte	Les Fausses Infidélités	3205.45
Thurs	12	4	1804	Relâche		
Fri	13	4	1804	La Fausse Honte	Les Deux Frères	1029.10
Sat	14	4	1804	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Gageure imprévue	2272.80
Sun	15	4	1804	Le Cid	Le Médecin malgré lui	1683.55
Mon	16	4	1804	Didon	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1940.25
Tues	17	4	1804	La Fausse Honte	Herman et Verner, ou les militaires	654.90
Weds	18	4	1804	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2126.55
Thurs	19	4	1804	La Maison de Molière	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	558.95
Fri	20	4	1804	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	1187.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	21	4	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Babillard	1825.70
Sun	22	4	1804	Didon	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2814.35
Mon	23	4	1804	L'Avare	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	412.20
Tues	24	4	1804	Agamemnon	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	1638.75
Weds	25	4	1804	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	876.45
Thurs	26	4	1804	Œdipe	L'Amant bourru	2235.10
Fri	27	4	1804	Le Distrait	Le Consentement forcé	336.30
Sat	28	4	1804	La Gouvernante	Les Femmes	2536.15
Sun	29	4	1804	Bajazet	Les Deux Frères	1680.30
Mon	30	4	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	961.00
Tues	1	5	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Impatient	2042.40
Weds	2	5	1804	Relâche		
Thurs	3	5	1804	La Coquette corrigée	L'Original	1046.65
Fri	4	5	1804	Andromaque	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1621.55
Sat	5	5	1804	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1394.65
Sun	6	5	1804	Gabrielle de Vergy	La Jeune Hôtesse	718.25
Mon	7	5	1804	Le Menteur	La Maison de Molière	611.10
Tues	8	5	1804	Bajazet	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1371.75
Weds	9	5	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Femmes	1954.90
Thurs	10	5	1804	Agamemnon	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1275.50
Fri	11	5	1804	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de	623.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
					Marseille	
Sat	12	5	1804	Phèdre	Le Florentin	2873.35
Sun	13	5	1804	Le Cid	L'Amant bourru	1021.80
Mon	14	5	1804	La Femme jalouse	L'École des bourgeois	1163.30
Tues	15	5	1804	Le Glorieux	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	373.90
Weds	16	5	1804	Phèdre	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2556.55
Thurs	17	5	1804	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	597.90
Fri	18	5	1804	Le Distrait	Le Consentement forcé	150.89
Sat	19	5	1804	Pierre-le-Grand	Le Florentin	5254.90
Sun	20	5	1804	La Gouvernante	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1305.85
Mon	21	5	1804	Pierre-le-Grand	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3505.65
Tues	22	5	1804	L'Avare	Le Marchand de Smyrne	309.20
Weds	23	5	1804	Œdipe	Le Babillard	1116.50
Thurs	24	5	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	L'Épreuve	1327.80
Fri	25	5	1804	Andromaque	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1351.05
Sat	26	5	1804	Didon	L'École des bourgeois	2775.00
Sun	27	5	1804	Phèdre	Le Florentin	1822.45
Mon	28	5	1804	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	La Maison de Molière	575.20
Tues	29	5	1804	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	239.65
Weds	30	5	1804	Didon	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1189.75
Thurs	31	5	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Minuit	542.30
Fri	1	6	1804	Bajazet	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	584.90
Sat	2	6	1804	Le Méchant	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	264.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	3	6	1804	Le Distrait	Le Médecin malgré lui	144.40
Mon	4	6	1804	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Épreuves	617.00
Tues	5	6	1804	Sémiramis	L'École des maris	888.85
Weds	6	6	1804	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Retour imprévu	536.20
Thurs	7	6	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	468.65
Fri	8	6	1804	Agamemnon	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	877.10
Sat	9	6	1804	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	458.55
Sun	10	6	1804	Le Cid	La Maison de Molière	876.45
Mon	11	6	1804	La Coquette corrigée	L'Original	808.10
Tues	12	6	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Impatient	3121.30
Weds	13	6	1804	Relâche		
Thurs	14	6	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Consentement forcé	2379.85
Fri	15	6	1804	La Femme juge et partie	Minuit	551.55
Sat	16	6	1804	Phèdre	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1456.55
Sun	17	6	1804	Sémiramis	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	1529.65
Mon	18	6	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	523.10
Tues	19	6	1804	Le Cid	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	528.30
Weds	20	6	1804	Les Deux Frères	La Femme juge et partie	854.65
Thurs	21	6	1804	Andromaque	Caroline, ou le tableau	1359.75
Fri	22	6	1804	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	188.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	23	6	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	756.55
Sun	24	6	1804	La Femme juge et partie	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	456.00
Mon	25	6	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	1712.85
Tues	26	6	1804	Le Distrait	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	144.50
Weds	27	6	1804	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Le Médecin malgré lui	181.85
Thurs	28	6	1804	Agamemnon	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	792.20
Fri	29	6	1804	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Florentin	194.50
Sat	30	6	1804	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Gageure imprévue	957.20
Sun	1	7	1804	L'École des femmes	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	907.30
Mon	2	7	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2954.80
Tues	3	7	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Le Babillard	649.45
Weds	4	7	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	3079.00
Thurs	5	7	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	3256.40
Fri	6	7	1804	Phèdre	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1151.85
Sat	7	7	1804	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	1729.45
Sun	8	7	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Legs	2638.25
Mon	9	7	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	1474.50
Tues	10	7	1804	Andromaque	L'Impatient	1340.80
Weds	11	7	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	909.20
Thurs	12	7	1804	Le Glorieux	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	537.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	13	7	1804	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	651.00
Sat	14	7	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	Gratis
Sun	15	7	1804	Relâche		
Mon	16	7	1804	Tancrède	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	1493.40
Tues	17	7	1804	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	680.30
Weds	18	7	1804	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	La Jeune Hôtesse	468.00
Thurs	19	7	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	3111.30
Fri	20	7	1804	L'École des femmes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	431.65
Sat	21	7	1804	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	671.40
Sun	22	7	1804	Tancrède	Les Deux Frères	1876.55
Mon	23	7	1804	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1034.65
Tues	24	7	1804	La Femme juge et partie	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	683.20
Weds	25	7	1804	Phèdre	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	2096.85
Thurs	26	7	1804	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Florentin	1249.75
Fri	27	7	1804	Relâche		
Sat	28	7	1804	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Médecin malgré lui	1903.70
Sun	29	7	1804	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	784.75
Mon	30	7	1804	Œdipe	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1142.65
Tues	31	7	1804	Le Joueur	Les Deux Frères	820.00
Weds	1	8	1804	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	2	8	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	1360.55
Fri	3	8	1804	Le Joueur	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	855.50
Sat	4	8	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	2162.69
Sun	5	8	1804	Le Cid	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	886.75
Mon	6	8	1804	La Femme juge et partie	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	615.55
Tues	7	8	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Entrevue	1235.15
Weds	8	8	1804	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Les Fausses Confidences	996.20
Thurs	9	8	1804	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	1003.85
Fri	10	8	1804	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	402.30
Sat	11	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	L'École des maris	1165.85
Sun	12	8	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Impatient	2645.10
Mon	13	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1650.75
Tues	14	8	1804	Le Cid	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1305.00
Weds	15	8	1804	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	Gratis
Thurs	16	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1014.00
Fri	17	8	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Fausses Infidélités	1560.60
Sat	18	8	1804	Turcaret	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1166.55
Sun	19	8	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	1842.55
Mon	20	8	1804	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Dupuis et Desronais	712.85
Tues	21	8	1804	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Médecin malgré lui	373.10
Weds	22	8	1804	Le Glorieux	Le Consentement forcé	663.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	23	8	1804	Andromaque	La Feinte par amour	2178.20
Fri	24	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	Dupuis et Desronais	554.70
Sat	25	8	1804	Andromaque	Crispin médecin	1517.35
Sun	26	8	1804	Mithridate	Les Deux Frères	1388.85
Mon	27	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	538.55
Tues	28	8	1804	Le Misanthrope	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	278.00
Weds	29	8	1804	Andromaque	Le Bienfait anonyme	1637.75
Thurs	30	8	1804	Relâche		
Fri	31	8	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	Le Florentin	431.10
Sat	1	9	1804	Zaïre	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1496.90
Sun	2	9	1804	Phèdre	Le Bienfait anonyme	1942.90
Mon	3	9	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	361.65
Tues	4	9	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	322.55
Weds	5	9	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	1442.20
Thurs	6	9	1804	Relâche		
Fri	7	9	1804	Le Distrait	Le Consentement forcé	192.65
Sat	8	9	1804	Didon	Le Bienfait anonyme	1198.30
Sun	9	9	1804	Les deux Figaro, ou le sujet de comédie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	584.00
Mon	10	9	1804	Relâche		
Tues	11	9	1804	Relâche		
Weds	12	9	1804	Relâche		
Thurs	13	9	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Consentement forcé	247.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	14	9	1804	Relâche		
Sat	15	9	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	283.45
Sun	16	9	1804	Relâche		
Mon	17	9	1804	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Entrevue	244.65
Tues	18	9	1804	Relâche		
Weds	19	9	1804	Relâche		
Thurs	20	9	1804	Le Méchant	La Feinte par amour	382.90
Fri	21	9	1804	Relâche		
Sat	22	9	1804	Relâche		
Sun	23	9	1804	Relâche		
Mon	24	9	1804	Le Glorieux	L'Entrevue	624.00
Tues	25	9	1804	Relâche		
Weds	26	9	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	475.90
Thurs	27	9	1804	Relâche		
Fri	28	9	1804	Relâche		
Sat	29	9	1804	L'Homme singulier	Les Fausses Infidélités	558.95
Sun	30	9	1804	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	737.65
Mon	1	10	1804	Relâche		
Tues	2	10	1804	Relâche		
Weds	3	10	1804	Mélanide	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	544.85
Thurs	4	10	1804	Relâche		
Fri	5	10	1804	Relâche		
Sat	6	10	1804	Mélanide	La Feinte par amour	548.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	7	10	1804	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1223.55
Mon	8	10	1804	Relâche		
Tues	9	10	1804	Relâche		
Weds	10	10	1804	Mélanide	Les Trois Frères rivaux	557.75
Thurs	11	10	1804	Relâche		
Fri	12	10	1804	Phèdre	Le Marchand de Smyrne	1971.40
Sat	13	10	1804	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	722.90
Sun	14	10	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	3011.65
Mon	15	10	1804	Ariane	L'Amant bourru	2406.20
Tues	16	10	1804	L'Homme singulier	Les Trois Frères rivaux	406.45
Weds	17	10	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	La Pupille	1865.50
Thurs	18	10	1804	Phèdre	Le Babillard	3071.55
Fri	19	10	1804	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Le Distrain	376.85
Sat	20	10	1804	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3985.15
Sun	21	10	1804	Mélanide	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1862.85
Mon	22	10	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fausses Confidences	2360.10
Tues	23	10	1804	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	737.30
Weds	24	10	1804	Horace	Le Florentin	3772.65
Thurs	25	10	1804	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3616.75
Fri	26	10	1804	Le Cid	L'Amant bourru	792.75
Sat	27	10	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Épreuve	1887.75
Sun	28	10	1804	Ariane	Le Bienfait anonyme	2079.75
Mon	29	10	1804	Mélanide	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	633.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	30	10	1804	Horace	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	3345.20
Weds	31	10	1804	La Coquette corrigée	Le Mariage secret	2212.45
Thurs	1	11	1804	Œdipe	Le Babillard	2696.00
Fri	2	11	1804	Phèdre	Le Bienfait anonyme	1998.65
Sat	3	11	1804	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	368.75
Sun	4	11	1804	Horace	L'Avocat Patelin	3490.95
Mon	5	11	1804	Le Cid	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	2388.60
Tues	6	11	1804	Le Joueur	L'École des maris	446.40
Weds	7	11	1804	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Legs	1936.35
Thurs	8	11	1804	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	3221.50
Fri	9	11	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	1449.45
Sat	10	11	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	2251.00
Sun	11	11	1804	Œdipe	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	3105.95
Mon	12	11	1804	Le Misanthrope	L'École des bourgeois	1434.00
Tues	13	11	1804	Mélanide	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	647.20
Weds	14	11	1804	Le Séducteur amoureux	La Gageure imprévue	2802.45
Thurs	15	11	1804	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	La Jeune Hôtesse	1025.40
Fri	16	11	1804	Relâche		
Sat	17	11	1804	Le Séducteur amoureux	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2823.00
Sun	18	11	1804	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	3031.65
Mon	19	11	1804	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	2648.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	20	11	1804	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1427.40
Weds	21	11	1804	Mélanide	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	412.75
Thurs	22	11	1804	Le Préjugé à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3005.35
Fri	23	11	1804	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1446.65
Sat	24	11	1804	Le Préjugé à la mode	La Gageure imprévue	1477.20
Sun	25	11	1804	Médée	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3092.45
Mon	26	11	1804	Horace	Le Babillard	3433.05
Tues	27	11	1804	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1086.75
Weds	28	11	1804	Le Séducteur amoureux	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2517.25
Thurs	29	11	1804	Macbeth	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	3010.00
Fri	30	11	1804	Le Jaloux désabusé	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1236.90
Sat	1	12	1804	Le Festin de Pierre	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	Gratis
Sun	2	12	1804	Relâche		
Mon	3	12	1804	Zaïre	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	2135.45
Tues	4	12	1804	Le Jaloux désabusé	Amphitryon	2251.75
Weds	5	12	1804	Gabrielle de Vergy	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2295.65
Thurs	6	12	1804	La Surprise de l'amour	Les Femmes	3177.90
Fri	7	12	1804	Le Jaloux désabusé	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2000.80
Sat	8	12	1804	Cyrus	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	4660.60
Sun	9	12	1804	Le Vieux Célibataire	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	2851.90
Mon	10	12	1804	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2497.15
Tues	11	12	1804	Le Muet	L'Amant bourru	1026.65
Weds	12	12	1804	Macbeth	Le Florentin	2253.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	13	12	1804	La Surprise de l'amour	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1211.30
Fri	14	12	1804	Andromaque	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2184.10
Sat	15	12	1804	La Femme juge et partie	Les Deux Frères	1304.90
Sun	16	12	1804	Didon	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	1572.00
Mon	17	12	1804	Ariane	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	2678.05
Tues	18	12	1804	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1448.30
Weds	19	12	1804	Le Préjugé à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2055.10
Thurs	20	12	1804	Macbeth	Le Médecin malgré lui	1831.40
Fri	21	12	1804	L'Orphelin de la Chine	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1767.00
Sat	22	12	1804	La Maison de Molière	L'Homme à bonne fortune	1655.00
Sun	23	12	1804	Ariane	Caroline, ou le tableau	2584.45
Mon	24	12	1804	Le Bienfait anonyme	La Femme juge et partie	871.75
Tues	25	12	1804	Médée	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2020.80
Weds	26	12	1804	Tancrède	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1726.20
Thurs	27	12	1804	Sertorius	Le Séducteur amoureux	2455.40
Fri	28	12	1804	Le Jaloux désabusé	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	979.85
Sat	29	12	1804	Le Séducteur amoureux	Les Femmes	1475.95
Sun	30	12	1804	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Originaux	3372.90
Mon	31	12	1804	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Minuit	637.65
Tues	1	1	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	Minuit	2628.80
Weds	2	1	1805	Bajazet	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1444.95
Thurs	3	1	1805	Nicomède	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1982.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	4	1	1805	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	L'École des bourgeois	1204.30
Sat	5	1	1805	Nicomède	Le Babillard	1539.40
Sun	6	1	1805	Nicomède	Molière avec ses amis, ou la soirée d'Auteuil	2845.55
Mon	7	1	1805	Briséis, ou la colère d'Achille	La Mère jalouse	1157.20
Tues	8	1	1805	Horace	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	3230.05
Weds	9	1	1805	La Coquette corrigée	La Mère jalouse	1605.65
Thurs	10	1	1805	Sertorius	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1619.65
Fri	11	1	1805	Horace	La Mère jalouse	3510.20
Sat	12	1	1805	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Fourberies de Scapin	666.30
Sun	13	1	1805	La Gouvernante	La Mère jalouse	3186.90
Mon	14	1	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Trois Frères rivaux	1920.55
Tues	15	1	1805	La Femme juge et partie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	947.75
Weds	16	1	1805	La Gouvernante	La Mère jalouse	1727.50
Thurs	17	1	1805	Mithridate	Minuit	3286.70
Fri	18	1	1805	Nicomède	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1542.55
Sat	19	1	1805	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1431.55
Sun	20	1	1805	Horace	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3811.35
Mon	21	1	1805	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2124.65
Tues	22	1	1805	Turcaret	Le Médecin malgré lui	692.75
Weds	23	1	1805	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1569.85
Thurs	24	1	1805	Mithridate	L'Avocat Patelin	2319.60
Fri	25	1	1805	Bajazet	Le Bienfait anonyme	1045.75
Sat	26	1	1805	Le Séducteur amoureux	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1415.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	27	1	1805	Zaïre	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2774.90
Mon	28	1	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2956.25
Tues	29	1	1805	L'Homme singulier	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	421.95
Weds	30	1	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Mère jalouse	1794.60
Thurs	31	1	1805	La Mort de Pompée	La Feinte par amour	2883.70
Fri	1	2	1805	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Confident par hasard	1581.45
Sat	2	2	1805	Nicomède	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	2016.60
Sun	3	2	1805	Œdipe	Le Confident par hasard	2052.30
Mon	4	2	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	4380.80
Tues	5	2	1805	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1237.65
Weds	6	2	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2962.20
Thurs	7	2	1805	Œdipe	Les Originaux	1297.55
Fri	8	2	1805	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Confident par hasard	1123.90
Sat	9	2	1805	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	2724.30
Sun	10	2	1805	Horace	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3377.20
Mon	11	2	1805	Henri VIII	Le Florentin	2361.75
Tues	12	2	1805	Mithridate	Le Confident par hasard	1359.65
Weds	13	2	1805	Le Cid	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1438.75
Thurs	14	2	1805	Sertorius	Les Folies amoureuses	2012.10
Fri	15	2	1805	Ariane	Minuit	1093.10
Sat	16	2	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	3825.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	17	2	1805	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Deux Frères	2438.55
Mon	18	2	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Fausses Infidélités	1921.85
Tues	19	2	1805	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Babillard	1673.40
Weds	20	2	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Trois Frères rivaux	2032.05
Thurs	21	2	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3205.70
Fri	22	2	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Pupille	1321.75
Sat	23	2	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2267.40
Sun	24	2	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Folies amoureuses	2956.70
Mon	25	2	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3756.05
Tues	26	2	1805	Phèdre	Les Originaux	3306.35
Weds	27	2	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3328.15
Thurs	28	2	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2032.40
Fri	1	3	1805	Zaïre	Le Confident par hasard	1388.10
Sat	2	3	1805	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2371.45
Sun	3	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3367.50
Mon	4	3	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3382.60
Tues	5	3	1805	Horace	Caroline, ou le tableau	2745.05
Weds	6	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	L'École des bourgeois	1496.35

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	7	3	1805	La Mort de Pompée	Le Florentin	1890.15
Fri	8	3	1805	La Coquette corrigée	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2405.65
Sat	9	3	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2857.20
Sun	10	3	1805	Andromaque	Dupuis et Desronais	2014.10
Mon	11	3	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2933.40
Tues	12	3	1805	Le Distrain	Le Consentement forcé	396.20
Weds	13	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Femmes	1962.00
Thurs	14	3	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2336.30
Fri	15	3	1805	Phèdre	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1778.15
Sat	16	3	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1259.50
Sun	17	3	1805	Macbeth	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2192.40
Mon	18	3	1805	Le Légataire universel	La Mère jalouse	2506.00
Tues	19	3	1805	Le Cid	Les Deux Frères	1330.10
Weds	20	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1607.90
Thurs	21	3	1805	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2238.90
Fri	22	3	1805	Nicomède	Le Bienfait anonyme	1536.40
Sat	23	3	1805	Le Légataire universel	La Mère jalouse	2606.60
Sun	24	3	1805	Relâche		
Mon	25	3	1805	Zaïre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1364.50
Tues	26	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2177.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	27	3	1805	Le Légataire universel	Le Babillard	2081.30
Thurs	28	3	1805	Horace	Le Florentin	2958.65
Fri	29	3	1805	Britannicus	Les Fausses Infidélités	3792.70
Sat	30	3	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Amphitryon	1305.75
Sun	31	3	1805	Le Légataire universel	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3292.35
Mon	1	4	1805	Britannicus	Les Fausses Infidélités	2696.55
Tues	2	4	1805	Horace	Le Confident par hasard	2294.90
Weds	3	4	1805	Les Femmes savantes	Le Legs	2948.75
Thurs	4	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	L'Avocat Patelin	1458.35
Fri	5	4	1805	Les Femmes savantes	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	2577.45
Sat	6	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Confident par hasard	1033.75
Sun	7	4	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Babillard	2022.85
Mon	8	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1003.30
Tues	9	4	1805	Tancrède	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	577.85
Weds	10	4	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Impatient	1119.25
Thurs	11	4	1805	Relâche		
Fri	12	4	1805	Relâche		
Sat	13	4	1805	Les Femmes savantes	Les Femmes	2604.65
Sun	14	4	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2106.40
Mon	15	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1289.20
Tues	16	4	1805	Zaïre	La Feinte par amour	1327.30
Weds	17	4	1805	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	18	4	1805	Mélanide	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	299.65
Fri	19	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Confident par hasard	1375.55
Sat	20	4	1805	Phèdre	La Feinte par amour	2739.05
Sun	21	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	L'Amant bourru	2414.05
Mon	22	4	1805	Sémiramis	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1570.90
Tues	23	4	1805	Phèdre	La Pupille	1943.60
Weds	24	4	1805	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	1406.75
Thurs	25	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1188.00
Fri	26	4	1805	Esther	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3241.20
Sat	27	4	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Procureur arbitre	905.75
Sun	28	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2596.50
Mon	29	4	1805	Esther	Dupuis et Desronais	2568.00
Tues	30	4	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1439.10
Weds	1	5	1805	Esther	Les Fausses Confidences	2285.10
Thurs	2	5	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Procureur arbitre	1793.55
Fri	3	5	1805	La Gouvernante	La Pupille	1252.40
Sat	4	5	1805	Horace	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2447.95
Sun	5	5	1805	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Les Deux Frères	1261.90
Mon	6	5	1805	Esther	Le Distrain	2049.75
Tues	7	5	1805	Relâche		
Weds	8	5	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une	L'École des bourgeois	1392.60

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
				famille		
Thurs	9	5	1805	Esther	Les Deux Frères	1940.55
Fri	10	5	1805	Le Distrait	L'École des maris	446.20
Sat	11	5	1805	La Gouvernante	La Pupille	1080.85
Sun	12	5	1805	Esther	L'École des femmes	3092.00
Mon	13	5	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1296.55
Tues	14	5	1805	Les Templiers	Le Médecin malgré lui	5075.15
Weds	15	5	1805	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Jeune Hôtesse	502.70
Thurs	16	5	1805	Les Templiers	Le Florentin	4446.90
Fri	17	5	1805	Les Femmes savantes	Le Mariage secret	926.55
Sat	18	5	1805	Les Templiers	L'Avocat Patelin	4657.55
Sun	19	5	1805	Esther	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	2535.65
Mon	20	5	1805	Les Templiers	Le Babillard	4204.40
Tues	21	5	1805	Le Joueur	Le Marchand de Smyrne	254.55
Weds	22	5	1805	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	218.40
Thurs	23	5	1805	Esther	Les Deux Frères	Gratis
Fri	24	5	1805	Les Templiers	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	4742.75
Sat	25	5	1805	Le menteur	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	611.30
Sun	26	5	1805	Horace	L'École des maris	1957.70
Mon	27	5	1805	Les Templiers	Le Consentement forcé	4449.49
Tues	28	5	1805	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	267.40
Weds	29	5	1805	Les Templiers	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	4105.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	30	5	1805	Esther	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	1339.10
Fri	31	5	1805	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Turcaret	597.85
Sat	1	6	1805	Les Templiers	Le Mariage secret	3955.40
Sun	2	6	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Florentin	476.95
Mon	3	6	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	846.80
Tues	4	6	1805	Les Templiers	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3042.50
Weds	5	6	1805	Phèdre	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1049.95
Thurs	6	6	1805	L'École des maris	Madame de Sévigné	4024.40
Fri	7	6	1805	Les Templiers	Le Procureur arbitre	3428.55
Sat	8	6	1805	Le Muet	Madame de Sévigné	938.20
Sun	9	6	1805	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Heureusement	1569.30
Mon	10	6	1805	Le Cid	Madame de Sévigné	1368.60
Tues	11	6	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	794.85
Weds	12	6	1805	Les Templiers	Dupuis et Desronais	3503.30
Thurs	13	6	1805	Ariane	Madame de Sévigné	1100.10
Fri	14	6	1805	Relâche		
Sat	15	6	1805	Les Templiers	Le Consentement forcé	3003.95
Sun	16	6	1805	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Madame de Sévigné	903.00
Mon	17	6	1805	Les Templiers	L'École des bourgeois	2900.70
Tues	18	6	1805	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Heureusement	793.30
Weds	19	6	1805	Relâche		
Thurs	20	6	1805	Madame de Sévigné	La Mère jalouse	1222.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	21	6	1805	Relâche		
Sat	22	6	1805	Madame de Sévigné	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1015.30
Sun	23	6	1805	Britannicus	Heureusement	1337.65
Mon	24	6	1805	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	381.20
Tues	25	6	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	1036.10
Weds	26	6	1805	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	754.65
Thurs	27	6	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Mère jalouse	696.90
Fri	28	6	1805	Le Méchant	Le Médecin malgré lui	306.40
Sat	29	6	1805	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'École des maris	549.65
Sun	30	6	1805	Zaïre	Le Florentin	980.35
Mon	1	7	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Dupuis et Desronais	357.65
Tues	2	7	1805	Relâche		
Weds	3	7	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Pupille	1010.75
Thurs	4	7	1805	Le Glorieux	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	293.50
Fri	5	7	1805	Horace	Minuit	1386.20
Sat	6	7	1805	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	765.90
Sun	7	7	1805	Andromaque	Caroline, ou le tableau	651.80
Mon	8	7	1805	Turcaret	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	827.55
Tues	9	7	1805	Relâche		
Weds	10	7	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	La Jeune Hôtesse	1255.10
Thurs	11	7	1805	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	735.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	12	7	1805	La Femme juge et partie	La Feinte par amour	684.60
Sat	13	7	1805	Phèdre	Minuit	1669.10
Sun	14	7	1805	Le Cid	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1100.65
Mon	15	7	1805	Le Distrait	Le Marchand de Smyrne	312.40
Tues	16	7	1805	Relâche		
Weds	17	7	1805	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1875.50
Thurs	18	7	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	860.00
Fri	19	7	1805	La Mort de Pompée	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1022.30
Sat	20	7	1805	Les Femmes savantes	Le Legs	587.60
Sun	21	7	1805	La Femme juge et partie	L'École des maris	536.40
Mon	22	7	1805	Zaïre	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	953.40
Tues	23	7	1805	Relâche		
Weds	24	7	1805	Mithridate	L'Entrevue	1165.45
Thurs	25	7	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Heureusement	338.55
Fri	26	7	1805	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Florentin	336.40
Sat	27	7	1805	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Fausses Infidélités	974.20
Sun	28	7	1805	Le Glorieux	La Pupille	488.20
Mon	29	7	1805	Horace	Minuit	1718.05
Tues	30	7	1805	Relâche		
Weds	31	7	1805	La Mort de Pompée	La Jeune Hôtesse	1668.90
Thurs	1	8	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Crispin médecin	399.00
Fri	2	8	1805	Le Jaloux désabusé	L'Entrevue	462.10
Sat	3	8	1805	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1108.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	4	8	1805	Phèdre	Le Confident par hasard	2519.40
Mon	5	8	1805	La Coquette corrigée	Les Folies amoureuses	619.45
Tues	6	8	1805	Mithridate	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	530.55
Weds	7	8	1805	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Jaloux désabusé	609.20
Thurs	8	8	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	Minuit	759.80
Fri	9	8	1805	Astyanax	L'École des femmes	2831.60
Sat	10	8	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	894.20
Sun	11	8	1805	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Joueur	456.00
Mon	12	8	1805	L'Amant bourru	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	880.20
Tues	13	8	1805	Relâche		
Weds	14	8	1805	Le Distrait	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	Gratis
Thurs	15	8	1805	Relâche		
Fri	16	8	1805	Le Cid	Le Confident par hasard	684.40
Sat	17	8	1805	Les Templiers	Le Médecin malgré lui	4366.30
Sun	18	8	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	Amphitryon	1044.40
Mon	19	8	1805	La Mort de Pompée	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	957.30
Tues	20	8	1805	Les Templiers	Les Folies amoureuses	3728.80
Weds	21	8	1805	Turcaret	Les Deux Frères	820.80
Thurs	22	8	1805	Ariane	Les Originaux	1041.00
Fri	23	8	1805	Relâche		
Sat	24	8	1805	Les Templiers	Le Babillard	3448.20
Sun	25	8	1805	Bajazet	La Pupille	915.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	26	8	1805	Les Templiers	La Feinte par amour	2151.90
Tues	27	8	1805	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	204.55
Weds	28	8	1805	La Femme jalouse	Les Mœurs du temps	1536.80
Thurs	29	8	1805	La Mort de Pompée	Pygmalion	1037.90
Fri	30	8	1805	Mélanide	Les Fausses Infidélités	191.45
Sat	31	8	1805	Les Templiers	Le Florentin	2794.70
Sun	1	9	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1598.80
Mon	2	9	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1276.40
Tues	3	9	1805	Esther	L'Intrigue épistolaire	1227.85
Weds	4	9	1805	Phèdre	Le Bienfait anonyme	1088.10
Thurs	5	9	1805	Les Templiers	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2973.40
Fri	6	9	1805	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Heureusement	327.00
Sat	7	9	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1046.75
Sun	8	9	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	L'École des bourgeois	2026.00
Mon	9	9	1805	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Turcaret	517.30
Tues	10	9	1805	Relâche		
Weds	11	9	1805	Les Templiers	Le Babillard	3105.65
Thurs	12	9	1805	Esther	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	1461.90
Fri	13	9	1805	Le Méchant	Le Médecin malgré lui	339.50
Sat	14	9	1805	Bajazet	Le Florentin	891.55
Sun	15	9	1805	Misanthropie et repentir	Les Originaux	916.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	16	9	1805	Le Muet	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	273.70
Tues	17	9	1805	Relâche		
Weds	18	9	1805	Relâche		
Thurs	19	9	1805	Bajazet	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	711.55
Fri	20	9	1805	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	853.20
Sat	21	9	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	L'Heureuse Erreur	1540.80
Sun	22	9	1805	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Deux Frères	2586.55
Mon	23	9	1805	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	798.50
Tues	24	9	1805	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1191.10
Weds	25	9	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	Dupuis et Desronais	1670.15
Thurs	26	9	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1058.65
Fri	27	9	1805	Le Cid	Les Plaideurs	1212.40
Sat	28	9	1805	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Le Menteur	816.85
Sun	29	9	1805	Didon	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1510.70
Mon	30	9	1805	Le Distrait	Les Plaideurs	642.45
Tues	1	10	1805	Les Templiers	L'Avocat Patelin	3774.90
Weds	2	10	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	689.45
Thurs	3	10	1805	Le Joueur	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	528.40
Fri	4	10	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	960.75
Sat	5	10	1805	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Gageure imprévue	659.45
Sun	6	10	1805	Sémiramis	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de	1321.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
					famille	
Mon	7	10	1805	Les Templiers	Les Fausses Infidélités	2936.55
Tues	8	10	1805	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Amphitryon	477.45
Weds	9	10	1805	La Gouvernante	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1031.85
Thurs	10	10	1805	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	708.10
Fri	11	10	1805	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	La Femme juge et partie	347.00
Sat	12	10	1805	Les Templiers	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2212.90
Sun	13	10	1805	Misanthropie et repentir	La Mère jalouse	1638.45
Mon	14	10	1805	Tancrède	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1253.15
Tues	15	10	1805	Le Festin de Pierre	L'Heureuse Erreur	558.00
Weds	16	10	1805	Horace	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2330.00
Thurs	17	10	1805	La Coquette corrigée	Les Originaux	806.00
Fri	18	10	1805	Ariane	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1075.90
Sat	19	10	1805	La Femme jalouse	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	458.55
Sun	20	10	1805	Phèdre	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2232.55
Mon	21	10	1805	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1587.30
Tues	22	10	1805	La Mort de Pompée	Le Babilard	619.60
Weds	23	10	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2799.45
Thurs	24	10	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	1078.50
Fri	25	10	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3357.75
Sat	26	10	1805	Le Cid	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	807.90
Sun	27	10	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2804.75
Mon	28	10	1805	Horace	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1907.70

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	29	10	1805	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Plaideurs	590.40
Weds	30	10	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1449.55
Thurs	31	10	1805	Didon	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	878.65
Fri	1	11	1805	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Deux Frères	1074.85
Sat	2	11	1805	Britannicus	L'Impatient	1208.60
Sun	3	11	1805	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Plaideurs	2201.85
Mon	4	11	1805	Phèdre	La Leçon conjugale, ou l'avis aux maris	1733.90
Tues	5	11	1805	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	460.90
Weds	6	11	1805	Œdipe	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1058.55
Thurs	7	11	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1527.10
Fri	8	11	1805	Les Templiers	Le Florentin	913.00
Sat	9	11	1805	La Femme jalouse	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	510.45
Sun	10	11	1805	Zaïre	Les Plaideurs	1808.85
Mon	11	11	1805	Mélanie, ou la religieuse	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	676.45
Tues	12	11	1805	Les Templiers	L'École des bourgeois	2477.80
Weds	13	11	1805	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Folies amoureuses	866.40
Thurs	14	11	1805	Les Pélopidès, ou Atrée et Thieste	Le Consentement forcé	1415.50
Fri	15	11	1805	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	332.55
Sat	16	11	1805	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	661.40
Sun	17	11	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1905.10
Mon	18	11	1805	Les Templiers	L'Épreuve	2247.75
Tues	19	11	1805	Ariane	Les Plaideurs	767.55
Weds	20	11	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1144.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	21	11	1805	Les Templiers	La Feinte par amour	1852.80
Fri	22	11	1805	Le Misanthrope	Amphitryon	1215.20
Sat	23	11	1805	Les Pélopidès, ou Atrée et Thieste	Les Folies amoureuses	1190.00
Sun	24	11	1805	Médée	Les Originaux	1649.20
Mon	25	11	1805	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	La Maison de Molière	1040.75
Tues	26	11	1805	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Crispin médecin	Gratis
Weds	27	11	1805	Le Bienfait anonyme	La Femme juge et partie	424.55
Thurs	28	11	1805	Les Templiers	Les Fausses Infidélités	2011.90
Fri	29	11	1805	Nicomède	L'Inconstant	1423.40
Sat	30	11	1805	Le Misanthrope	L'École des bourgeois	1036.35
Sun	1	12	1805	Les Templiers	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2715.90
Mon	2	12	1805	Le Légataire universel	Les Deux Frères	693.85
Tues	3	12	1805	Les Pélopidès, ou Atrée et Thieste	Le Confident par hasard	795.00
Weds	4	12	1805	Esther	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1850.20
Thurs	5	12	1805	Madame de Sévigné	Les Femmes	1307.80
Fri	6	12	1805	Horace	Caroline, ou le tableau	1587.65
Sat	7	12	1805	Nicomède	L'Amant bourru	1629.55
Sun	8	12	1805	Les Templiers	L'École des maris	2764.50
Mon	9	12	1805	Esther	Madame de Sévigné	1555.70
Tues	10	12	1805	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	337.10
Weds	11	12	1805	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1504.10
Thurs	12	12	1805	Dupuis et Desronais	Le Muet	324.40
Fri	13	12	1805	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	870.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	14	12	1805	Les Templiers	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1791.40
Sun	15	12	1805	Nicomède	Madame de Sévigné	2355.10
Mon	16	12	1805	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Inconstant	1008.45
Tues	17	12	1805	Amélie Mansfield	L'Avocat Patelin	2887.05
Weds	18	12	1805	Phèdre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1333.50
Thurs	19	12	1805	Amélie Mansfield	Les Plaideurs	384.70
Fri	20	12	1805	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	649.45
Sat	21	12	1805	Le Légataire universel	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	Gratis
Sun	22	12	1805	Les Templiers	Le Médecin malgré lui	2038.30
Mon	23	12	1805	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Folies amoureuses	835.90
Tues	24	12	1805	Le Distrait	Les Plaideurs	333.90
Weds	25	12	1805	Esther	Madame de Sévigné	2583.45
Thurs	26	12	1805	Tancrède	La Mère jalouse	1504.10
Fri	27	12	1805	Relâche		
Sat	28	12	1805	Les Templiers	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1752.90
Sun	29	12	1805	Esther	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1988.20
Mon	30	12	1805	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	727.00
Tues	31	12	1805	La Mort de Pompée	L'Amant bourru	678.55
Weds	1	1	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2973.10
Thurs	2	1	1806	Nicomède	Caroline, ou le tableau	1258.15
Fri	3	1	1806	L'Honnête criminel, ou l'amour filial	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	609.10
Sat	4	1	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1754.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	5	1	1806	Le Vieux Célibataire	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1680.25
Mon	6	1	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1557.10
Tues	7	1	1806	Les Templiers	Madame de Sévigné	2060.25
Weds	8	1	1806	Esther	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	1948.55
Thurs	9	1	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1445.55
Fri	10	1	1806	Tancrède	Les Fausses Infidélités	731.85
Sat	11	1	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1418.00
Sun	12	1	1806	Esther	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	2386.05
Mon	13	1	1806	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	797.90
Tues	14	1	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Médecin malgré lui	483.00
Weds	15	1	1806	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1330.10
Thurs	16	1	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	3371.90
Fri	17	1	1806	Esther	L'École des maris	1126.90
Sat	18	1	1806	Horace	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1612.30
Sun	19	1	1806	Le Cid	La Femme juge et partie	1859.70
Mon	20	1	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Sage Étourdi	3638.45
Tues	21	1	1806	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Avocat Patelin	358.45
Weds	22	1	1806	Zaïre	Le Sage Étourdi	981.75
Thurs	23	1	1806	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	1024.00
Fri	24	1	1806	Le Distrait	Les Plaideurs	339.20
Sat	25	1	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	L'Inconstant	4009.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	26	1	1806	Les Templiers	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2558.40
Mon	27	1	1806	Horace	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1718.35
Tues	28	1	1806	Le Jaloux désabusé	La Jeune Hôtesse	420.65
Weds	29	1	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Florentin	4533.90
Thurs	30	1	1806	Le Cid	L'Impatient	575.00
Fri	31	1	1806	Le Joueur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	486.90
Sat	1	2	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Français dans le Tyrol	2785.75
Sun	2	2	1806	Les Femmes savantes	Les Français dans le Tyrol	1567.00
Mon	3	2	1806	Esther	Le menteur	1265.20
Tues	4	2	1806	L'Avare	Le Marchand de Smyrne	327.55
Weds	5	2	1806	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Français dans le Tyrol	960.75
Thurs	6	2	1806	Sémiramis	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1963.05
Fri	7	2	1806	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	217.85
Sat	8	2	1806	Tancrède	L'École des bourgeois	1102.00
Sun	9	2	1806	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Malade imaginaire	2280.90
Mon	10	2	1806	Sémiramis	Le Confident par hasard	1016.55
Tues	11	2	1806	Amphitryon	Le Malade imaginaire	1595.00
Weds	12	2	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Les Plaideurs	3090.80
Thurs	13	2	1806	Le Jodelet, ou le maître valet	Madame de Sévigné	2344.20
Fri	14	2	1806	L'Amant bourru	Le Malade imaginaire	1157.90
Sat	15	2	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2361.80
Sun	16	2	1806	Esther	Le Jodelet, ou le maître valet	3018.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	17	2	1806	Nicomède	Les Originaux	2489.30
Tues	18	2	1806	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Le Malade imaginaire	3970.80
Weds	19	2	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Le Babillard	3162.05
Thurs	20	2	1806	La Gouvernante	La Mère jalouse	1087.95
Fri	21	2	1806	Nicomède	Le Sage Étourdi	1787.90
Sat	22	2	1806	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1449.95
Sun	23	2	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Les Plaideurs	3053.75
Mon	24	2	1806	Athalie – par ordre	Les Fausses Infidélités	4807.55
Tues	25	2	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Fausses Confidences	3980.50
Weds	26	2	1806	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Politique en défaut	1147.40
Thurs	27	2	1806	Gaston et Bayard	La Politique en défaut	2643.45
Fri	28	2	1806	Le Flatteur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	795.65
Sat	1	3	1806	Méropé	Le Consentement forcé	4577.60
Sun	2	3	1806	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Originaux	1579.10
Mon	3	3	1806	Esther	Le Flatteur	1870.20
Tues	4	3	1806	Le Distrait	Le Florentin	182.20
Weds	5	3	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1727.05
Thurs	6	3	1806	Les Pélopidès, ou Atrée et Thieste	Le Sage Étourdi	1153.05
Fri	7	3	1806	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Amphitryon	684.30
Sat	8	3	1806	La Mort de César	Le Flatteur	3724.40
Sun	9	3	1806	Tancrède	Les Deux Frères	2186.00
Mon	10	3	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	3208.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	11	3	1806	Turcaret	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	396.75
Weds	12	3	1806	Esther	L'Avocat	2055.00
Thurs	13	3	1806	Nicomède	L'École des bourgeois	2020.90
Fri	14	3	1806	Le Cid	L'Avocat	1760.85
Sat	15	3	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2499.10
Sun	16	3	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3033.00
Mon	17	3	1806	Le Misanthrope	L'Avocat	1859.20
Tues	18	3	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'École des maris	1428.75
Weds	19	3	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	886.20
Thurs	20	3	1806	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat	3677.90
Fri	21	3	1806	Antiochus Épiphanes	L'Avocat Patelin	3760.30
Sat	22	3	1806	Andromaque	La Pupille	2170.10
Sun	23	3	1806	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1164.85
Mon	24	3	1806	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Avocat	1526.35
Tues	25	3	1806	Le Joueur	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	533.75
Weds	26	3	1806	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Maison de Molière	942.90
Thurs	27	3	1806	Le Cid	L'Avocat	3329.00
Fri	28	3	1806	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Deux Frères	870.00
Sat	29	3	1806	Les Templiers	La Feinte par amour	1649.65
Sun	30	3	1806	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Avocat	2279.10
Mon	31	3	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	L'Épreuve	2251.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	1	4	1806	Relâche		
Weds	2	4	1806	Relâche		
Thurs	3	4	1806	Relâche		
Fri	4	4	1806	Relâche		
Sat	5	4	1806	Relâche		
Sun	6	4	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Plaideurs	2789.65
Mon	7	4	1806	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1428.70
Tues	8	4	1806	Relâche		
Weds	9	4	1806	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1452.50
Thurs	10	4	1806	Britannicus	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2195.20
Fri	11	4	1806	Esther	Le menteur	1065.65
Sat	12	4	1806	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2144.40
Sun	13	4	1806	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1957.30
Mon	14	4	1806	Le Glorieux	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	947.75
Tues	15	4	1806	Marius à Minturnes	Le Chevalier à la mode	1488.35
Weds	16	4	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Avocat	1552.70
Thurs	17	4	1806	Phèdre	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1590.55
Fri	18	4	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1751.75
Sat	19	4	1806	Le Cid	L'Avocat	1468.00
Sun	20	4	1806	Relâche		
Mon	21	4	1806	L'Avare	Crispin médecin	328.75
Tues	22	4	1806	Ariane	Le Confident par hasard	843.55
Weds	23	4	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	La Politique en défaut	1827.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	24	4	1806	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1561.20
Fri	25	4	1806	Le Joueur	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	502.85
Sat	26	4	1806	Sémiramis	L'Avocat	1283.40
Sun	27	4	1806	Madame de Sévigné	Le Chevalier à la mode	3951.10
Mon	28	4	1806	Le Distrait	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	468.10
Tues	29	4	1806	Le Glorieux	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	306.00
Weds	30	4	1806	Phèdre	L'Avocat	2241.00
Thurs	1	5	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	La Politique en défaut	1958.10
Fri	2	5	1806	Horace	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1935.65
Sat	3	5	1806	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Feinte par amour	694.40
Sun	4	5	1806	Gaston et Bayard	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1542.50
Mon	5	5	1806	Turcaret	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	363.30
Tues	6	5	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	La Gageure imprévue	1023.55
Weds	7	5	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2158.85
Thurs	8	5	1806	Bajazet	Pygmalion	1231.00
Fri	9	5	1806	Coriolan	Le Florentin	1963.55
Sat	10	5	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1185.20
Sun	11	5	1806	Zaïre	L'École des maris	868.30
Mon	12	5	1806	Coriolan	Le Babillard	1625.95
Tues	13	5	1806	Le Distrait	La Pupille	180.10
Weds	14	5	1806	Coriolan	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	1668.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	15	5	1806	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Folies amoureuses	1467.10
Fri	16	5	1806	L'Avare	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	292.10
Sat	17	5	1806	Ariane	L'Avocat	1482.00
Sun	18	5	1806	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1899.30
Mon	19	5	1806	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Plaideurs	704.20
Tues	20	5	1806	L'École des femmes	Le Marchand de Smyrne	258.90
Weds	21	5	1806	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Mère jalouse	1121.30
Thurs	22	5	1806	Coriolan	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1317.30
Fri	23	5	1806	Polyeucte martyr	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1115.20
Sat	24	5	1806	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'Avocat	892.85
Sun	25	5	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1436.50
Mon	26	5	1806	Le Joueur	Le Consentement forcé	258.10
Tues	27	5	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	399.35
Weds	28	5	1806	Athalie	Le Florentin	2737.80
Thurs	29	5	1806	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	355.65
Fri	30	5	1806	Athalie	Le Médecin malgré lui	1678.10
Sat	31	5	1806	Polyeucte martyr	L'Impatient	685.60
Sun	1	6	1806	Le Légataire universel	La Feinte par amour	879.20
Mon	2	6	1806	Athalie	Les Fausses Infidélités	1610.55
Tues	3	6	1806	La Métromanie, ou le poète	La Pupille	206.40
Weds	4	6	1806	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	716.00
Thurs	5	6	1806	Andromaque	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2718.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	6	6	1806	Ariane	L'Avocat	862.00
Sat	7	6	1806	Nicomède	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1519.65
Sun	8	6	1806	Le Jaloux désabusé	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	347.45
Mon	9	6	1806	La Feinte par amour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1712.90
Tues	10	6	1806	Relâche		
Weds	11	6	1806	L'École des maris	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1560.60
Thurs	12	6	1806	Sémiramis	Le Marchand de Smyrne	563.70
Fri	13	6	1806	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1906.90
Sat	14	6	1806	Relâche		
Sun	15	6	1806	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	469.10
Mon	16	6	1806	La Mère Jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1986.15
Tues	17	6	1806	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	130.00
Weds	18	6	1806	Les Plaideurs	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1993.90
Thurs	19	6	1806	Ariane	Pygmalion	740.50
Fri	20	6	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	347.90
Sat	21	6	1806	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2272.20
Sun	22	6	1806	La Feinte par amour	Les Fausses Infidélités	186.90
Mon	23	6	1806	L'École des bourgeois	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1841.30
Tues	24	6	1806	Le Distrait	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	178.90
Weds	25	6	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Le Florentin	5608.15
Thurs	26	6	1806	Bajazet	Les Fausses Infidélités	387.10
Fri	27	6	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Le Médecin malgré lui	3537.60
Sat	28	6	1806	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2009.90

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	29	6	1806	Turcaret	Les Originaux	293.40
Mon	30	6	1806	L'École des femmes	Le Marchand de Smyrne	161.00
Tues	1	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	3512.00
Weds	2	7	1806	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Folies amoureuses	554.85
Thurs	3	7	1806	Le Légataire universel	Heureusement	203.40
Fri	4	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Crispin médecin	2467.80
Sat	5	7	1806	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1356.55
Sun	6	7	1806	Bajazet	L'Avocat Patelin	495.65
Mon	7	7	1806	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Madame de Sévigné	1282.40
Tues	8	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2816.10
Weds	9	7	1806	Les Femmes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1446.45
Thurs	10	7	1806	Relâche		
Fri	11	7	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Jeune Hôtesse	363.20
Sat	12	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	La Pupille	1924.30
Sun	13	7	1806	Le Légataire universel	Heureusement	201.45
Mon	14	7	1806	Esther	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1363.55
Tues	15	7	1806	Relâche		
Weds	16	7	1806	Relâche		
Thurs	17	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Le Consentement forcé	2124.20
Fri	18	7	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	353.55
Sat	19	7	1806	Le Chevalier à la mode	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2213.00
Sun	20	7	1806	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1634.00
Mon	21	7	1806	Phèdre	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1458.70

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	22	7	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Plaideurs	268.75
Weds	23	7	1806	Le Cid	Le Procureur arbitre	753.20
Thurs	24	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Heureusement	2039.40
Fri	25	7	1806	Nicomède	Les Fausses Infidélités	925.40
Sat	26	7	1806	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	La Jeunesse de Henry V	984.45
Sun	27	7	1806	L'École des femmes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	226.00
Mon	28	7	1806	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1100.25
Tues	29	7	1806	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	449.55
Weds	30	7	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1552.30
Thurs	31	7	1806	Relâche		
Fri	1	8	1806	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Heureusement	898.00
Sat	2	8	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	La Capricieuse	425.20
Sun	3	8	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2264.20
Mon	4	8	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2086.40
Tues	5	8	1806	Phèdre	La Capricieuse	2538.10
Weds	6	8	1806	Zaïre	Les Dangers de l'absence, ou le souper de famille	682.90
Thurs	7	8	1806	Relâche		
Fri	8	8	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Madame de Sévigné	2004.30
Sat	9	8	1806	Le Muet	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	260.00
Sun	10	8	1806	La Gouvernante	Le Legs	747.10
Mon	11	8	1806	Relâche		
Tues	12	8	1806	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	254.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	13	8	1806	Polyeucte martyr	L'Avocat Patelin	1260.90
Thurs	14	8	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	Gratis
Fri	15	8	1806	Relâche		
Sat	16	8	1806	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1928.20
Sun	17	8	1806	Polyeucte martyr	La Jeune Hôtesse	976.55
Mon	18	8	1806	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Deux Frères	958.85
Tues	19	8	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Le Médecin malgré lui	929.45
Weds	20	8	1806	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1905.75
Thurs	21	8	1806	Le Muet	Les Plaideurs	457.75
Fri	22	8	1806	Phèdre	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1330.35
Sat	23	8	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1734.20
Sun	24	8	1806	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1549.30
Mon	25	8	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1270.60
Tues	26	8	1806	Mithridate	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1409.10
Weds	27	8	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2011.20
Thurs	28	8	1806	Relâche		
Fri	29	8	1806	La Gouvernante	Minuit	730.35
Sat	30	8	1806	Les Deux Frères	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1132.35
Sun	31	8	1806	Andromaque	Le Médecin malgré lui	1618.45
Mon	1	9	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	La Mère jalouse	2167.90
Tues	2	9	1806	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	270.65
Weds	3	9	1806	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1339.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	4	9	1806	Relâche		
Fri	5	9	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Pupille	267.65
Sat	6	9	1806	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	229.85
Sun	7	9	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Les Plaideurs	1172.10
Mon	8	9	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	324.55
Tues	9	9	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Originaux	1657.50
Weds	10	9	1806	L'Avare	Le Consentement forcé	424.75
Thurs	11	9	1806	Mithridate	Heureusement	1345.05
Fri	12	9	1806	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	256.30
Sat	13	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Médecin malgré lui	4787.00
Sun	14	9	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1333.30
Mon	15	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Florentin	2958.70
Tues	16	9	1806	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Pupille	303.10
Weds	17	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Heureusement	2967.80
Thurs	18	9	1806	Relâche		
Fri	19	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2573.00
Sat	20	9	1806	Les Femmes savantes	La Gageure imprévue	3184.80
Sun	21	9	1806	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat Patelin	947.30
Mon	22	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Trois Frères rivaux	2496.60
Tues	23	9	1806	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	766.75
Weds	24	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'École des maris	3064.20
Thurs	25	9	1806	Les Femmes savantes	La Gageure imprévue	2329.95
Fri	26	9	1806	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Minuit	1216.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	27	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Originaux	2422.95
Sun	28	9	1806	Mithridate	Les Plaideurs	1042.30
Mon	29	9	1806	La Gouvernante	L'Esprit de contradiction	526.45
Tues	30	9	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Minuit	1908.05
Weds	1	10	1806	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Consentement forcé	808.65
Thurs	2	10	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	450.55
Fri	3	10	1806	Horace	Le Cocher supposé	1862.55
Sat	4	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'Épreuve	2610.55
Sun	5	10	1806	Horace	Les Originaux	2249.40
Mon	6	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2338.75
Tues	7	10	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Marchand de Smyrne	318.70
Weds	8	10	1806	La Femme jalouse	Les Fausses Infidélités	1514.50
Thurs	9	10	1806	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Minuit	430.85
Fri	10	10	1806	Les Templiers	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2260.50
Sat	11	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'École des maris	2396.30
Sun	12	10	1806	Bajazet	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1129.10
Mon	13	10	1806	La Femme jalouse	La Pupille	1013.00
Tues	14	10	1806	Athalie	Le Marchand de Smyrne	2868.90
Weds	15	10	1806	Nicomède	Minuit	1233.30
Thurs	16	10	1806	Athalie	L'Épreuve	2656.85
Fri	17	10	1806	Mélanide	Les Plaideurs	227.00
Sat	18	10	1806	Gaston et Bayard	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1450.80
Sun	19	10	1806	Athalie	Les Originaux	3057.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	20	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2256.30
Tues	21	10	1806	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	385.00
Weds	22	10	1806	Le Misanthrope	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2555.85
Thurs	23	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1711.30
Fri	24	10	1806	Phèdre	Les Plaideurs	1146.20
Sat	25	10	1806	Le Misanthrope	L'Esprit de contradiction	1399.55
Sun	26	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2628.05
Mon	27	10	1806	Athalie	Minuit	1921.90
Tues	28	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1009.95
Weds	29	10	1806	Gaston et Bayard	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1592.30
Thurs	30	10	1806	Athalie	Le Consentement forcé	2065.20
Fri	31	10	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1526.20
Sat	1	11	1806	Les Templiers	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2411.65
Sun	2	11	1806	Phèdre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1777.30
Mon	3	11	1806	Athalie	L'École des maris	1500.75
Tues	4	11	1806	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Marchand de Smyrne	224.30
Weds	5	11	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Le Legs	1851.75
Thurs	6	11	1806	Esther	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	1720.80
Fri	7	11	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Caroline, ou le tableau	2322.65
Sat	8	11	1806	Le Misanthrope	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1683.30
Sun	9	11	1806	Athalie	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2175.30
Mon	10	11	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2041.40
Tues	11	11	1806	Les Templiers	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1143.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	12	11	1806	L'Avare	Le Marchand de Smyrne	315.85
Thurs	13	11	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1830.20
Fri	14	11	1806	Phèdre	Minuit	925.00
Sat	15	11	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'Épreuve	1726.30
Sun	16	11	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	L'École des maris	2703.75
Mon	17	11	1806	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2065.60
Tues	18	11	1806	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	288.20
Weds	19	11	1806	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1289.55
Thurs	20	11	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	La Pupille	1934.10
Fri	21	11	1806	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	286.90
Sat	22	11	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Folies amoureuses	1660.25
Sun	23	11	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2008.95
Mon	24	11	1806	Bajazet	Les Plaideurs	763.60
Tues	25	11	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1667.00
Weds	26	11	1806	Horace	Les Faux Somnambules	2090.00
Thurs	27	11	1806	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2476.10
Fri	28	11	1806	Athalie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1200.80
Sat	29	11	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1384.20
Sun	30	11	1806	Horace	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2200.30
Mon	1	12	1806	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin médecin	243.60
Tues	2	12	1806	La Mort de Pompée	La Jeune Hôtesse	1086.90
Weds	3	12	1806	Le Misanthrope	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1400.80
Thurs	4	12	1806	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	1189.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	5	12	1806	Relâche		
Sat	6	12	1806	Athalie	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1631.20
Sun	7	12	1806	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1576.20
Mon	8	12	1806	Nicomède	L'Avocat	1573.55
Tues	9	12	1806	Octavie	Le Florentin	4752.25
Weds	10	12	1806	Le Père de famille	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	729.75
Thurs	11	12	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	L'École des maris	1416.00
Fri	12	12	1806	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	200.55
Sat	13	12	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1570.65
Sun	14	12	1806	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Avocat	2343.10
Mon	15	12	1806	Manlius Capitolinus	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1658.30
Tues	16	12	1806	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'Épreuve	1172.20
Weds	17	12	1806	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	1287.45
Thurs	18	12	1806	Horace	L'Avocat	1457.05
Fri	19	12	1806	Le Jaloux désabusé	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	225.45
Sat	20	12	1806	La Mort de Henry IV	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	952.10
Sun	21	12	1806	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	L'Avocat	1346.75
Mon	22	12	1806	Venceslas	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2119.40
Tues	23	12	1806	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	378.00
Weds	24	12	1806	Le Glorieux	L'Épreuve	2213.50
Thurs	25	12	1806	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	1967.75
Fri	26	12	1806	Venceslas	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1428.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	27	12	1806	Le Glorieux	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1331.40
Sun	28	12	1806	Andromaque	Les Deux Frères	2804.20
Mon	29	12	1806	Les Femmes savantes	La Gageure imprévue	1402.30
Tues	30	12	1806	Athalie	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1036.40
Weds	31	12	1806	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	686.65
Thurs	1	1	1807	Agamemnon	Minuit	2248.00
Fri	2	1	1807	Les Deux Frères	Le Malade imaginaire	1138.75
Sat	3	1	1807	Phèdre	Le Parleur contrarié	1682.80
Sun	4	1	1807	Zaïre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1718.40
Mon	5	1	1807	Agamemnon	Le Parleur contrarié	1623.30
Tues	6	1	1807	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	Le Malade imaginaire	747.40
Weds	7	1	1807	Venceslas	Le Parleur contrarié	2360.25
Thurs	8	1	1807	Le Glorieux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1029.40
Fri	9	1	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Parleur contrarié	1846.65
Sat	10	1	1807	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	856.20
Sun	11	1	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	2008.45
Mon	12	1	1807	Horace	Le Parleur contrarié	1322.20
Tues	13	1	1807	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	305.30
Weds	14	1	1807	Venceslas	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1523.40
Thurs	15	1	1807	La Gouvernante	Le Malade imaginaire	974.40
Fri	16	1	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Jeune Hôtesse	1016.50
Sat	17	1	1807	Nicomède	L'École des maris	1429.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	18	1	1807	Ariane	Le Malade imaginaire	2391.70
Mon	19	1	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	1503.10
Tues	20	1	1807	Esther	L'Intrigue épistolaire	1167.85
Weds	21	1	1807	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1042.15
Thurs	22	1	1807	Venceslas	L'Épreuve	1324.10
Fri	23	1	1807	La Mort de Pompée	Les Plaideurs	3420.45
Sat	24	1	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Caroline, ou le tableau	865.55
Sun	25	1	1807	Mithridate	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1126.85
Mon	26	1	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Esprit de contradiction	1875.75
Tues	27	1	1807	Didon	Le Malade imaginaire	1061.70
Weds	28	1	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Shakespeare amoureux, ou la pièce à l'étude	2414.50
Thurs	29	1	1807	Agamemnon	Le Parleur contrarié	1688.85
Fri	30	1	1807	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Parleur contrarié	752.55
Sat	31	1	1807	La Mort de Pompée	L'Amant bourru	1299.95
Sun	1	2	1807	Nicomède	Les Folies amoureuses	1623.00
Mon	2	2	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2145.20
Tues	3	2	1807	Les Femmes savantes	L'Amant bourru	1554.50
Weds	4	2	1807	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1201.85
Thurs	5	2	1807	Tancrède	Les Vendanges de Suresne	1516.40
Fri	6	2	1807	Le Légataire universel	Le Florentin	368.45
Sat	7	2	1807	Le Jaloux désabusé	La Pupille	295.85
Sun	8	2	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Vendanges de Suresne	2319.45
Mon	9	2	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Souper imprévu, ou la chanoine de Milan	2783.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	10	2	1807	Le Malade imaginaire	Les Vendanges de Suresne	3410.60
Weds	11	2	1807	Phèdre	Le Souper imprévu, ou la chanoine de Milan	1420.30
Thurs	12	2	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Avocat	2038.10
Fri	13	2	1807	Bérénice	Le Souper imprévu, ou la chanoine de Milan	1841.35
Sat	14	2	1807	La Gouvernante	L'Amant bourru	1582.30
Sun	15	2	1807	Athalie	Le Souper imprévu, ou la chanoine de Milan	3438.60
Mon	16	2	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	557.40
Tues	17	2	1807	Mithridate	L'Esprit de contradiction	445.30
Weds	18	2	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Amant bourru	2137.30
Thurs	19	2	1807	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Souper imprévu, ou la chanoine de Milan	612.65
Fri	20	2	1807	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	328.50
Sat	21	2	1807	La Mort de Pompée	L'Esprit de contradiction	736.75
Sun	22	2	1807	Horace	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2293.20
Mon	23	2	1807	Les Deux Frères	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	500.85
Tues	24	2	1807	Athalie	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2767.00
Weds	25	2	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3798.65
Thurs	26	2	1807	La Veuve du Malabar, ou l'empire des coutumes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	868.95
Fri	27	2	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	Le Florentin	4428.85
Sat	28	2	1807	Phèdre	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	767.50
Sun	1	3	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Parleur contrarié	2430.80
Mon	2	3	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1919.85
Tues	3	3	1807	L'Avare	L'École des maris	552.45
Weds	4	3	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2413.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	5	3	1807	Le Malade imaginaire	L'Esprit de contradiction	726.65
Fri	6	3	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1952.45
Sat	7	3	1807	Relâche		
Sun	8	3	1807	Zaïre	Le Parleur contrarié	1704.10
Mon	9	3	1807	Phèdre	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	810.30
Tues	10	3	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	2054.95
Weds	11	3	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	L'École des bourgeois	2669.35
Thurs	12	3	1807	Horace	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1280.55
Fri	13	3	1807	Le Jaloux désabusé	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	200.40
Sat	14	3	1807	Bajazet	Minuit	510.40
Sun	15	3	1807	La Veuve du Malabar, ou l'empire des coutumes	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1786.40
Mon	16	3	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Legs	1796.75
Tues	17	3	1807	Relâche		
Weds	18	3	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Jeune Hôtesse	1665.75
Thurs	19	3	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	La Feinte par amour	2029.65
Fri	20	3	1807	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	184.95
Sat	21	3	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	Les Plaideurs	1332.30
Sun	22	3	1807	Tancrède	Les Originaux	1309.65
Mon	23	3	1807	Le Mariage fait et rompu, ou l'hôtesse de Marseille	Le Malade imaginaire	443.45
Tues	24	3	1807	Relâche		
Weds	25	3	1807	Relâche		
Thurs	26	3	1807	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	27	3	1807	Relâche		
Sat	28	3	1807	Relâche		
Sun	29	3	1807	Nicomède		
Mon	30	3	1807	Le Cid	Le Parleur contrarié	2311.20
Tues	31	3	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Heureusement	876.80
Weds	1	4	1807	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2589.40
Thurs	2	4	1807	Le Comte d'Essex	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3215.00
Fri	3	4	1807	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Florentin	2174.70
Sat	4	4	1807	Pyrrhus, ou les Éacides	L'École des maris	494.20
Sun	5	4	1807	Phèdre	Le Parleur contrarié	1654.55
Mon	6	4	1807	Le Comte d'Essex	Madame de Sévigné	2576.00
Tues	7	4	1807	Andromaque	Dupuis et Desronais	1321.35
Weds	8	4	1807	L'École des femmes	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3004.20
Thurs	9	4	1807	La Coquette corrigée	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	268.85
Fri	10	4	1807	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2705.75
Sat	11	4	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	684.55
Sun	12	4	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2174.70
Mon	13	4	1807	Le Chevalier à la mode	Minuit	2346.85
Tues	14	4	1807	Le Cid	Les Femmes	2422.30
Weds	15	4	1807	Relâche	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	978.75
Thurs	16	4	1807	L'Avare		
Fri	17	4	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste		
Sat	18	4	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune		
					Minuit	290.75
					L'École des bourgeois	1806.40
					La Jeunesse de Henry V	2846.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	19	4	1807	Phèdre	Les Deux Frères	2103.85
Mon	20	4	1807	Bajazet	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	498.65
Tues	21	4	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	380.85
Weds	22	4	1807	La Gouvernante	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1768.40
Thurs	23	4	1807	Tancrède	La Pupille	999.00
Fri	24	4	1807	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	238.20
Sat	25	4	1807	La Gouvernante	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1710.65
Sun	26	4	1807	Athalie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2241.50
Mon	27	4	1807	L'École des femmes	Minuit	182.95
Tues	28	4	1807	Horace	Caroline, ou le tableau	1223.85
Weds	29	4	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1450.30
Thurs	30	4	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1665.00
Fri	1	5	1807	Athalie	L'Épreuve	961.30
Sat	2	5	1807	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Jeunesse de Henry V	823.55
Sun	3	5	1807	Sémiramis	L'École des maris	1294.85
Mon	4	5	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Originaux	805.20
Tues	5	5	1807	Ariane	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	486.95
Weds	6	5	1807	La Femme juge et partie	La Jeunesse de Henry V	942.50
Thurs	7	5	1807	Nicomède	Les Originaux	2387.65
Fri	8	5	1807	Didon	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	521.85
Sat	9	5	1807	Le Distract	L'Avocat	814.85
Sun	10	5	1807	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1624.75
Mon	11	5	1807	Le Distract	Les Deux Frères	830.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	12	5	1807	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	446.85
Weds	13	5	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Le Parleur contrarié	1569.20
Thurs	14	5	1807	Le Chevalier à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2299.40
Fri	15	5	1807	Venceslas	Minuit	999.85
Sat	16	5	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1306.10
Sun	17	5	1807	Athalie	La Jeune Hôtesse	1325.65
Mon	18	5	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Femmes	117.65
Tues	19	5	1807	Tancrède	Le Florentin	655.75
Weds	20	5	1807	Mithridate	La Pupille	1183.50
Thurs	21	5	1807	Relâche		
Fri	22	5	1807	Phèdre	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	703.30
Sat	23	5	1807	Hamlet	Les Originaux	2712.15
Sun	24	5	1807	Mithridate	La Jeune Hôtesse	379.40
Mon	25	5	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	237.60
Tues	26	5	1807	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Madame de Sévigné	1257.45
Weds	27	5	1807	Hamlet	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2656.70
Thurs	28	5	1807	Relâche		
Fri	29	5	1807	Gaston et Bayard	L'École des maris	1402.10
Sat	30	5	1807	Horace	Le Parleur contrarié	1577.10
Sun	31	5	1807	L'Orphelin de la Chine	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2824.00
Mon	1	6	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'Épreuve	1200.05
Tues	2	6	1807	Phèdre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	730.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	3	6	1807	Le Menteur	Les Femmes	1420.95
Thurs	4	6	1807	Hamlet	L'Impatient	3592.25
Fri	5	6	1807	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	454.10
Sat	6	6	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Procureur arbitre	1572.10
Sun	7	6	1807	La Femme juge et partie	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	525.65
Mon	8	6	1807	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	440.45
Tues	9	6	1807	Hamlet	Le Florentin	2687.95
Weds	10	6	1807	Didon	L'Avocat	723.55
Thurs	11	6	1807	Relâche		
Fri	12	6	1807	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Projets d'enlèvement	1327.10
Sat	13	6	1807	Ariane	L'Épreuve	666.10
Sun	14	6	1807	Sémiramis	La Pupille	675.75
Mon	15	6	1807	Le Menteur	L'École des maris	331.35
Tues	16	6	1807	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	185.00
Weds	17	6	1807	Andromaque	Heureusement	3313.65
Thurs	18	6	1807	La Coquette corrigée	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	980.85
Fri	19	6	1807	Tancrède	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1059.85
Sat	20	6	1807	Hamlet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2500.00
Sun	21	6	1807	La Femme juge et partie	L'Amant bourru	507.75
Mon	22	6	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Jeune Hôtesse	884.75
Tues	23	6	1807	Le Distrait	Les Originaux	264.10
Weds	24	6	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1816.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	25	6	1807	Mithridate	L'Amant bourru	965.65
Fri	26	6	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'École des maris	216.10
Sat	27	6	1807	La Mort de Duguesclin	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1448.80
Sun	28	6	1807	Hamlet	Le Florentin	1553.00
Mon	29	6	1807	Andromaque	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	568.10
Tues	30	6	1807	Les Femmes savantes	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	639.75
Weds	1	7	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat	860.10
Thurs	2	7	1807	L'Avare	L'Esprit de contradiction	304.55
Fri	3	7	1807	Relâche		
Sat	4	7	1807	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Madame de Sévigné	895.50
Sun	5	7	1807	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	641.55
Mon	6	7	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1175.75
Tues	7	7	1807	Le Glorieux	Minuit	317.00
Weds	8	7	1807	Mithridate	Le Parleur contrarié	822.75
Thurs	9	7	1807	Ésope à la cour	L'Épreuve	627.75
Fri	10	7	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Les Deux Frères	627.95
Sat	11	7	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Florentin	893.50
Sun	12	7	1807	Ésope à la cour	Caroline, ou le tableau	575.20
Mon	13	7	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	373.85
Tues	14	7	1807	Relâche		
Weds	15	7	1807	Coriolan	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	585.30
Thurs	16	7	1807	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	698.65
Fri	17	7	1807	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	18	7	1807	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	575.55
Sun	19	7	1807	Gaston et Bayard	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	732.20
Mon	20	7	1807	Le Distrait	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	257.00
Tues	21	7	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'École des bourgeois	777.60
Weds	22	7	1807	Coriolan	La Pupille	346.50
Thurs	23	7	1807	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Esprit de contradiction	280.10
Fri	24	7	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	635.30
Sat	25	7	1807	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être		1527.40
Sun	26	7	1807	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Folies amoureuses	490.95
Mon	27	7	1807	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Parleur contrarié	319.45
Tues	28	7	1807	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	
Weds	29	7	1807	Phèdre	Les Folies amoureuses	904.45
Thurs	30	7	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Originaux	896.65
Fri	31	7	1807	Relâche	L'Amant bourru	1081.85
Sat	1	8	1807	Œdipe		
Sun	2	8	1807	Les Deux Frères	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1196.45
Mon	3	8	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	490.10
Tues	4	8	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Amant bourru	1691.85
Weds	5	8	1807	Œdipe	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	239.00
Thurs	6	8	1807	Bajazet	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	438.85
Fri	7	8	1807	Andromaque	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	401.10
					La Pupille	539.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	8	8	1807	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	219.75
Sun	9	8	1807	Andromaque	Les Plaideurs	872.75
Mon	10	8	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1659.35
Tues	11	8	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	722.20
Weds	12	8	1807	La Coquette corrigée	Les Folies amoureuses	858.20
Thurs	13	8	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	518.40
Fri	14	8	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	Gratis
Sat	15	8	1807	Relâche		
Sun	16	8	1807	Relâche		
Mon	17	8	1807	Zaïre	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1879.30
Tues	18	8	1807	Coriolan	L'Épreuve	473.65
Weds	19	8	1807	Le Misanthrope	Les Folies amoureuses	967.55
Thurs	20	8	1807	Andromaque	Minuit	1140.50
Fri	21	8	1807	L'Avare	L'Esprit de contradiction	430.50
Sat	22	8	1807	Phèdre	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	859.65
Sun	23	8	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'École des maris	782.10
Mon	24	8	1807	Sémiramis	La Jeune Hôtesse	712.95
Tues	25	8	1807	Bajazet	Heureusement	343.00
Weds	26	8	1807	Les Deux Frères	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	386.50
Thurs	27	8	1807	Le Légataire universel	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	189.65
Fri	28	8	1807	Relâche		
Sat	29	8	1807	Venceslas		
Sun	30	8	1807	Les Femmes savantes	L'Épreuve	1039.65
					Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	902.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	31	8	1807	Le Misanthrope	L'Esprit de contradiction	1566.50
Tues	1	9	1807	L'École des maris	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	384.50
Weds	2	9	1807	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Folies amoureuses	1835.25
Thurs	3	9	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	La Jeune Hôtesse	1060.00
Fri	4	9	1807	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	210.85
Sat	5	9	1807	Nicomède	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1049.85
Sun	6	9	1807	Venceslas	Les Plaideurs	1845.10
Mon	7	9	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Femmes	1651.45
Tues	8	9	1807	Abdelazis et Zuleima	L'École des maris	922.90
Weds	9	9	1807	Relâche		
Thurs	10	9	1807	Abdelazis et Zuleima	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1289.50
Fri	11	9	1807	Le Chevalier à la mode	L'Heureuse Erreur	1233.75
Sat	12	9	1807	Abdelazis et Zuleima	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1235.30
Sun	13	9	1807	Phèdre	L'École des bourgeois	1760.95
Mon	14	9	1807	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	481.85
Tues	15	9	1807	Abdelazis et Zuleima	La Pupille	607.40
Weds	16	9	1807	Les Femmes savantes	L'Épreuve	1098.10
Thurs	17	9	1807	Relâche		
Fri	18	9	1807	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	673.55
Sat	19	9	1807	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	5204.20
Sun	20	9	1807	Abdelazis et Zuleima	Les Folies amoureuses	962.00
Mon	21	9	1807	Œdipe	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3693.20
Tues	22	9	1807	Le Menteur	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	865.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	23	9	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3046.80
Thurs	24	9	1807	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	901.50
Fri	25	9	1807	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Esprit de contradiction	313.20
Sat	26	9	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1450.10
Sun	27	9	1807	Nicomède	Les Originaux	3427.00
Mon	28	9	1807	Bajazet	Les Folies amoureuses	1047.65
Tues	29	9	1807	Le Cid	L'École des maris	822.00
Weds	30	9	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Heureusement	1084.55
Thurs	1	10	1807	Tancrède	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	1239.70
Fri	2	10	1807	Relâche		
Sat	3	10	1807	Le Légataire universel	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	410.30
Sun	4	10	1807	Zaïre	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1673.95
Mon	5	10	1807	La Gouvernante	Madame de Sévigné	2572.70
Tues	6	10	1807	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Infidélités	939.00
Weds	7	10	1807	Abdélazis et Zuleïma	Heureusement	505.00
Thurs	8	10	1807	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Pupille	1567.80
Fri	9	10	1807	Relâche		
Sat	10	10	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2809.40
Sun	11	10	1807	Nicomède	Dupuis et Desronais	3131.75
Mon	12	10	1807	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1891.50
Tues	13	10	1807	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	Gratis
Weds	14	10	1807	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	15	10	1807	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1273.30
Fri	16	10	1807	Didon	Heureusement	839.60
Sat	17	10	1807	La Gouvernante	Les Deux Frères	1202.20
Sun	18	10	1807	Tancrède	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2473.05
Mon	19	10	1807	La Coquette corrigée	L'Heureuse Erreur	1267.50
Tues	20	10	1807	Mithridate	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1191.85
Weds	21	10	1807	Le Chevalier à la mode	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2272.95
Thurs	22	10	1807	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Florentin	1303.50
Fri	23	10	1807	Le Légataire universel	La Pupille	485.75
Sat	24	10	1807	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1563.10
Sun	25	10	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	La Jeunesse de Henry V	4204.85
Mon	26	10	1807	Sémiramis	Minuit	1236.15
Tues	27	10	1807	Abdélazis et Zuleima	Le Parleur contrarié	636.90
Weds	28	10	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	L'Heureuse Erreur	935.85
Thurs	29	10	1807	L'École des mères	L'Épreuve	1786.85
Fri	30	10	1807	Esther	La Femme juge et partie	2307.75
Sat	31	10	1807	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1113.30
Sun	1	11	1807	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2254.75
Mon	2	11	1807	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'Esprit de contradiction	727.40
Tues	3	11	1807	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1389.45
Weds	4	11	1807	Mithridate	Heureusement	824.30
Thurs	5	11	1807	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Amant bourru	1382.30
Fri	6	11	1807	Le Menteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1434.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	7	11	1807	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	377.40
Sun	8	11	1807	Gaston et Bayard	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2130.75
Mon	9	11	1807	L'École des mères	L'École des bourgeois	2441.55
Tues	10	11	1807	Relâche		
Weds	11	11	1807	Zaïre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1820.35
Thurs	12	11	1807	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	1564.55
Fri	13	11	1807	Turcaret	Le Legs	1112.40
Sat	14	11	1807	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	192.75
Sun	15	11	1807	Phèdre	L'Avocat	1896.65
Mon	16	11	1807	La Gouvernante	La Jeune Hôtesse	599.10
Tues	17	11	1807	Le Distrait	Le Médecin malgré lui	431.95
Weds	18	11	1807	L'École des mères	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1373.40
Thurs	19	11	1807	Œdipe	L'Avocat	2662.55
Fri	20	11	1807	Mithridate	Les Plaideurs	784.45
Sat	21	11	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Minuit	1992.50
Sun	22	11	1807	L'École des mères	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2818.50
Mon	23	11	1807	Les Châteaux en Espagne	L'École des bourgeois	1680.90
Tues	24	11	1807	Les Précepteurs	L'Épreuve	941.00
Weds	25	11	1807	Le Cid	L'Amant bourru	1879.95
Thurs	26	11	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Les Folies amoureuses	Gratits
Fri	27	11	1807	Relâche		
Sat	28	11	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Bruis et Palaprat	4159.90
Sun	29	11	1807	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2528.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	30	11	1807	Horace	Bruis et Palaprat	2416.65
Tues	1	12	1807	Le Glorieux	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	676.00
Weds	2	12	1807	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2492.15
Thurs	3	12	1807	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Bruis et Palaprat	3010.50
Fri	4	12	1807	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	320.95
Sat	5	12	1807	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2987.35
Sun	6	12	1807	Nicomède	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3184.20
Mon	7	12	1807	Tancrède	Bruis et Palaprat	1624.20
Tues	8	12	1807	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Pupille	620.40
Weds	9	12	1807	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Bruis et Palaprat	2970.15
Thurs	10	12	1807	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	536.55
Fri	11	12	1807	Relâche		
Sat	12	12	1807	Gaston et Bayard	Le Paravent	1861.25
Sun	13	12	1807	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Bruis et Palaprat	3739.80
Mon	14	12	1807	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Paravent	1298.85
Tues	15	12	1807	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Folies amoureuses	1349.00
Weds	16	12	1807	Athalie	Le Paravent	3285.85
Thurs	17	12	1807	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1010.40
Fri	18	12	1807	Ariane	La Pupille	353.10
Sat	19	12	1807	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Crispin médecin	1624.70
Sun	20	12	1807	Athalie	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2848.50
Mon	21	12	1807	Manlius Capitolinus	Bruis et Palaprat	2645.00
Tues	22	12	1807	Le Joueur	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	879.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	23	12	1807	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Les Fourberies de Scapin	920.20
Thurs	24	12	1807	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Paravent	935.75
Fri	25	12	1807	Phèdre	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3204.40
Sat	26	12	1807	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Bruis et Palaprat	1426.30
Sun	27	12	1807	Venceslas	Les Deux Frères	2112.85
Mon	28	12	1807	L'École des mères	Bruis et Palaprat	1237.45
Tues	29	12	1807	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	458.20
Weds	30	12	1807	La Mort de Pompée	Le Paravent	1680.75
Thurs	31	12	1807	Iphigénie en Tauride	Minuit	2249.85
Fri	1	1	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3210.20
Sat	2	1	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2726.85
Sun	3	1	1808	Esther	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	2489.50
Mon	4	1	1808	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Bruis et Palaprat	1410.45
Tues	5	1	1808	Turcaret	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	952.50
Weds	6	1	1808	Iphigénie en Tauride	Le Malade imaginaire	3273.30
Thurs	7	1	1808	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Bruis et Palaprat	3163.00
Fri	8	1	1808	Le Misanthrope	L'Avocat	1263.10
Sat	9	1	1808	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1686.50
Sun	10	1	1808	Le Chevalier à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3293.50
Mon	11	1	1808	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	675.85
Tues	12	1	1808	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Paravent	2207.90
Weds	13	1	1808	La Femme jalouse	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1635.35

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	14	1	1808	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	L'Impatient	2758.50
Fri	15	1	1808	Le Distrait	Le Paravent	520.00
Sat	16	1	1808	Le Légataire universel	La Pupille	369.85
Sun	17	1	1808	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3247.75
Mon	18	1	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1474.10
Tues	19	1	1808	Phèdre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1886.55
Weds	20	1	1808	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	4195.25
Thurs	21	1	1808	Mithridate	Le Florentin	1054.65
Fri	22	1	1808	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2445.95
Sat	23	1	1808	Le Légataire universel	L'Épreuve	199.30
Sun	24	1	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	2370.25
Mon	25	1	1808	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	Les Deux Frères	1922.00
Tues	26	1	1808	Le Cid	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1538.45
Weds	27	1	1808	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	L'Avocat	1557.30
Thurs	28	1	1808	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Madame de Sévigné	1890.55
Fri	29	1	1808	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	Le Distrait	1167.00
Sat	30	1	1808	Mithridate	Heureusement	415.20
Sun	31	1	1808	Horace	Amphitryon	4127.95
Mon	1	2	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3072.90
Tues	2	2	1808	Andromaque	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1860.55
Weds	3	2	1808	Blanche de Montcassin, ou les Vénitiens	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	2369.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	4	2	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1728.55
Fri	5	2	1808	Tancrède	Le Parleur contrarié	1209.30
Sat	6	2	1808	L'École des femmes	La Jeune Hôtesse	447.65
Sun	7	2	1808	Zaïre	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3610.95
Mon	8	2	1808	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	974.50
Tues	9	2	1808	Le Légataire universel	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	255.20
Weds	10	2	1808	Les Femmes savantes	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2604.25
Thurs	11	2	1808	Britannicus	L'Amant bourru	3729.45
Fri	12	2	1808	Turcaret	Les Folies amoureuses	834.00
Sat	13	2	1808	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Florentin	1100.55
Sun	14	2	1808	Athalie	Le Malade imaginaire	4235.85
Mon	15	2	1808	Le Festin de Pierre	L'Amant bourru	1120.25
Tues	16	2	1808	Le Cid	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1443.00
Weds	17	2	1808	Andromaque	L'École des maris	3760.95
Thurs	18	2	1808	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Bruis et Palaprat	2086.10
Fri	19	2	1808	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	387.00
Sat	20	2	1808	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	316.85
Sun	21	2	1808	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Amphitryon	3126.10
Mon	22	2	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3170.40
Tues	23	2	1808	La Gouvernante	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	1066.20
Weds	24	2	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Folies amoureuses	2711.40
Thurs	25	2	1808	Horace	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2745.50
Fri	26	2	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	4920.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	27	2	1808	Andromaque	L'École des maris	2663.95
Sun	28	2	1808	Médée	Les Plaideurs	2274.40
Mon	29	2	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Fourberies de Scapin	4799.15
Tues	1	3	1808	Le Cid	Le Malade imaginaire	4148.30
Weds	2	3	1808	Nicomède	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2703.65
Thurs	3	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Florentin	4750.80
Fri	4	3	1808	Mithridate	Le Médecin malgré lui	1152.20
Sat	5	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	4281.40
Sun	6	3	1808	Zaïre	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2202.55
Mon	7	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	L'Esprit de contradiction	4180.00
Tues	8	3	1808	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Plaideurs	506.50
Weds	9	3	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Folies amoureuses	1389.95
Thurs	10	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Feinte par amour	4319.85
Fri	11	3	1808	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	303.65
Sat	12	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	4036.50
Sun	13	3	1808	Esther	Le Malade imaginaire	2568.20
Mon	14	3	1808	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	393.50
Tues	15	3	1808	Phèdre	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2504.60
Weds	16	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Fausses Infidélités	4289.40
Thurs	17	3	1808	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1891.65
Fri	18	3	1808	Le Comte d'Essex	Les Originaux	1949.40
Sat	19	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Legs	3625.00
Sun	20	3	1808	Britannicus	L'Avocat	3519.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	21	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	L'Épreuve	3601.50
Tues	22	3	1808	Le Comte d'Essex	Plaute, ou la comédie latine	2305.70
Weds	23	3	1808	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1652.55
Thurs	24	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3252.05
Fri	25	3	1808	Relâche		
Sat	26	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Amphitryon	3258.45
Sun	27	3	1808	Phèdre	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3198.90
Mon	28	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	L'École des bourgeois	3010.00
Tues	29	3	1808	Turcaret	La Jeune Hôtesse	475.00
Weds	30	3	1808	L'École des pères	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1076.25
Thurs	31	3	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Fausses Infidélités	2463.60
Fri	1	4	1808	L'Avare	L'École des maris	611.40
Sat	2	4	1808	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	350.85
Sun	3	4	1808	Œdipe	L'Amant bourru	3473.85
Mon	4	4	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1616.00
Tues	5	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3285.10
Weds	6	4	1808	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3640.95
Thurs	7	4	1808	L'École des pères	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	814.20
Fri	8	4	1808	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Avocat Patelin	552.55
Sat	9	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Folies amoureuses	2393.40
Sun	10	4	1808	Polyeucte martyr	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	2926.65
Mon	11	4	1808	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	12	4	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Originaux	2736.00
Weds	13	4	1808	La Gouvernante	L'Homme aux convenances	1783.6
Thurs	14	4	1808	Relâche		
Fri	15	4	1808	Relâche		
Sat	16	4	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Homme aux convenances	1420.35
Sun	17	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Amphitryon	3354.50
Mon	18	4	1808	L'Avare	Les Plaideurs	734.60
Tues	19	4	1808	Le Muet	L'Avocat Patelin	448.20
Weds	20	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Mère jalouse	3438.50
Thurs	21	4	1808	Relâche		
Fri	22	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2736.45
Sat	23	4	1808	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	429.75
Sun	24	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Mère jalouse	3685.50
Mon	25	4	1808	La Femme juge et partie	Minuit	630.75
Tues	26	4	1808	Bajazet	L'Avocat Patelin	3275.90
Weds	27	4	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	2920.95
Thurs	28	4	1808	L'École des femmes	La Pupille	469.50
Fri	29	4	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1403.55
Sat	30	4	1808	Artaxerce	Le Médecin malgré lui	4438.00
Sun	1	5	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1999.75
Mon	2	5	1808	Artaxerce	Minuit	3307.25
Tues	3	5	1808	Le Misanthrope	L'École des maris	348.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	4	5	1808	Artaxerce	Caroline, ou le tableau	3359.00
Thurs	5	5	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Mariage secret	1104.35
Fri	6	5	1808	Artaxerce	L'Avocat Patelin	2766.15
Sat	7	5	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Femmes	2411.85
Sun	8	5	1808	Le Muet	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1479.10
Mon	9	5	1808	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Mère jalouse	2985.20
Tues	10	5	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Amphitryon	1909.50
Weds	11	5	1808	Relâche		
Thurs	12	5	1808	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Bourru bienfaisant	884.20
Fri	13	5	1808	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	186.00
Sat	14	5	1808	Le Cid	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	833.85
Sun	15	5	1808	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	180.10
Mon	16	5	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2005.10
Tues	17	5	1808	La Gouvernante	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	357.40
Weds	18	5	1808	Relâche		
Thurs	19	5	1808	Artaxerce	Les Originaux	3080.10
Fri	20	5	1808	L'École des mères	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1142.65
Sat	21	5	1808	Artaxerce	Crispin rival de son maître	2245.50
Sun	22	5	1808	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1321.60
Mon	23	5	1808	Relâche		
Tues	24	5	1808	L'Avare	L'École des maris	288.50
Weds	25	5	1808	Artaxerce	Le Confident par hasard	2195.65
Thurs	26	5	1808	La Coquette corrigée	Le Mariage secret	1571.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	27	5	1808	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	233.00
Sat	28	5	1808	Artaxerce	Le Parleur contrarié	1837.80
Sun	29	5	1808	Le Distrait	L'Avocat Patelin	300.75
Mon	30	5	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Madame de Sévigné	2573.15
Tues	31	5	1808	Artaxerce	L'Avocat	1796.65
Weds	1	6	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille		
Thurs	2	6	1808	L'École des pères	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1082.00
Fri	3	6	1808	Gaston et Bayard	Les Folies amoureuses	430.75
Sat	4	6	1808	Artaxerce	Le Legs	1679.75
Sun	5	6	1808	L'Avare	L'École des bourgeois	1885.10
Mon	6	6	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Médecin malgré lui	942.75
Tues	7	6	1808	Le Cid	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3671.95
Weds	8	6	1808	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Confident par hasard	1019.40
Thurs	9	6	1808	Artaxerce	Crispin rival de son maître	1073.00
Fri	10	6	1808	L'École des femmes	Bruis et Palaprat	3528.00
Sat	11	6	1808	Andromaque	L'Avocat Patelin	292.40
Sun	12	6	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Florentin	3930.50
Mon	13	6	1808	Artaxerce	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2377.65
Tues	14	6	1808	Le Joueur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1719.20
Weds	15	6	1808	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Plaideurs	642.95
Thurs	16	6	1808	Andromaque	Les Folies amoureuses	929.65
Fri	17	6	1808	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3011.70
					L'École des maris	391.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	18	6	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2303.50
Sun	19	6	1808	Artaxerce	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1608.50
Mon	20	6	1808	Les Ménéchmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin rival de son maître	344.65
Tues	21	6	1808	Relâche		
Weds	22	6	1808	Alzire, ou les Américains	L'Avocat Patelin	2801.55
Thurs	23	6	1808	Le Muet	L'École des maris	314.10
Fri	24	6	1808	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Folies amoureuses	1444.20
Sat	25	6	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1443.10
Sun	26	6	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Amphitryon	2721.80
Mon	27	6	1808	Le Chevalier à la mode	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1658.65
Tues	28	6	1808	Bajazet	Crispin rival de son maître	1080.65
Weds	29	6	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fourberies de Scapin	862.50
Thurs	30	6	1808	Philoctète	Le Distrait	1358.65
Fri	1	7	1808	Le Légataire universel	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	195.85
Sat	2	7	1808	Artaxerce	L'École des bourgeois	1914.74
Sun	3	7	1808	Bajazet	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	620.75
Mon	4	7	1808	Philoctète	Amphitryon	1928.30
Tues	5	7	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Bruis et Palaprat	1782.30
Weds	6	7	1808	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Folies amoureuses	1697.20
Thurs	7	7	1808	Les Femmes savantes	La Mère jalouse	1687.15
Fri	8	7	1808	Artaxerce	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2286.65
Sat	9	7	1808	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	192.40
Sun	10	7	1808	Philoctète	Les Deux Frères	1179.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	11	7	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	693.85
Tues	12	7	1808	Bajazet	Les Plaideurs	623.40
Weds	13	7	1808	Le Muet	Crispin rival de son maître	214.00
Thurs	14	7	1808	Artaxerce	L'École des maris	438.00
Fri	15	7	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	385.40
Sat	16	7	1808	Relâche		
Sun	17	7	1808	Le Cid	Le Médecin malgré lui	659.00
Mon	18	7	1808	Le Légataire universel	Crispin rival de son maître	131.50
Tues	19	7	1808	Relâche		
Weds	20	7	1808	Gaston et Bayard	L'Épreuve	826.50
Thurs	21	7	1808	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1452.00
Fri	22	7	1808	Relâche		
Sat	23	7	1808	Phèdre	Le Legs	3856.70
Sun	24	7	1808	Tancrède	Les Folies amoureuses	1636.95
Mon	25	7	1808	L'Avare	L'Esprit de contradiction	504.50
Tues	26	7	1808	Andromaque	Crispin rival de son maître	2431.75
Weds	27	7	1808	Artaxerce	Minuit	1739.65
Thurs	28	7	1808	La Gouvernante	L'École des maris	569.10
Fri	29	7	1808	Ariane	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2439.50
Sat	30	7	1808	Le Misanthrope	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3474.35
Sun	31	7	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1458.70
Mon	1	8	1808	Tancrède	Les Folies amoureuses	921.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	2	8	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Legs	1791.10
Weds	3	8	1808	Artaxerce	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1192.20
Thurs	4	8	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Infidélités	1770.30
Fri	5	8	1808	Relâche		
Sat	6	8	1808	Philoctète	La Gouvernante	669.65
Sun	7	8	1808	Relâche		
Mon	8	8	1808	La Coquette corrigée	Crispin rival de son maître	1862.60
Tues	9	8	1808	Relâche		
Weds	10	8	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Legs	2353.90
Thurs	11	8	1808	Mélanide	La Jeune Hôtesse	436.95
Fri	12	8	1808	Électre	Le Médecin malgré lui	2020.95
Sat	13	8	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Fausses Infidélités	2074.40
Sun	14	8	1808	Le Cid	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	Gratis
Mon	15	8	1808	Relâche		
Tues	16	8	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Legs	1719.75
Weds	17	8	1808	Nicomède	L'Épreuve	1558.00
Thurs	18	8	1808	Le Légataire universel	La Pupille	232.20
Fri	19	8	1808	Mélanide	Crispin rival de son maître	335.30
Sat	20	8	1808	Électre	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1832.10
Sun	21	8	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Infidélités	2167.30
Mon	22	8	1808	L'Avare	Le Médecin malgré lui	355.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	23	8	1808	Le Misanthrope	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3408.65
Weds	24	8	1808	Phèdre	Les Plaideurs	2817.95
Thurs	25	8	1808	Le Cid	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	762.00
Fri	26	8	1808	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2410.20
Sat	27	8	1808	La Femme jalouse	Le Legs	3415.50
Sun	28	8	1808	Artaxerce	Les Folies amoureuses	2543.35
Mon	29	8	1808	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	L'Esprit de contradiction	397.55
Tues	30	8	1808	La Coquette corrigée	L'Épreuve	2942.00
Weds	31	8	1808	Andromaque	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2839.50
Thurs	1	9	1808	L'École des maris	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	349.00
Fri	2	9	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	2799.20
Sat	3	9	1808	Tancrède	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1968.95
Sun	4	9	1808	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1919.45
Mon	5	9	1808	Turcaret	Les Originaux	1169.40
Tues	6	9	1808	Horace	L'Avocat	2436.70
Weds	7	9	1808	La Femme jalouse	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2959.75
Thurs	8	9	1808	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	258.00
Fri	9	9	1808	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1657.20
Sat	10	9	1808	Le Misanthrope	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	2687.50
Sun	11	9	1808	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Plaideurs	3045.95
Mon	12	9	1808	La Coquette corrigée	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3087.05
Tues	13	9	1808	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	600.30
Weds	14	9	1808	Le Muet	L'École des maris	771.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	15	9	1808	Andromaque	Les Folies amoureuses	1947.60
Fri	16	9	1808	Relâche		
Sat	17	9	1808	La Femme jalouse	Le Retour imprévu	3075.00
Sun	18	9	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Originaux	3120.30
Mon	19	9	1808	Relâche		
Tues	20	9	1808	Relâche		
Weds	21	9	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Épreuve	2590.65
Thurs	22	9	1808	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	620.20
Fri	23	9	1808	Relâche		
Sat	24	9	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2966.50
Sun	25	9	1808	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1474.20
Mon	26	9	1808	Le Légataire universel	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	413.55
Tues	27	9	1808	Relâche		
Weds	28	9	1808	Les Femmes savantes	La Gageure imprévue	2154.80
Thurs	29	9	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Feinte par amour	1605.55
Fri	30	9	1808	Relâche		
Sat	1	10	1808	La Coquette corrigée	Les Fausses Infidélités	2977.05
Sun	2	10	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Feinte par amour	2577.50
Mon	3	10	1808	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	729.95
Tues	4	10	1808	Relâche		
Weds	5	10	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Legs	1889.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	6	10	1808	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	282.50
Fri	7	10	1808	Relâche		
Sat	8	10	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Fausses Confidences	2622.35
Sun	9	10	1808	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	2285.15
Mon	10	10	1808	Le Glorieux	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1554.55
Tues	11	10	1808	Relâche		
Weds	12	10	1808	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Fausses Confidences	2720.85
Thurs	13	10	1808	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Avocat Patelin	533.20
Fri	14	10	1808	Relâche		
Sat	15	10	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3487.00
Sun	16	10	1808	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	557.85
Mon	17	10	1808	Turcaret	Les Fausses Confidences	1599.55
Tues	18	10	1808	Relâche		
Weds	19	10	1808	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3746.40
Thurs	20	10	1808	Relâche		
Fri	21	10	1808	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Bourru bienfaisant	967.30
Sat	22	10	1808	La Femme jalouse	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2805.50
Sun	23	10	1808	Turcaret	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1373.30
Mon	24	10	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Fausses Confidences	3102.50
Tues	25	10	1808	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Avocat Patelin	349.40
Weds	26	10	1808	La Coquette corrigée	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	4373.50
Thurs	27	10	1808	Le Distrait	Le Bourru bienfaisant	772.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	28	10	1808	Relâche		
Sat	29	10	1808	La Suite du Menteur	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	3364.45
Sun	30	10	1808	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3819.10
Mon	31	10	1808	La Suite du Menteur	L'Épreuve	1176.65
Tues	1	11	1808	Zaïre	Les Plaideurs	2716.85
Weds	2	11	1808	La Suite du Menteur	Les Fausses Confidences	1728.90
Thurs	3	11	1808	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'École des bourgeois	1949.70
Fri	4	11	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Crispin rival de son maître	3511.60
Sat	5	11	1808	La Suite du Menteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2499.40
Sun	6	11	1808	Gaston et Bayard	Le Procureur arbitre	2029.85
Mon	7	11	1808	Ariane	L'École des maris	1266.80
Tues	8	11	1808	La Suite du Menteur	Le Bourru bienfaisant	976.10
Weds	9	11	1808	Andromaque	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3690.00
Thurs	10	11	1808	Le Misanthrope	Le Legs	3003.50
Fri	11	11	1808	Artaxerce	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1346.10
Sat	12	11	1808	Les Femmes savantes	La Mère jalouse	2253.85
Sun	13	11	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3585.65
Mon	14	11	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1747.40
Tues	15	11	1808	Le Cid	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1083.75
Weds	16	11	1808	Le Chevalier à la mode	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1198.40
Thurs	17	11	1808	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Fausses Confidences	3097.90
Fri	18	11	1808	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	1776.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	19	11	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Impatient	1843.70
Sun	20	11	1808	Phèdre	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3429.65
Mon	21	11	1808	La Femme jalouse	Minuit	1832.55
Tues	22	11	1808	Nicomède	Les Fausses Confidences	2273.55
Weds	23	11	1808	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Le Parleur contrarié	2153.40
Thurs	24	11	1808	Œdipe	Le Procureur arbitre	3773.25
Fri	25	11	1808	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2673.20
Sat	26	11	1808	Artaxerce	Bruis et Palaprat	2363.70
Sun	27	11	1808	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Les Folies amoureuses	2803.65
Mon	28	11	1808	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Confident par hasard	1963.85
Tues	29	11	1808	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Originaux	3187.00
Weds	30	11	1808	La Suite du Menteur	Madame de Sévigné	1127.10
Thurs	1	12	1808	L'Orphelin de la Chine	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1102.20
Fri	2	12	1808	Britannicus	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	4258.95
Sat	3	12	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	L'École des bourgeois	2237.80
Sun	4	12	1808	Athalie	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	4128.85
Mon	5	12	1808	Tancrède	Les Fausses Confidences	1675.05
Tues	6	12	1808	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2117.75
Weds	7	12	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3369.00
Thurs	8	12	1808	Œdipe	Le Legs	3736.50
Fri	9	12	1808	Esther	La Femme juge et partie	2685.55
Sat	10	12	1808	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Avocat	2393.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	11	12	1808	Le Chevalier à la mode	Madame de Sévigné	3005.85
Mon	12	12	1808	Zaïre	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1564.50
Tues	13	12	1808	Britannicus	L'École des maris	3591.75
Weds	14	12	1808	Louise, ou la réconciliation	Le Médecin malgré lui	4153.40
Thurs	15	12	1808	Artaxerce	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1236.85
Fri	16	12	1808	Nicomède	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1864.56
Sat	17	12	1808	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Mère jalouse	2024.50
Sun	18	12	1808	Médée	Les Folies amoureuses	2880.30
Mon	19	12	1808	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Amphitryon	1155.95
Tues	20	12	1808	Iphigénie en Aulide	Crispin rival de son maître	1015.75
Weds	21	12	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Fausses Confidences	1162.95
Thurs	22	12	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2615.60
Fri	23	12	1808	Bajazet	Sganarelle, ou le cocu imaginaire	393.85
Sat	24	12	1808	Andromaque	Caroline, ou le tableau	1860.20
Sun	25	12	1808	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2618.95
Mon	26	12	1808	Le Cid	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1858.10
Tues	27	12	1808	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Bourru bienfaisant	660.40
Weds	28	12	1808	Esther	La Femme jalouse	3182.75
Thurs	29	12	1808	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1195.65
Fri	30	12	1808	Horace	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	1375.65
Sat	31	12	1808	Manlius Capitolinus	L'École des bourgeois	2668.35
Sun	1	1	1809	Esther	L'Intrigue épistolaire	2703.65
Mon	2	1	1809	Nicomède	Les Deux Frères	2690.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	3	1	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	969.95
Weds	4	1	1809	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3005.45
Thurs	5	1	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	639.95
Fri	6	1	1809	Artaxerce	Le Malade imaginaire	2735.55
Sat	7	1	1809	Macbeth	Les Folies amoureuses	4325.40
Sun	8	1	1809	La Femme jalouse	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2880.30
Mon	9	1	1809	Alzire, ou les Américains	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1479.00
Tues	10	1	1809	Le Misanthrope	Minuit	1092.00
Weds	11	1	1809	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	506.00
Thurs	12	1	1809	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2343.20
Fri	13	1	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Malade imaginaire	2416.45
Sat	14	1	1809	Macbeth	Crispin rival de son maître	3794.00
Sun	15	1	1809	Le Festin de Pierre	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2774.10
Mon	16	1	1809	Britannicus	Le Procureur arbitre	2489.00
Tues	17	1	1809	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Le Parleur contrarié	1482.00
Weds	18	1	1809	Hamlet	La Jeunesse de Henry V	6863.85
Thurs	19	1	1809	Artaxerce	Les Fausses Infidélités	1059.85
Fri	20	1	1809	La Suite du Menteur	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	862.00
Sat	21	1	1809	Hamlet	L'École des maris	2681.00
Sun	22	1	1809	Sémiramis	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2939.25
Mon	23	1	1809	Le Distrain	L'Avocat Patelin	498.40
Tues	24	1	1809	Hamlet	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2529.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	25	1	1809	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Malade imaginaire	1742.20
Thurs	26	1	1809	Horace	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1507.40
Fri	27	1	1809	L'Esprit follet, ou la dame invisible	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2160.30
Sat	28	1	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Deux Frères	2209.95
Sun	29	1	1809	L'Esprit follet, ou la dame invisible	Le Retour imprévu	3295.00
Mon	30	1	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Folies amoureuses	1275.30
Tues	31	1	1809	Bajazet	Crispin rival de son maître	432.20
Weds	1	2	1809	Hector	Le Florentin	5208.35
Thurs	2	2	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Fourberies de Scapin	796.55
Fri	3	2	1809	Hector	L'Avocat Patelin	4130.00
Sat	4	2	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	431.50
Sun	5	2	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1755.50
Mon	6	2	1809	Hector	Le Dédit	4029.55
Tues	7	2	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	740.40
Weds	8	2	1809	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2662.65
Thurs	9	2	1809	Hector	Le Legs	4146.60
Fri	10	2	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	Le Malade imaginaire	1868.80
Sat	11	2	1809	Hector	L'Épreuve	4039.30
Sun	12	2	1809	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3588.50
Mon	13	2	1809	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3678.80
Tues	14	2	1809	Esther	L'Esprit follet, ou la dame invisible	3658.40
Weds	15	2	1809	Hector	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	4310.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	16	2	1809	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2251.25
Fri	17	2	1809	Hector	Bruis et Palaprat	4274.60
Sat	18	2	1809	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	285.55
Sun	19	2	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3406.00
Mon	20	2	1809	Hector	Crispin rival de son maître	3600.15
Tues	21	2	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	La Fontaine chez Fouquet	1050.95
Weds	22	2	1809	Hector	Caroline, ou le tableau	3388.75
Thurs	23	2	1809	Le Distrait	Les Folies amoureuses	437.10
Fri	24	2	1809	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Deux Frères	1337.63
Sat	25	2	1809	Hector	Les Fausses Confidences	3546.50
Sun	26	2	1809	Athalie	Les Originaux	2855.25
Mon	27	2	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Dédit	706.20
Tues	28	2	1809	Hector	L'École des bourgeois	3419.05
Weds	1	3	1809	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	438.30
Thurs	2	3	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Fausses Infidélités	686.50
Fri	3	3	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	586.05
Sat	4	3	1809	Britannicus	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2947.05
Sun	5	3	1809	Phèdre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2359.35
Mon	6	3	1809	Othello	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1200.00
Tues	7	3	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	427.80
Weds	8	3	1809	Manlius Capitolinus	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2665.85
Thurs	9	3	1809	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1389.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	10	3	1809	Hamlet	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2336.20
Sat	11	3	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Plaideurs	598.50
Sun	12	3	1809	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2762.25
Mon	13	3	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	560.65
Tues	14	3	1809	Bajazet	La Feinte par amour	1122.65
Weds	15	3	1809	Relâche		
Thurs	16	3	1809	Hector	Dupuis et Desronais	3736.30
Fri	17	3	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'École des bourgeois	2208.95
Sat	18	3	1809	Hector	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2748.75
Sun	19	3	1809	L'École des maris	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	802.55
Mon	20	3	1809	Hector	La Feinte par amour	2321.15
Tues	21	3	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1021.20
Weds	22	3	1809	La Femme juge et partie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1168.50
Thurs	23	3	1809	Hector	Le Parleur contrarié	2260.55
Fri	24	3	1809	La Femme jalouse	Bruis et Palaprat	1583.40
Sat	25	3	1809	Hector	Les Folies amoureuses	1816.10
Sun	26	3	1809	Athalie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3413.10
Mon	27	3	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Mariage secret	1681.50
Tues	28	3	1809	Hector	L'Avocat	2067.85
Weds	29	3	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Legs	1811.75
Thurs	30	3	1809	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	31	3	1809	Relâche		
Sat	1	4	1809	Hector	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3724.95
Sun	2	4	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Deux Frères	3158.10
Mon	3	4	1809	Le Misanthrope	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2236.65
Tues	4	4	1809	Nicomède	La Feinte par amour	789.20
Weds	5	4	1809	Hector	Le Mariage secret	2443.50
Thurs	6	4	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1826.55
Fri	7	4	1809	Britannicus	Minuit	2726.35
Sat	8	4	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1699.60
Sun	9	4	1809	Hector	Les Fausses Confidences	3466.35
Mon	10	4	1809	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2248.85
Tues	11	4	1809	Hector	La Petite École des mères	1845.15
Weds	12	4	1809	Esther	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	2423.10
Thurs	13	4	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	L'Avocat Patelin	4231.85
Fri	14	4	1809	Athalie	Les Plaideurs	2292.45
Sat	15	4	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	Les Folies amoureuses	1411.10
Sun	16	4	1809	Œdipe	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3607.30
Mon	17	4	1809	Le Distrain	Crispin rival de son maître	501.85
Tues	18	4	1809	Hector	Les Deux Frères	2862.25
Weds	19	4	1809	Le Muet	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	492.95
Thurs	20	4	1809	Hamlet	L'École des mères	1059.40
Fri	21	4	1809	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	L'Impatient	1491.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	22	4	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Mariage secret	1534.85
Sun	23	4	1809	Hector	Amphitryon	3274.50
Mon	24	4	1809	La Femme jalouse	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2315.40
Tues	25	4	1809	Le Cid	Le Mariage secret	1145.55
Weds	26	4	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Fausses Confidences	2065.95
Thurs	27	4	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Confident par hasard	1797.50
Fri	28	4	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1683.85
Sat	29	4	1809	Manlius Capitolinus	La Feinte par amour	3240.75
Sun	30	4	1809	Zaïre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3634.50
Mon	1	5	1809	Le Comte de Warwick	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	8457.50
Tues	2	5	1809	Le Légataire universel	Les Plaideurs	355.85
Weds	3	5	1809	Le Comte de Warwick	Les Épreuves	3249.50
Thurs	4	5	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1071.95
Fri	5	5	1809	Le Comte de Warwick	Crispin rival de son maître	2579.40
Sat	6	5	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Plaideurs	Gratis
Sun	7	5	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Fausses Confidences	2257.65
Mon	8	5	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Avocat Patelin	300.95
Tues	9	5	1809	Relâche		
Weds	10	5	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	Monsieur Musard, ou comme le temps passe	1178.50
Thurs	11	5	1809	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	769.55
Fri	12	5	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	741.85
Sat	13	5	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Monsieur Musard, ou comme le temps passe	653.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	14	5	1809	Hector	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1622.75
Mon	15	5	1809	Le Distrait	Crispin rival de son maître	248.00
Tues	16	5	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	1446.00
Weds	17	5	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	Les Fausses Confidences	641.50
Thurs	18	5	1809	Relâche		
Fri	19	5	1809	Le Joueur	Les Vendanges de Suresne	741.10
Sat	20	5	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	L'Avocat	1301.50
Sun	21	5	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	518.30
Mon	22	5	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Mariage secret	834.85
Tues	23	5	1809	Manlius Capitolinus	Monsieur Musard, ou comme le temps passe	1876.00
Weds	24	5	1809	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2105.00
Thurs	25	5	1809	Le Cid	Le Secret de ménage	2576.00
Fri	26	5	1809	Le Distrait	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	244.55
Sat	27	5	1809	La Femme jalouse	Le Secret de ménage	2187.85
Sun	28	5	1809	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Vendanges de Suresne	1820.10
Mon	29	5	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Secret de ménage	2288.55
Tues	30	5	1809	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	Monsieur Musard, ou comme le temps passe	292.00
Weds	31	5	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Secret de ménage	1396.20
Thurs	1	6	1809	Phèdre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2020.85
Fri	2	6	1809	Relâche		
Sat	3	6	1809	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Plaideurs	755.55
Sun	4	6	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Mariage secret	1162.10
Mon	5	6	1809	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	303.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	6	6	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'Avocat	665.95
Weds	7	6	1809	Les Capitulations de conscience	Crispin rival de son maître	4444.40
Thurs	8	6	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Avocat Patelin	356.75
Fri	9	6	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Gageure imprévue	1570.10
Sat	10	6	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Secret de ménage	1986.95
Sun	11	6	1809	Les Fausses Confidences	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2251.85
Mon	12	6	1809	Le Misanthrope	Le Secret de ménage	1342.75
Tues	13	6	1809	Le Joueur	Les Fourberies de Scapin	590.85
Weds	14	6	1809	Tancrède	Le Secret de ménage	1397.65
Thurs	15	6	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	La Gageure imprévue	1053.95
Fri	16	6	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	486.00
Sat	17	6	1809	Horace	Le Secret de ménage	1391.00
Sun	18	6	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	Le Bourru bienfaisant	826.20
Mon	19	6	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Mariage secret	552.55
Tues	20	6	1809	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	188.55
Weds	21	6	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	848.95
Thurs	22	6	1809	Horace	La Feinte par amour	903.50
Fri	23	6	1809	Relâche		
Sat	24	6	1809	Andromaque	Le Parleur contrarié	955.75
Sun	25	6	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Amphitryon	708.75
Mon	26	6	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Folies amoureuses	779.00
Tues	27	6	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin médecin	211.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	28	6	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Secret de ménage	1495.50
Thurs	29	6	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2262.65
Fri	30	6	1809	Gaston et Bayard	La Gageure imprévue	1277.40
Sat	1	7	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Fausse Confidences	1228.55
Sun	2	7	1809	Bajazet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	361.30
Mon	3	7	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Folies amoureuses	630.55
Tues	4	7	1809	Phèdre	L'Avocat	1921.65
Weds	5	7	1809	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	Les Deux Frères	1671.20
Thurs	6	7	1809	Horace	Le Mariage secret	2065.55
Fri	7	7	1809	Le Conciliateur, ou l'homme aimable	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1393.00
Sat	8	7	1809	Gaston et Bayard	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1528.10
Sun	9	7	1809	Le Joueur	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1508.00
Mon	10	7	1809	Phèdre	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3141.75
Tues	11	7	1809	L'Avare	Crispin médecin	359.65
Weds	12	7	1809	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	715.50
Thurs	13	7	1809	L'École des pères	Les Fourberies de Scapin	393.55
Fri	14	7	1809	Horace	Le Secret de ménage	1356.30
Sat	15	7	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Revanche	1925.50
Sun	16	7	1809	Relâche		
Mon	17	7	1809	Le Chevalier d'industrie	La Revanche	2837.95
Tues	18	7	1809	Relâche		
Weds	19	7	1809	Gaston et Bayard	Le Médecin malgré lui	1230.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	20	7	1809	Les Deux Frères	La Revanche	2338.75
Fri	21	7	1809	Andromaque	Le Secret de ménage	1265.20
Sat	22	7	1809	La Femme jalouse	La Revanche	1467.85
Sun	23	7	1809	Le Distrait	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	357.65
Mon	24	7	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Folies amoureuses	1595.00
Tues	25	7	1809	Le Cid	La Revanche	1289.40
Weds	26	7	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	832.30
Thurs	27	7	1809	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Secret de ménage	1392.00
Fri	28	7	1809	Relâche		
Sat	29	7	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Revanche	1833.50
Sun	30	7	1809	Les Fausses Confidences	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1305.70
Mon	31	7	1809	L'École des pères	Le Secret de ménage	676.50
Tues	1	8	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	La Revanche	1079.75
Weds	2	8	1809	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1331.60
Thurs	3	8	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2219.05
Fri	4	8	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Revanche	1533.00
Sat	5	8	1809	Gaston et Bayard	Les Folies amoureuses	728.95
Sun	6	8	1809	Relâche		
Mon	7	8	1809	Andromaque	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2996.00
Tues	8	8	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1245.75
Weds	9	8	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Revanche	994.50
Thurs	10	8	1809	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	733.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	11	8	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1029.95
Sat	12	8	1809	Mithridate	La Revanche	1266.55
Sun	13	8	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2404.10
Mon	14	8	1809	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	Gratis
Tues	15	8	1809	Relâche		
Weds	16	8	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Revanche	1022.95
Thurs	17	8	1809	Mithridate	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	668.20
Fri	18	8	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	137.40
Sat	19	8	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1594.40
Sun	20	8	1809	Gaston et Bayard	Le Mariage secret	805.10
Mon	21	8	1809	Le Distrait	La Revanche	442.50
Tues	22	8	1809	L'École des pères	Les Fourberies de Scapin	244.95
Weds	23	8	1809	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1827.75
Thurs	24	8	1809	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Legs	1361.00
Fri	25	8	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1168.75
Sat	26	8	1809	Andromaque	La Revanche	2202.75
Sun	27	8	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2030.00
Mon	28	8	1809	Le Joueur	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	451.55
Tues	29	8	1809	Manlius Capitolinus	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2523.65
Weds	30	8	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Folies amoureuses	915.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	31	8	1809	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Gageure imprévue	2985.40
Fri	1	9	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'Épreuve	1109.20
Sat	2	9	1809	Bajazet	L'École des maris	621.30
Sun	3	9	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	280.40
Mon	4	9	1809	L'Avare	Les Plaideurs	433.75
Tues	5	9	1809	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	844.95
Weds	6	9	1809	Le Joueur	La Revanche	721.95
Thurs	7	9	1809	L'École des maris	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	412.65
Fri	8	9	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1179.10
Sat	9	9	1809	Hamlet	Le Secret de ménage	3582.90
Sun	10	9	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2226.75
Mon	11	9	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1167.50
Tues	12	9	1809	Hector	La Revanche	2926.65
Weds	13	9	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	519.35
Thurs	14	9	1809	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3120.85
Fri	15	9	1809	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Fausses Confidences	1357.95
Sat	16	9	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	825.50
Sun	17	9	1809	Hamlet	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3321.50
Mon	18	9	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Épreuve	1734.10
Tues	19	9	1809	Nicomède	Les Fausses Infidélités	1576.30
Weds	20	9	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1696.85
Thurs	21	9	1809	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Feinte par amour	978.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	22	9	1809	L'Avare	Crispin médecin	364.40
Sat	23	9	1809	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3284.80
Sun	24	9	1809	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2081.30
Mon	25	9	1809	Le Cid	L'École des maris	1124.10
Tues	26	9	1809	Le Joueur	Le Florentin	241.95
Weds	27	9	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1263.55
Thurs	28	9	1809	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat	1538.50
Fri	29	9	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	774.10
Sat	30	9	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Secret de ménage	1402.35
Sun	1	10	1809	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2153.15
Mon	2	10	1809	La Métomanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	690.35
Tues	3	10	1809	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	207.20
Weds	4	10	1809	L'Avare	Le Florentin	385.30
Thurs	5	10	1809	L'École des femmes	Crispin rival de son maître	232.20
Fri	6	10	1809	Relâche		
Sat	7	10	1809	Le Misanthrope	Heureusement	582.80
Sun	8	10	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2150.40
Mon	9	10	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	427.65
Tues	10	10	1809	Relâche		
Weds	11	10	1809	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2637.95
Thurs	12	10	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Legs	1458.55
Fri	13	10	1809	Le Légataire universel	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1115.05
Sat	14	10	1809	Le Distract	L'École des maris	1146.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	15	10	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	2698.30
Mon	16	10	1809	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	2180.85
Tues	17	10	1809	Les Fausses Confidences	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1259.30
Weds	18	10	1809	Bajazet	L'Avocat Patelin	469.40
Thurs	19	10	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Crispin rival de son maître	1717.50
Fri	20	10	1809	Les Deux Frères	Les Folies amoureuses	619.45
Sat	21	10	1809	L'École des femmes	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	260.75
Sun	22	10	1809	Les Fausses Confidences	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1508.75
Mon	23	10	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	562.95
Tues	24	10	1809	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2664.45
Weds	25	10	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1296.45
Thurs	26	10	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Sage Étourdi	3295.50
Fri	27	10	1809	Le Festin de Pierre	Les Folies amoureuses	1008.45
Sat	28	10	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1236.20
Sun	29	10	1809	Britannicus	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3679.80
Mon	30	10	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1935.30
Tues	31	10	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1186.30
Weds	1	11	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Secret de ménage	3758.10
Thurs	2	11	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	L'École des bourgeois	1653.45
Fri	3	11	1809	Le Joueur	Crispin rival de son maître	455.10
Sat	4	11	1809	Britannicus	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2205.25
Sun	5	11	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3136.15
Mon	6	11	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	569.50

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	7	11	1809	Œdipe	Le Florentin	1504.50
Weds	8	11	1809	Les Ménéchmes, ou les jumeaux	L'École des maris	260.75
Thurs	9	11	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1572.65
Fri	10	11	1809	Vitellie	Le Médecin malgré lui	4286.90
Sat	11	11	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Revanche	1478.50
Sun	12	11	1809	Gaston et Bayard	Les Deux Frères	2289.10
Mon	13	11	1809	Le Misanthrope	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1749.40
Tues	14	11	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Fausses Confidences	1404.45
Weds	15	11	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2719.95
Thurs	16	11	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	La Revanche	1528.65
Fri	17	11	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Parleur contrarié	1165.55
Sat	18	11	1809	Horace	Bruis et Palaprat	2224.15
Sun	19	11	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2877.60
Mon	20	11	1809	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2670.40
Tues	21	11	1809	Bajazet	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	756.65
Weds	22	11	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	722.55
Thurs	23	11	1809	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Épreuve	2450.10
Fri	24	11	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	754.95
Sat	25	11	1809	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Revanche	1822.55
Sun	26	11	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3722.95
Mon	27	11	1809	Athalie	Le Legs	4214.25
Tues	28	11	1809	L'École des pères	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	866.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	29	11	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2387.50
Thurs	30	11	1809	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'École des bourgeois	2543.20
Fri	1	12	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Mariage secret	1097.30
Sat	2	12	1809	Iphigénie en Aulide	Crispin médecin	2032.85
Sun	3	12	1809	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Gratis
Mon	4	12	1809	Relâche		
Tues	5	12	1809	Le Joueur	La Revanche	1040.75
Weds	6	12	1809	L'Enthousiaste	Crispin rival de son maître	3758.45
Thurs	7	12	1809	Le Distrait	Les Folies amoureuses	556.40
Fri	8	12	1809	Andromaque	La Gageure imprévue	2679.75
Sat	9	12	1809	La Femme jalouse	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2052.10
Sun	10	12	1809	Athalie	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2304.25
Mon	11	12	1809	Œdipe	Le Secret de ménage	2699.60
Tues	12	12	1809	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	909.30
Weds	13	12	1809	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2851.45
Thurs	14	12	1809	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2128.85
Fri	15	12	1809	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1295.75
Sat	16	12	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Fausses Confidences	2997.65
Sun	17	12	1809	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1994.65
Mon	18	12	1809	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1267.10
Tues	19	12	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Folies amoureuses	342.40
Weds	20	12	1809	Artaxerce	Les Fausses Confidences	2716.35
Thurs	21	12	1809	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2616.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
				l'être		
Fri	22	12	1809	L'École des pères	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	730.45
Sat	23	12	1809	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Avocat	2051.65
Sun	24	12	1809	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1863.85
Mon	25	12	1809	Le Misanthrope	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3347.60
Tues	26	12	1809	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Fourberies de Scapin	569.00
Weds	27	12	1809	Artaxerce	La Revanche	2206.85
Thurs	28	12	1809	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin médecin	407.95
Fri	29	12	1809	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	712.45
Sat	30	12	1809	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2262.55
Sun	31	12	1809	Artaxerce	Minuit	2494.00
Mon	1	1	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2526.50
Tues	2	1	1810	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	831.95
Weds	3	1	1810	Zaïre	Les Fausses Confidences	2980.00
Thurs	4	1	1810	Médiocre et rampant, ou le moyen de parvenir	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	559.15
Fri	5	1	1810	Le Chevalier d'industrie	L'École des bourgeois	1780.55
Sat	6	1	1810	Sémiramis	Le Secret de ménage	2604.95
Sun	7	1	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Deux Frères	3071.50
Mon	8	1	1810	Le Misanthrope	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2174.95
Tues	9	1	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Feinte par amour	947.75
Weds	10	1	1810	Artaxerce	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1957.20
Thurs	11	1	1810	La Mère coupable, ou l'autre Tartuffe	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2454.55
Fri	12	1	1810	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	460.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	13	1	1810	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Avocat	2467.55
Sun	14	1	1810	L'Avare	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1166.95
Mon	15	1	1810	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1393.60
Tues	16	1	1810	Athalie	La Mère confidente	3705.25
Weds	17	1	1810	Le Chevalier d'industrie	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1652.20
Thurs	18	1	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	290.45
Fri	19	1	1810	Zaïre	La Revanche	2781.55
Sat	20	1	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Les Folies amoureuses	1949.05
Sun	21	1	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2987.30
Mon	22	1	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Fausses Confidences	1247.10
Tues	23	1	1810	Le Distrain	L'École des maris	369.55
Weds	24	1	1810	Le Joueur	Les Vendanges de Suresne	665.95
Thurs	25	1	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'Avocat Patelin	416.76
Fri	26	1	1810	L'Assemblée de famille	La Mère confidente	2064.75
Sat	27	1	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	1433.85
Sun	28	1	1810	Athalie	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3583.35
Mon	29	1	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Le Prisonnier en voyage	3779.30
Tues	30	1	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2006.50
Weds	31	1	1810	La Femme jalouse	Les Vendanges de Suresne	1219.45
Thurs	1	2	1810	Le Distrain	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	410.55
Fri	2	2	1810	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	461.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	3	2	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Legs	1640.80
Sun	4	2	1810	Sémiramis	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	3532.75
Mon	5	2	1810	Le Joueur	Crispin médecin	453.85
Tues	6	2	1810	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1756.55
Weds	7	2	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Parleur contrarié	2674.95
Thurs	8	2	1810	L'École des pères	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	447.10
Fri	9	2	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Fausses Confidences	2021.65
Sat	10	2	1810	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'École des maris	736.55
Sun	11	2	1810	Artaxerce	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2797.80
Mon	12	2	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Mariage secret	1317.45
Tues	13	2	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Bruis et Palaprat	2568.15
Weds	14	2	1810	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2458.95
Thurs	15	2	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	289.20
Fri	16	2	1810	Les Deux Frères	La Revanche	1254.20
Sat	17	2	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3516.35
Sun	18	2	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3510.00
Mon	19	2	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3861.90
Tues	20	2	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	773.95
Weds	21	2	1810	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Secret de ménage	2944.05
Thurs	22	2	1810	Relâche		
Fri	23	2	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Malade imaginaire	2821.65
Sat	24	2	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Crispin médecin	5384.45
Sun	25	2	1810	L'Assemblée de famille	Le Malade imaginaire	3019.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	26	2	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3480.20
Tues	27	2	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Legs	3155.45
Weds	28	2	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2932.10
Thurs	1	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2771.05
Fri	2	3	1810	Le Misanthrope	Le Malade imaginaire	3577.10
Sat	3	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3321.10
Sun	4	3	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Malade imaginaire	3449.25
Mon	5	3	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3579.80
Tues	6	3	1810	Le Malade imaginaire	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	4205.75
Weds	7	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2970.50
Thurs	8	3	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2639.55
Fri	9	3	1810	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Revanche	2628.65
Sat	10	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3280.80
Sun	11	3	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3179.80
Mon	12	3	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1948.95
Tues	13	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	La Gageure imprévue	2482.30
Weds	14	3	1810	La Femme jalouse	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3004.65
Thurs	15	3	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1934.10
Fri	16	3	1810	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1589.45
Sat	17	3	1810	Phèdre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	4194.60
Sun	18	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3758.35
Mon	19	3	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2561.70
Tues	20	3	1810	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	2162.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	21	3	1810	Horace	L'Épreuve	3365.10
Thurs	22	3	1810	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	L'Avocat	1674.95
Fri	23	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2406.00
Sat	24	3	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'êtré	La Revanche	2078.00
Sun	25	3	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2603.10
Mon	26	3	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	2131.85
Tues	27	3	1810	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	587.85
Weds	28	3	1810	Manlius Capitolinus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	5376.00
Thurs	29	3	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Malade imaginaire	2392.45
Fri	30	3	1810	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2215.55
Sat	31	3	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	L'École des maris	2248.00
Sun	1	4	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	Gratis
Mon	2	4	1810	Relâche		
Tues	3	4	1810	Le Cid	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	Gratis
Weds	4	4	1810	Nicomède	Madame de Sévigné	5270.90
Thurs	5	4	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	854.85
Fri	6	4	1810	Relâche		
Sat	7	4	1810	Le Joueur	L'Avocat Patelin	726.30
Sun	8	4	1810	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Fausses Confidences	2969.40
Mon	9	4	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1239.20
Tues	10	4	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Secret de ménage	1663.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	11	4	1810	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3029.95
Thurs	12	4	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1410.60
Fri	13	4	1810	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1879.95
Sat	14	4	1810	Andromaque	Les Fourberies de Scapin	4955.40
Sun	15	4	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3007.60
Mon	16	4	1810	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	L'École des bourgeois	2329.30
Tues	17	4	1810	La Femme jalouse	Le Grondeur	1985.85
Weds	18	4	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Folies amoureuses	183.45
Thurs	19	4	1810	Phèdre	Le Parleur contrarié	3657.90
Fri	20	4	1810	Relâche		
Sat	21	4	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1294.20
Sun	22	4	1810	Manlius Capitolinus	Défiance et malice, ou le prêt rendu	4426.75
Mon	23	4	1810	Les Folies amoureuses	L'Avocat Patelin	336.10
Tues	24	4	1810	Relâche		
Weds	25	4	1810	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	1856.25
Thurs	26	4	1810	Bajazet	Heureusement	566.55
Fri	27	4	1810	Relâche		
Sat	28	4	1810	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	2450.45
Sun	29	4	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Plaideurs	855.45
Mon	30	4	1810	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Gageure imprévue	1266.30
Tues	1	5	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1163.50
Weds	2	5	1810	Horace	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2136.45
Thurs	3	5	1810	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Fourberies de Scapin	404.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	4	5	1810	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3111.75
Sat	5	5	1810	Zaïre	Le Legs	2340.75
Sun	6	5	1810	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Fausses Confidences	2376.75
Mon	7	5	1810	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Mariage secret	4855.25
Tues	8	5	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	485.45
Weds	9	5	1810	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1638.65
Thurs	10	5	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	106.00
Fri	11	5	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Grondeur	1024.45
Sat	12	5	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1991.55
Sun	13	5	1810	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Plaideurs	4109.90
Mon	14	5	1810	Relâche		
Tues	15	5	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	1238.85
Weds	16	5	1810	L'École des pères	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	739.30
Thurs	17	5	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Épreuve	1832.55
Fri	18	5	1810	Hector	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	4522.80
Sat	19	5	1810	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2867.35
Sun	20	5	1810	Hector	L'École des maris	2995.20
Mon	21	5	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Folies amoureuses	1456.95
Tues	22	5	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1052.10
Weds	23	5	1810	Le Cid	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1526.75
Thurs	24	5	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1480.45
Fri	25	5	1810	Le Festin de Pierre	Crispin rival de son maître	1052.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	26	5	1810	Polyeucte martyr	Les Fausses Infidélités	4482.85
Sun	27	5	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2315.70
Mon	28	5	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1023.00
Tues	29	5	1810	Manlius Capitolinus	La Revanche	5127.45
Weds	30	5	1810	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Fausses Confidences	1038.20
Thurs	31	5	1810	Le Misanthrope	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1639.85
Fri	1	6	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Folies amoureuses	447.00
Sat	2	6	1810	Artaxerce	Le Grondeur	1463.95
Sun	3	6	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1048.30
Mon	4	6	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	888.75
Tues	5	6	1810	Iphigénie en Tauride	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	4459.20
Weds	6	6	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	4663.10
Thurs	7	6	1810	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	208.50
Fri	8	6	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1581.10
Sat	9	6	1810	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Heureusement	4289.10
Sun	10	6	1810	Relâche		
Mon	11	6	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	L'Avocat	1713.95
Tues	12	6	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	278.85
Weds	13	6	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1981.95
Thurs	14	6	1810	Hector	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3134.55
Fri	15	6	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	Bruis et Palaprat	1201.20
Sat	16	6	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	L'École des bourgeois	1660.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	17	6	1810	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	506.95
Mon	18	6	1810	Phèdre	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2125.75
Tues	19	6	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	Les Deux Frères	1036.75
Weds	20	6	1810	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Fausses Infidélités	5711.90
Thurs	21	6	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	661.20
Fri	22	6	1810	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Heureusement	639.75
Sat	23	6	1810	Les Femmes savantes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1241.95
Sun	24	6	1810	Relâche		
Mon	25	6	1810	L'École des pères	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	253.45
Tues	26	6	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Folies amoureuses	134.95
Weds	27	6	1810	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	509.65
Thurs	28	6	1810	Le Distrait	L'École des maris	320.30
Fri	29	6	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1585.55
Sat	30	6	1810	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	1324.35
Sun	1	7	1810	Le Vieux Fat, ou les deux vieillards	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1037.55
Mon	2	7	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	266.55
Tues	3	7	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Legs	1998.75
Weds	4	7	1810	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2188.75
Thurs	5	7	1810	Relâche		
Fri	6	7	1810	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	263.10
Sat	7	7	1810	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	3501.40
Sun	8	7	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1721.55
Mon	9	7	1810	Le Joueur	Le Malade imaginaire	1298.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	10	7	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	163.10
Weds	11	7	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Les Folies amoureuses	1690.30
Thurs	12	7	1810	Andromaque	Les Fausses Infidélités	4031.50
Fri	13	7	1810	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	Le Malade imaginaire	1072.20
Sat	14	7	1810	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Legs	767.75
Sun	15	7	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2454.20
Mon	16	7	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1379.30
Tues	17	7	1810	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	244.00
Weds	18	7	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Babillard	782.45
Thurs	19	7	1810	Le Légataire universel	Heureusement	628.50
Fri	20	7	1810	Horace	Le Secret de ménage	2696.45
Sat	21	7	1810	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	1827.95
Sun	22	7	1810	Zaïre	Les Folies amoureuses	2413.45
Mon	23	7	1810	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1377.40
Tues	24	7	1810	Polyeucte martyr	L'Épreuve	2998.45
Weds	25	7	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Babillard	306.50
Thurs	26	7	1810	Mithridate	Heureusement	1998.50
Fri	27	7	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin rival de son maître	230.00
Sat	28	7	1810	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1826.60
Sun	29	7	1810	Le Cid	Le Légataire universel	1520.85
Mon	30	7	1810	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2232.65
Tues	31	7	1810	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Fausses Confidences	4269.00
Weds	1	8	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et	914.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
					l'artisan	
Thurs	2	8	1810	Iphigénie en Aulide	Heureusement	1284.30
Fri	3	8	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1626.40
Sat	4	8	1810	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	164.55
Sun	5	8	1810	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3029.00
Mon	6	8	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Les Amis de collège, ou l'homme oisif et l'artisan	975.10
Tues	7	8	1810	Artaxerce – par ordre	Caroline, ou le tableau	3797.20
Weds	8	8	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	774.55
Thurs	9	8	1810	Le Légataire universel	Le Florentin	177.45
Fri	10	8	1810	Agamemnon	Le Médecin malgré lui	3943.05
Sat	11	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Crispin rival de son maître	4116.00
Sun	12	8	1810	Horace	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2411.95
Mon	13	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Le Babillard	3788.40
Tues	14	8	1810	Hector	Les Fourberies de Scapin	Gratis
Weds	15	8	1810	Relâche		
Thurs	16	8	1810	Relâche		
Fri	17	8	1810	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille – par ordre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2285.50
Sat	18	8	1810	Andromaque	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2693.75
Sun	19	8	1810	Phèdre	Le Mariage secret	1170.10
Mon	20	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	4112.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	21	8	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Grondeur	248.00
Weds	22	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Le Legs	3397.85
Thurs	23	8	1810	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	949.75
Fri	24	8	1810	Le Distrait	Le Médecin malgré lui	188.40
Sat	25	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Les Fausses Infidélités	2378.70
Sun	26	8	1810	Relâche		
Mon	27	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	La Gageure imprévue	1873.55
Tues	28	8	1810	Agamemnon	L'École des maris	2330.90
Weds	29	8	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1418.20
Thurs	30	8	1810	Relâche		
Fri	31	8	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Bruis et Palaprat	2631.60
Sat	1	9	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	519.95
Sun	2	9	1810	Relâche		
Mon	3	9	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	955.95
Tues	4	9	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin médecin	329.95
Weds	5	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Caroline, ou le tableau	3815.40
Thurs	6	9	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	818.95
Fri	7	9	1810	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte – par ordre	Crispin rival de son maître	1470.35
Sat	8	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2830.80
Sun	9	9	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	258.55
Mon	10	9	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Minuit	1110.65
Tues	11	9	1810	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	332.30

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	12	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	L'Épreuve	4194.20
Thurs	13	9	1810	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Fausses Infidélités	1121.10
Fri	14	9	1810	Relâche		
Sat	15	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Le Parleur contrarié	2234.25
Sun	16	9	1810	Le Cid	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2232.20
Mon	17	9	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1304.00
Tues	18	9	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	292.00
Weds	19	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Les Fausses Confidences	3440.25
Thurs	20	9	1810	L'École des pères	Les Plaideurs	484.85
Fri	21	9	1810	Le Légataire universel	Le Florentin	227.20
Sat	22	9	1810	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2690.70
Sun	23	9	1810	Relâche		
Mon	24	9	1810	Les Deux Gendres	La Gageure imprévue	3644.65
Tues	25	9	1810	Horace	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1744.70
Weds	26	9	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage secret	1161.85
Thurs	27	9	1810	Les Templiers – par ordre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	5193.10
Fri	28	9	1810	Relâche		
Sat	29	9	1810	Eugénie	L'Épreuve	4011.55
Sun	30	9	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1926.55
Mon	1	10	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	3297.70
Tues	2	10	1810	Relâche		
Weds	3	10	1810	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1311.30
Thurs	4	10	1810	Le Joueur	Le Médecin malgré lui	777.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	5	10	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	273.60
Sat	6	10	1810	Relâche		
Sun	7	10	1810	Zaïre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2814.15
Mon	8	10	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Le Confident par hasard	2546.35
Tues	9	10	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Minuit	3219.30
Weds	10	10	1810	Relâche		
Thurs	11	10	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1829.65
Fri	12	10	1810	Nicomède	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1669.10
Sat	13	10	1810	Relâche		
Sun	14	10	1810	Tancrède	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2995.30
Mon	15	10	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3629.45
Tues	16	10	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Médecin malgré lui	283.85
Weds	17	10	1810	Le Légataire universel	Les Fourberies de Scapin	454.65
Thurs	18	10	1810	Nicomède	Crispin rival de son maître	1179.10
Fri	19	10	1810	L'Avare	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2659.45
Sat	20	10	1810	Relâche		
Sun	21	10	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	1865.85
Mon	22	10	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Confident par hasard	1327.60
Tues	23	10	1810	Les Deux Gendres	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3953.70
Weds	24	10	1810	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des maris	1527.85
Thurs	25	10	1810	Zaïre	Le Florentin	2574.45
Fri	26	10	1810	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	2149.75
Sat	27	10	1810	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	28	10	1810	Le Cid	Les Fausses Confidences	2895.15
Mon	29	10	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	L'École des maris	1427.00
Tues	30	10	1810	Le Légataire universel	Crispin rival de son maître	254.00
Weds	31	10	1810	Gaston et Bayard	Les Folies amoureuses	1717.40
Thurs	1	11	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	802.85
Fri	2	11	1810	Relâche		
Sat	3	11	1810	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	436.00
Sun	4	11	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1172.10
Mon	5	11	1810	Tancrède	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2163.70
Tues	6	11	1810	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1556.45
Weds	7	11	1810	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Médecin malgré lui	679.55
Thurs	8	11	1810	Nicomède	Les Plaideurs	1171.55
Fri	9	11	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1388.00
Sat	10	11	1810	Relâche		
Sun	11	11	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2825.55
Mon	12	11	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2504.45
Tues	13	11	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	304.65
Weds	14	11	1810	Relâche		
Thurs	15	11	1810	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'École des maris	341.40
Fri	16	11	1810	Les Femmes savantes	L'Avocat	1361.95
Sat	17	11	1810	Eugénie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1652.30
Sun	18	11	1810	Ariane	Le Secret de ménage	3545.45
Mon	19	11	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2413.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	20	11	1810	Œdipe	Crispin rival de son maître	4694.85
Weds	21	11	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1085.50
Thurs	22	11	1810	La Coquette corrigée	Monsieur de Crac dans son petit castel	1013.20
Fri	23	11	1810	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Gageure imprévue	1290.65
Sat	24	11	1810	Alzire, ou les Américains	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3061.40
Sun	25	11	1810	Eugénie	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3132.70
Mon	26	11	1810	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	4357.95
Tues	27	11	1810	Venceslas	Le Babillard	264.25
Weds	28	11	1810	Nicomède	Les Fausses Confidences	2470.80
Thurs	29	11	1810	Sémiramis	Le Florentin	3941.30
Fri	30	11	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Deux Frères	1081.55
Sat	1	12	1810	Alzire, ou les Américains	Crispin rival de son maître	Gratis
Sun	2	12	1810	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1684.65
Mon	3	12	1810	L'Avare	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2913.80
Tues	4	12	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	226.10
Weds	5	12	1810	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Épreuve	3808.40
Thurs	6	12	1810	Phèdre	Le Somnambule	2316.30
Fri	7	12	1810	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Crispin médecin	584.40
Sat	8	12	1810	Athalie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3173.70
Sun	9	12	1810	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1538.00
Mon	10	12	1810	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	L'Esprit de contradiction	4367.45
Tues	11	12	1810	Le Distrain	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	484.10
Weds	12	12	1810	Les Templiers	La Gageure imprévue	4138.35

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	13	12	1810	Les Femmes savantes	Le Legs	909.45
Fri	14	12	1810	Artaxerce	Le Médecin malgré lui	1282.55
Sat	15	12	1810	Sémiramis	Le Somnambule	2406.75
Sun	16	12	1810	Alzire, ou les Américains	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3050.65
Mon	17	12	1810	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Confidences	2089.90
Tues	18	12	1810	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Plaideurs	490.85
Weds	19	12	1810	Les Templiers	Le Legs	3178.15
Thurs	20	12	1810	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1952.85
Fri	21	12	1810	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Florentin	510.75
Sat	22	12	1810	Eugénie	Amphitryon	1233.95
Sun	23	12	1810	Gaston et Bayard	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3209.60
Mon	24	12	1810	Athalie	L'Épreuve	3011.30
Tues	25	12	1810	L'Avare	Amphitryon	2967.05
Weds	26	12	1810	Le Légataire universel	L'Avocat Patelin	305.75
Thurs	27	12	1810	La Femme jalouse	Les Folies amoureuses	1016.75
Fri	28	12	1810	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	155.20
Sat	29	12	1810	Œdipe	L'Esprit de contradiction	2998.60
Sun	30	12	1810	La Femme jalouse	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1850.95
Mon	31	12	1810	Andromaque	Minuit	3443.55
Tues	1	1	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Malade imaginaire	2007.55
Weds	2	1	1811	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	1571.45
Thurs	3	1	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'École des maris	219.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	4	1	1811	Phèdre	L'Avocat	1567.80
Sat	5	1	1811	Manlius Capitolinus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3181.80
Sun	6	1	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Malade imaginaire	1525.85
Mon	7	1	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2034.90
Tues	8	1	1811	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin rival de son maître	310.00
Weds	9	1	1811	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Legs	3234.05
Thurs	10	1	1811	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	272.90
Fri	11	1	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	698.10
Sat	12	1	1811	Polyeucte martyr	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2228.60
Sun	13	1	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2762.00
Mon	14	1	1811	La Mort de Pompée	Caroline, ou le tableau	3936.30
Tues	15	1	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	243.35
Weds	16	1	1811	La Coquette corrigée	Un Lendemain de fortune, ou les embarras du bonheur	2525.65
Thurs	17	1	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2489.50
Fri	18	1	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Un Lendemain de fortune, ou les embarras du bonheur	1921.80
Sat	19	1	1811	Agamemnon	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2571.10
Sun	20	1	1811	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	2296.45
Mon	21	1	1811	Eugénie	Un Lendemain de fortune, ou les embarras du bonheur	1431.55
Tues	22	1	1811	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	314.20
Weds	23	1	1811	La Femme jalouse	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1357.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	24	1	1811	Venceslas	L'Amour français	3390.95
Fri	25	1	1811	L'École des femmes	Crispin rival de son maître	238.75
Sat	26	1	1811	Horace	L'Amour français	1418.15
Sun	27	1	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Malade imaginaire	2936.25
Mon	28	1	1811	Iphigénie en Tauride	Un Lendemain de fortune, ou les embarras du bonheur	3613.10
Tues	29	1	1811	Tancrède	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1268.65
Weds	30	1	1811	Les Femmes savantes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	875.90
Thurs	31	1	1811	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Folies amoureuses	3737.05
Fri	1	2	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Avocat Patelin	480.25
Sat	2	2	1811	Sémiramis	Le Legs	1343.20
Sun	3	2	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2734.25
Mon	4	2	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	Amphitryon	1693.30
Tues	5	2	1811	Le Cid	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1237.95
Weds	6	2	1811	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Gageure imprévue	3904.70
Thurs	7	2	1811	Eugénie	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2163.35
Fri	8	2	1811	Tancrède	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	841.85
Sat	9	2	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Consentement forcé	3440.30
Sun	10	2	1811	L'Avare	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3624.20
Mon	11	2	1811	Venceslas	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3520.95
Tues	12	2	1811	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	852.85
Weds	13	2	1811	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Fourberies de Scapin	674.10
Thurs	14	2	1811	Phèdre	L'Épreuve	2107.25

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	15	2	1811	Le Légataire universel	Crispin rival de son maître	188.90
Sat	16	2	1811	Les Deux Frères	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3025.50
Sun	17	2	1811	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Le Médecin malgré lui	4052.45
Mon	18	2	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3131.65
Tues	19	2	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'École des maris	298.00
Weds	20	2	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Jeunes Amis	2930.75
Thurs	21	2	1811	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Florentin	3414.75
Fri	22	2	1811	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	476.90
Sat	23	2	1811	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2314.40
Sun	24	2	1811	Le Malade imaginaire	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	3777.75
Mon	25	2	1811	Nicomède	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3512.60
Tues	26	2	1811	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	3186.45
Weds	27	2	1811	Amphytrion	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2834.35
Thurs	28	2	1811	Gaston et Bayard	Les Vendanges de Suresne	2197.90
Fri	1	3	1811	Le Père de famille	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	2654.90
Sat	2	3	1811	Le Misanthrope	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1526.65
Sun	3	3	1811	Le Père de famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2714.10
Mon	4	3	1811	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1757.30
Tues	5	3	1811	Relâche		
Weds	6	3	1811	Nicomède	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3295.05
Thurs	7	3	1811	Didon	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2231.80
Fri	8	3	1811	Le Père de famille	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1029.55
Sat	9	3	1811	Mahomet II	L'Avocat Patelin	4232.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	10	3	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Malade imaginaire	2244.25
Mon	11	3	1811	Mahomet II	Crispin rival de son maître	3284.90
Tues	12	3	1811	Le Joueur	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	592.45
Weds	13	3	1811	Athalie	Le Secret de ménage	2710.25
Thurs	14	3	1811	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1366.90
Fri	15	3	1811	Mahomet II	L'Épreuve	3508.10
Sat	16	3	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	228.90
Sun	17	3	1811	La Femme jalouse	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1415.20
Mon	18	3	1811	Mahomet II	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2853.10
Tues	19	3	1811	Le Légataire universel	Crispin médecin	202.95
Weds	20	3	1811	Mahomet II	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1911.85
Thurs	21	3	1811	Athalie	Le Malade imaginaire	3184.35
Fri	22	3	1811	L'École des femmes	Crispin rival de son maître	207.45
Sat	23	3	1811	Mahomet II	La Feinte par amour	2083.85
Sun	24	3	1811	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Fausses Confidences	2562.05
Mon	25	3	1811	Mahomet II	L'Heureuse Gageure	2581.80
Tues	26	3	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	197.10
Weds	27	3	1811	Andromaque	L'Heureuse Gageure	3352.35
Thurs	28	3	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	811.00
Fri	29	3	1811	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin rival de son maître	210.45
Sat	30	3	1811	Venceslas	L'Heureuse Gageure	2084.05
Sun	31	3	1811	Zaïre	L'Heureuse Gageure	2031.75
Mon	1	4	1811	L'École des pères	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	452.85

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	2	4	1811	Relâche		
Weds	3	4	1811	Iphigénie en Tauride	L'Avocat	2773.15
Thurs	4	4	1811	Brunchaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Les Folies amoureuses	1291.20
Fri	5	4	1811	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	447.10
Sat	6	4	1811	Brunchaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	L'Épreuve	1145.90
Sun	7	4	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3193.50
Mon	8	4	1811	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	919.45
Tues	9	4	1811	Sémiramis	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1638.25
Weds	10	4	1811	Andromaque	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3123.45
Thurs	11	4	1811	Relâche		
Fri	12	4	1811	Relâche		
Sat	13	4	1811	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	3184.80
Sun	14	4	1811	Gaston et Bayard	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1978.10
Mon	15	4	1811	Phèdre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1996.50
Tues	16	4	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1077.90
Weds	17	4	1811	Brunchaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1226.35
Thurs	18	4	1811	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	323.00
Fri	19	4	1811	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	569.00
Sat	20	4	1811	Britannicus	Les Plaideurs	4094.65
Sun	21	4	1811	Alzire, ou les Américains	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2326.00
Mon	22	4	1811	L'École des pères	La Femme misanthrope où le dépit d'amour	2789.60
Tues	23	4	1811	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	224.75

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	24	4	1811	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1227.20
Thurs	25	4	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage secret	876.75
Fri	26	4	1811	Œdipe	L'École des maris	3105.90
Sat	27	4	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1704.45
Sun	28	4	1811	Britannicus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3990.90
Mon	29	4	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	798.90
Tues	30	4	1811	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1395.55
Weds	1	5	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Les Folies amoureuses	560.10
Thurs	2	5	1811	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	4060.60
Fri	3	5	1811	Artaxerce	Caroline, ou le tableau	1148.50
Sat	4	5	1811	Relâche		
Sun	5	5	1811	Phèdre	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2916.60
Mon	6	5	1811	Le Misanthrope	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	916.80
Tues	7	5	1811	Le Cid	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	569.95
Weds	8	5	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1683.00
Thurs	9	5	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Minuit	2280.35
Fri	10	5	1811	La Femme jalouse	Les Deux Frères	1479.55
Sat	11	5	1811	Britannicus	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	1105.55
Sun	12	5	1811	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1343.45
Mon	13	5	1811	Tancrède	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	601.55
Tues	14	5	1811	Le Distrait	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	268.30
Weds	15	5	1811	Britannicus	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1115.10
Thurs	16	5	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Gageure imprévue	958.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	17	5	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	214.10
Sat	18	5	1811	Hamlet	Le Somnambule	4236.30
Sun	19	5	1811	Athalie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	945.20
Mon	20	5	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Minuit	327.25
Tues	21	5	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	1230.10
Weds	22	5	1811	Horace	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1379.75
Thurs	23	5	1811	Nicomède	Le Secret de ménage	1934.55
Fri	24	5	1811	Athalie	Le Retour imprévu	597.90
Sat	25	5	1811	Hamlet	L'Épreuve	2440.05
Sun	26	5	1811	Tancrède	Les Folies amoureuses	328.40
Mon	27	5	1811	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1251.20
Tues	28	5	1811	Le Joueur	Crispin rival de son maître	583.00
Weds	29	5	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Retour imprévu	391.45
Thurs	30	5	1811	Les Templiers	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2782.55
Fri	31	5	1811	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	151.90
Sat	1	6	1811	Britannicus	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3251.95
Sun	2	6	1811	Le Cid	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1690.20
Mon	3	6	1811	Le Festin de Pierre	Crispin rival de son maître	877.85
Tues	4	6	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Legs	538.90
Weds	5	6	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1094.70
Thurs	6	6	1811	Coriolan	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3070.30
Fri	7	6	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1178.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	8	6	1811	Zaïre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Gratis
Sun	9	6	1811	Relâche		
Mon	10	6	1811	Sémiramis	Le Somnambule	2375.55
Tues	11	6	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Amphitryon	1591.00
Weds	12	6	1811	Coriolan	La Gageure imprévue	2579.85
Thurs	13	6	1811	Le Joueur	Crispin rival de son maître	471.30
Fri	14	6	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	590.90
Sat	15	6	1811	Athalie	Les Fausses Confidences	1639.10
Sun	16	6	1811	Relâche		
Mon	17	6	1811	Manlius Capitolinus	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2961.90
Tues	18	6	1811	Le Festin de Pierre	La Gageure imprévue	538.55
Weds	19	6	1811	Andromaque	Les Fausses Confidences	2800.70
Thurs	20	6	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Legs	1308.85
Fri	21	6	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	235.10
Sat	22	6	1811	Phèdre	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1734.00
Sun	23	6	1811	Relâche		
Mon	24	6	1811	Esther	Les Deux Gendres	9376.30
Tues	25	6	1811	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1469.40
Weds	26	6	1811	Hamlet	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2041.85
Thurs	27	6	1811	La Métomanie, ou le poète	Les Fausses Confidences	719.95
Fri	28	6	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	135.55
Sat	29	6	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	3341.65
Sun	30	6	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1186.70

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	1	7	1811	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1624.50
Tues	2	7	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	873.40
Weds	3	7	1811	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Fausses Infidélités	1353.90
Thurs	4	7	1811	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'École des maris	2353.85
Fri	5	7	1811	Le Distrait	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	293.65
Sat	6	7	1811	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	2769.80
Sun	7	7	1811	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	783.65
Mon	8	7	1811	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1103.20
Tues	9	7	1811	Venceslas	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	680.10
Weds	10	7	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	885.75
Thurs	11	7	1811	Gaston et Bayard	Heureusement	1382.00
Fri	12	7	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	136.35
Sat	13	7	1811	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Fausses Infidélités	1875.75
Sun	14	7	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	240.30
Mon	15	7	1811	Hamlet	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1625.75
Tues	16	7	1811	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	La Femme juge et partie	335.10
Weds	17	7	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Heureusement	301.30
Thurs	18	7	1811	La Mort de Pompée	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	948.55
Fri	19	7	1811	Turcaret	L'Avocat Patelin	658.45
Sat	20	7	1811	Les Templiers	Le Somnambule	3582.75
Sun	21	7	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Confidences	2248.80

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	22	7	1811	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1292.90
Tues	23	7	1811	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	214.75
Weds	24	7	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Le Florentin	488.30
Thurs	25	7	1811	Nicomède	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1206.80
Fri	26	7	1811	Turcaret	L'École des maris	572.00
Sat	27	7	1811	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	680.00
Sun	28	7	1811	Gaston et Bayard	La Feinte par amour	1390.50
Mon	29	7	1811	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1109.10
Tues	30	7	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Florentin	170.90
Weds	31	7	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	894.10
Thurs	1	8	1811	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Heureusement	1437.10
Fri	2	8	1811	Relâche		
Sat	3	8	1811	Hamlet	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2226.65
Sun	4	8	1811	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1455.50
Mon	5	8	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Mari retrouvé	816.00
Tues	6	8	1811	L'École des femmes	Les Plaideurs	772.00
Weds	7	8	1811	Le Père de famille	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	915.45
Thurs	8	8	1811	Britannicus	Le Legs	3578.30
Fri	9	8	1811	Le Joueur	Crispin rival de son maître	431.55
Sat	10	8	1811	Le Cid	Le Mari retrouvé	372.00
Sun	11	8	1811	Britannicus	L'École des maris	3208.65
Mon	12	8	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Le Médecin malgré lui	440.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	13	8	1811	Eugénie	Les Deux Frères	1241.30
Weds	14	8	1811	Le Père de famille	Le Mari retrouvé	Gratis
Thurs	15	8	1811	Relâche		
Fri	16	8	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1137.00
Sat	17	8	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2897.30
Sun	18	8	1811	Turcaret	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	664.65
Mon	19	8	1811	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Mari retrouvé	600.30
Tues	20	8	1811	Bajazet	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	564.50
Weds	21	8	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Le Mariage secret	1114.30
Thurs	22	8	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Le Florentin	270.10
Fri	23	8	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	140.70
Sat	24	8	1811	Tancrède	Le Secret de ménage	3221.50
Sun	25	8	1811	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	720.10
Mon	26	8	1811	Turcaret	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	603.10
Tues	27	8	1811	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	561.20
Weds	28	8	1811	Eugénie	L'Avocat	692.65
Thurs	29	8	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Mari retrouvé	3057.20
Fri	30	8	1811	Le Misanthrope	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1542.60
Sat	31	8	1811	Tancrède	L'École des maris	1484.75
Sun	1	9	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	518.90
Mon	2	9	1811	Le Distant	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	371.30
Tues	3	9	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	404.40
Weds	4	9	1811	L'École des femmes	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	445.65

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	5	9	1811	Phèdre	Les Fausses Infidélités	1835.20
Fri	6	9	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Les Plaideurs	631.20
Sat	7	9	1811	Britannicus	Le Mari retrouvé	2851.35
Sun	8	9	1811	Turcaret	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	903.90
Mon	9	9	1811	La Manie de l'indépendance, ou Scapin tout seul	Crispin rival de son maître	3683.90
Tues	10	9	1811	Le menteur	Le Bourru bienfaisant	684.10
Weds	11	9	1811	L'École des femmes	Heureusement	180.40
Thurs	12	9	1811	Britannicus	Le Babillard	2305.05
Fri	13	9	1811	Le Joueur	Le Médecin malgré lui	408.20
Sat	14	9	1811	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Folies amoureuses	1852.50
Sun	15	9	1811	L'Avare	Les Fourberies de Scapin	947.20
Mon	16	9	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Gageure imprévue	1195.00
Tues	17	9	1811	La Femme juge et partie	L'École des maris	254.40
Weds	18	9	1811	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	260.45
Thurs	19	9	1811	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Fausses Infidélités	2608.65
Fri	20	9	1811	L'École des femmes	Le Florentin	135.90
Sat	21	9	1811	L'Avare	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	563.70
Sun	22	9	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	2524.00
Mon	23	9	1811	Bajazet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	795.75
Tues	24	9	1811	La Métromanie, ou le poète	L'École des maris	461.90
Weds	25	9	1811	Le menteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1675.30
Thurs	26	9	1811	Athalie	Le Legs	1628.00
Fri	27	9	1811	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	955.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	28	9	1811	La Femme jalouse	Le Mari retrouvé	1220.80
Sun	29	9	1811	Le menteur	Les Fausses Confidences	3046.40
Mon	30	9	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1747.45
Tues	1	10	1811	Le Cid	Le Triple Mariage	647.00
Weds	2	10	1811	Athalie	Les Folies amoureuses	1161.25
Thurs	3	10	1811	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Pères créanciers	1583.00
Fri	4	10	1811	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	952.55
Sat	5	10	1811	Médée	Le Triple Mariage	773.25
Sun	6	10	1811	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2288.00
Mon	7	10	1811	Le Menteur	Le Secret de ménage	1417.80
Tues	8	10	1811	Médée	Le Médecin malgré lui	545.70
Weds	9	10	1811	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	636.00
Thurs	10	10	1811	Le Père de famille	Les Fourberies de Scapin	735.20
Fri	11	10	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	283.35
Sat	12	10	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Mariage secret	1363.00
Sun	13	10	1811	Le Menteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2560.70
Mon	14	10	1811	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1938.25
Tues	15	10	1811	Les Femmes savantes	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	580.00
Weds	16	10	1811	Turcaret	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	872.25
Thurs	17	10	1811	Nicomède	Pygmalion	1546.65
Fri	18	10	1811	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Triple Mariage	433.80
Sat	19	10	1811	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	380.60

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	20	10	1811	Zaïre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3056.50
Mon	21	10	1811	Le Menteur	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	878.90
Tues	22	10	1811	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	579.55
Weds	23	10	1811	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	L'Épreuve	3683.55
Thurs	24	10	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2289.95
Fri	25	10	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	242.90
Sat	26	10	1811	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2985.10
Sun	27	10	1811	Le Cid	L'Amant bourru	3475.85
Mon	28	10	1811	Turcaret	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	749.20
Tues	29	10	1811	Horace	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1741.75
Weds	30	10	1811	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Bienfait anonyme	3226.60
Thurs	31	10	1811	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Amant bourru	2089.80
Fri	1	11	1811	La Gouvernante	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1511.70
Sat	2	11	1811	Sémiramis	La Gageure imprévue	2335.20
Sun	3	11	1811	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3553.60
Mon	4	11	1811	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1490.10
Tues	5	11	1811	La Gouvernante	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1344.25
Weds	6	11	1811	Tancrède	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1812.70
Thurs	7	11	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Le Mari retrouvé	4016.30
Fri	8	11	1811	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Fausses Confidences	1051.10
Sat	9	11	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Les Folies amoureuses	2856.05
Sun	10	11	1811	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2279.20

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	11	11	1811	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Amphitryon	1332.65
Tues	12	11	1811	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	282.90
Weds	13	11	1811	Le Mechant	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2910.50
Thurs	14	11	1811	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	239.70
Fri	15	11	1811	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Avocat	1975.35
Sat	16	11	1811	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1208.50
Sun	17	11	1811	Athalie	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3624.10
Mon	18	11	1811	Le Mechant	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3129.80
Tues	19	11	1811	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	L'Amant bourru	1234.80
Weds	20	11	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	1833.55
Thurs	21	11	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Le Legs	3620.95
Fri	22	11	1811	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	214.70
Sat	23	11	1811	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1999.75
Sun	24	11	1811	Zaïre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2148.90
Mon	25	11	1811	Le Mechant	La Revanche	2298.20
Tues	26	11	1811	Le menteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	778.00
Weds	27	11	1811	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Mariage secret	1935.55
Thurs	28	11	1811	Ariane	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1898.80
Fri	29	11	1811	Les Deux Gendres	La Gageure imprévue	3438.85
Sat	30	11	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Plaideurs	Gratis
Sun	1	12	1811	Relâche		
Mon	2	12	1811	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2426.95
Tues	3	12	1811	Phèdre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1819.40

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	4	12	1811	Œdipe	Le Florentin	4265.15
Thurs	5	12	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Bruis et Palaprat	3315.10
Fri	6	12	1811	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	976.00
Sat	7	12	1811	Britannicus	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3669.80
Sun	8	12	1811	Eugénie	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2578.25
Mon	9	12	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2869.15
Tues	10	12	1811	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1224.90
Weds	11	12	1811	Coriolan	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2419.75
Thurs	12	12	1811	Le Distrait	Heureusement	296.15
Fri	13	12	1811	Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis	L'Auteur et le critique	2319.05
Sat	14	12	1811	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3289.10
Sun	15	12	1811	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Deux Frères	2477.00
Mon	16	12	1811	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Les Fausses Confidences	2785.55
Tues	17	12	1811	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Amphitryon	1240.45
Weds	18	12	1811	Horace	Le Confident par hasard	1692.35
Thurs	19	12	1811	Hector	L'École des maris	3403.85
Fri	20	12	1811	Les Deux Gendres	Le Legs	3371.15
Sat	21	12	1811	Alzire, ou les Américains	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1476.75
Sun	22	12	1811	Venceslas	L'Amant bourru	3943.60
Mon	23	12	1811	L'École des pères	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	408.00
Tues	24	12	1811	Turcaret	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3424.50
Weds	25	12	1811	Zaïre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2659.25
Thurs	26	12	1811	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Mari retrouvé	2845.10

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	27	12	1811	Hector	Le Somnambule	2321.65
Sat	28	12	1811	Les Deux Gendres	La Gageure imprévue	2477.20
Sun	29	12	1811	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Les Deux Frères	2328.60
Mon	30	12	1811	Annibal	L'École des maris	2955.40
Tues	31	12	1811	Turcaret	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3048.50
Weds	1	1	1812	Le Menteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2076.00
Thurs	2	1	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	469.27
Fri	3	1	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1309.05
Sat	4	1	1812	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	233.09
Sun	5	1	1812	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	3707.50
Mon	6	1	1812	Œdipe	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3199.68
Tues	7	1	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1641.36
Weds	8	1	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Gageure imprévue	3315.73
Thurs	9	1	1812	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Avocat	2945.55
Fri	10	1	1812	La Gouvernante	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	679.82
Sat	11	1	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2428.09
Sun	12	1	1812	Hector	Le Médecin malgré lui	3170.63
Mon	13	1	1812	Britannicus	Le Mari retrouvé	2808.55
Tues	14	1	1812	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	346.73
Weds	15	1	1812	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Femmes	2807.86
Thurs	16	1	1812	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1396.73
Fri	17	1	1812	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Fausses Infidélités	2730.77

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	18	1	1812	La Maison de Molière	Turcaret	2535.95
Sun	19	1	1812	Phèdre	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	3466.00
Mon	20	1	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2939.73
Tues	21	1	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Les Femmes	3106.64
Weds	22	1	1812	Sémiramis	Le Somnambule	2354.64
Thurs	23	1	1812	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	1625.50
Fri	24	1	1812	Nicomède	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1484.14
Sat	25	1	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3047.18
Sun	26	1	1812	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2354.45
Mon	27	1	1812	Le Distrait	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	463.55
Tues	28	1	1812	Athalie	Le Secret de ménage	4074.86
Weds	29	1	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3038.00
Thurs	30	1	1812	Tancrède	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2252.73
Fri	31	1	1812	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3741.80
Sat	1	2	1812	Britannicus	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3396.64
Sun	2	2	1812	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1583.73
Mon	3	2	1812	Zaïre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1755.86
Tues	4	2	1812	L'Avare	Le Médecin malgré lui	486.41
Weds	5	2	1812	Gaston et Bayard	Caroline, ou le tableau	2656.82
Thurs	6	2	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3298.14
Fri	7	2	1812	Les Deux Gendres	La Revanche	3343.59
Sat	8	2	1812	Le Comte d'Essex	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2737.10
Sun	9	2	1812	Artaxerce	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2551.23

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	10	2	1812	Le Comte d'Essex	Les Folies amoureuses	3225.59
Tues	11	2	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3980.09
Weds	12	2	1812	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des bourgeois	2965.77
Thurs	13	2	1812	Venceslas	L'Avocat	1940.00
Fri	14	2	1812	Le Joueur	Le Médecin malgré lui	515.64
Sat	15	2	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2829.91
Sun	16	2	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Plaideurs	9610.14
Mon	17	2	1812	Le Cid	Les Folies amoureuses	1187.00
Tues	18	2	1812	L'Assemblée de famille	Les Fausses Confidences	2348.73
Weds	19	2	1812	Iphigénie en Tauride	Le Parleur contrarié	2893.86
Thurs	20	2	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2409.86
Fri	21	2	1812	Le Comte d'Essex	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1967.82
Sat	22	2	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Bruis et Palaprat	2988.50
Sun	23	2	1812	Athalie	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	4028.23
Mon	24	2	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	367.82
Tues	25	2	1812	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1837.23
Weds	26	2	1812	Le Ministre anglais	Le Médecin malgré lui	4045.23
Thurs	27	2	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'Amant bourru	2639.05
Fri	28	2	1812	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1080.18
Sat	29	2	1812	Le Ministre anglais	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2067.64
Sun	1	3	1812	Tancrède	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2978.28
Mon	2	3	1812	Relâche		
Tues	3	3	1812	Horace	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1600.91

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	4	3	1812	Le Ministre anglais	L'École des maris	2029.96
Thurs	5	3	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2915.27
Fri	6	3	1812	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	632.55
Sat	7	3	1812	Le Ministre anglais	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	469.55
Sun	8	3	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2868.64
Mon	9	3	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	3365.68
Tues	10	3	1812	La Femme jalouse	Minuit	1322.45
Weds	11	3	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1837.73
Thurs	12	3	1812	Relâche		
Fri	13	3	1812	Le Menteur	Le Bourru bienfaisant	672.18
Sat	14	3	1812	Gaston et Bayard	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1129.00
Sun	15	3	1812	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2982.45
Mon	16	3	1812	Britannicus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3237.32
Tues	17	3	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1144.55
Weds	18	3	1812	Le Ministre anglais	La Revanche	1595.64
Thurs	19	3	1812	Athalie	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	2178.05
Fri	20	3	1812	Turcaret	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3583.59
Sat	21	3	1812	Polyeucte martyr	Le Babillard	2214.45
Sun	22	3	1812	Zaïre	Les Fausses Confidences	2507.27
Mon	23	3	1812	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'École des maris	503.09
Tues	24	3	1812	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1561.09
Weds	25	3	1812	Hector	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2913.09
Thurs	26	3	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Le Legs	2189.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	27	3	1812	Relâche		
Sat	28	3	1812	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1661.64
Sun	29	3	1812	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3731.09
Mon	30	3	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'École des maris	2133.00
Tues	31	3	1812	Le Joueur	Les Deux Frères	738.91
Weds	1	4	1812	Le menteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	937.27
Thurs	2	4	1812	Nicomède	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1606.27
Fri	3	4	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Médecin malgré lui	356.09
Sat	4	4	1812	Œdipe	Crispin rival de son maître	1567.50
Sun	5	4	1812	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des bourgeois	3175.64
Mon	6	4	1812	Gaston et Bayard	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2191.91
Tues	7	4	1812	L'Avare	L'Avocat Patelin	398.82
Weds	8	4	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2803.73
Thurs	9	4	1812	Le Joueur	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	314.70
Fri	10	4	1812	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Somnambule	823.27
Sat	11	4	1812	La Coquette corrigée	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2740.91
Sun	12	4	1812	Sémiramis	L'Avocat	2758.36
Mon	13	4	1812	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	401.91
Tues	14	4	1812	La Femme juge et partie	L'Avocat Patelin	254.55
Weds	15	4	1812	Œdipe chez Admète	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	4913.45
Thurs	16	4	1812	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	471.91
Fri	17	4	1812	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Les Fausses Confidences	2217.82
Sat	18	4	1812	Britannicus	Les Plaideurs	2660.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	19	4	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	3022.64
Mon	20	4	1812	Manlius Capitolinus	Crispin médecin	3435.50
Tues	21	4	1812	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2182.59
Weds	22	4	1812	Sémiramis	Le Babillard	1023.64
Thurs	23	4	1812	Le Misanthrope	L'École des maris	1990.45
Fri	24	4	1812	Mascarille, ou la sœur supposée	Les Folies amoureuses	3861.32
Sat	25	4	1812	Phèdre	L'Avocat Patelin	2164.45
Sun	26	4	1812	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2400.32
Mon	27	4	1812	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Les Fausses Infidélités	2016.86
Tues	28	4	1812	Les Deux Gendres	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1834.82
Weds	29	4	1812	Phèdre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1354.91
Thurs	30	4	1812	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Plaideurs	3278.09
Fri	1	5	1812	Le Joueur	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	990.91
Sat	2	5	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Crispin rival de son maître	1706.67
Sun	3	5	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1675.91
Mon	4	5	1812	Gaston et Bayard	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	677.00
Tues	5	5	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	226.00
Weds	6	5	1812	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Bourru bienfaisant	804.64
Thurs	7	5	1812	Œdipe chez Admète	L'Aveugle Clairvoyant	2479.82
Fri	8	5	1812	Les Deux Gendres	L'Avocat Patelin	784.00
Sat	9	5	1812	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Crispin médecin	954.55
Sun	10	5	1812	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	962.18
Mon	11	5	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Médecin malgré lui	147.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	12	5	1812	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3807.18
Weds	13	5	1812	Œdipe chez Admète	Les Fausses Infidélités	1911.23
Thurs	14	5	1812	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	312.73
Fri	15	5	1812	Hamlet	Le Florentin	2592.38
Sat	16	5	1812	Horace	Crispin rival de son maître	1341.73
Sun	17	5	1812	Zaïre	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3585.41
Mon	18	5	1812	Eugénie	Amphitryon	777.09
Tues	19	5	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	1382.18
Weds	20	5	1812	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	3251.59
Thurs	21	5	1812	Œdipe chez Admète	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1504.91
Fri	22	5	1812	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	454.00
Sat	23	5	1812	Tancrède	Le Mari retrouvé	802.27
Sun	24	5	1812	Les Deux Gendres	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2863.18
Mon	25	5	1812	L'École des pères	Les Fourberies de Scapin	293.64
Tues	26	5	1812	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Babillard	553.91
Weds	27	5	1812	L'Enfant prodigue, ou l'école de la jeunesse	La Gageure imprévue	432.91
Thurs	28	5	1812	Le Légataire universel	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	121.55
Fri	29	5	1812	La Gouvernante	Le Confident par hasard	253.18
Sat	30	5	1812	Iphigénie en Tauride	Les Plaideurs	2095.82
Sun	31	5	1812	Athalie	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	936.00
Mon	1	6	1812	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3901.73
Tues	2	6	1812	Nicomède	Les Fourberies de Scapin	964.73
Weds	3	6	1812	Andromaque	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1809.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	4	6	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1907.73
Fri	5	6	1812	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Folies amoureuses	222.38
Sat	6	6	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	L'Épreuve	619.32
Sun	7	6	1812	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	976.64
Mon	8	6	1812	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1396.64
Tues	9	6	1812	Le Distrait	Les Fourberies de Scapin	301.91
Weds	10	6	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1423.91
Thurs	11	6	1812	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Mariage secret	723.82
Fri	12	6	1812	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Crispin rival de son maître	97.09
Sat	13	6	1812	Andromaque	L'Amant bourru	1212.73
Sun	14	6	1812	Le Menteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	496.82
Mon	15	6	1812	Les Femmes savantes	Le Legs	515.82
Tues	16	6	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	1435.91
Weds	17	6	1812	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	754.82
Thurs	18	6	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	La Gageure imprévue	1339.09
Fri	19	6	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1274.91
Sat	20	6	1812	Tancrède	La Feinte par amour	977.91
Sun	21	6	1812	Eugénie	Amphitryon	1977.00
Mon	22	6	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	862.27
Tues	23	6	1812	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	190.82
Weds	24	6	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1287.73
Thurs	25	6	1812	Philoctète	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	1329.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	26	6	1812	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	229.64
Sat	27	6	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2330.73
Sun	28	6	1812	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1586.73
Mon	29	6	1812	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Mariage secret	1102.18
Tues	30	6	1812	Esther	Turcaret	1200.55
Weds	1	7	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Fausses Confidences	820.27
Thurs	2	7	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1277.00
Fri	3	7	1812	La Gouvernante	Le Mari retrouvé	381.91
Sat	4	7	1812	Philoctète	Le Vieux Célibataire	1423.27
Sun	5	7	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	888.45
Mon	6	7	1812	Le Joueur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	235.45
Tues	7	7	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Médecin malgré lui	89.64
Weds	8	7	1812	Philoctète	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	612.45
Thurs	9	7	1812	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Les Deux Frères	1085.00
Fri	10	7	1812	La Gouvernante	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	246.09
Sat	11	7	1812	Eugénie	L'Afflicieux	527.54
Sun	12	7	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	991.73
Mon	13	7	1812	La Coquette corrigée	L'Afflicieux	721.18
Tues	14	7	1812	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	286.27
Weds	15	7	1812	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Amphitryon	811.91
Thurs	16	7	1812	Venceslas	Les Fausses Confidences	1642.64
Fri	17	7	1812	Les Femmes savantes	Crispin rival de son maître	152.73
Sat	18	7	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Mariage secret	913.91

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	19	7	1812	Turcaret	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	641.55
Mon	20	7	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	293.45
Tues	21	7	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	151.55
Weds	22	7	1812	Artaxerce	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1313.09
Thurs	23	7	1812	Relâche		
Fri	24	7	1812	Le Distrait	Le Mari retrouvé	181.82
Sat	25	7	1812	Venceslas	La Résolution inutile, ou les déguisements amoureux	861.45
Sun	26	7	1812	Le menteur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	742.55
Mon	27	7	1812	L'École des pères	L'Afficieux	208.27
Tues	28	7	1812	L'Avare	L'École des maris	349.73
Weds	29	7	1812	La Coquette corrigée	La Gageure imprévue	1054.09
Thurs	30	7	1812	Mithridate	La Résolution inutile, ou les déguisements amoureux	1994.18
Fri	31	7	1812	Le Cid	L'Épreuve	438.73
Sat	1	8	1812	Philoctète	Les Châteaux en Espagne	817.45
Sun	2	8	1812	Eugénie	Amphitryon	912.73
Mon	3	8	1812	Turcaret	Les Fourberies de Scapin	444.09
Tues	4	8	1812	L'École des femmes	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	266.73
Weds	5	8	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Gageure imprévue	1109.36
Thurs	6	8	1812	Mithridate	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	2399.41
Fri	7	8	1812	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Folies amoureuses	96.55
Sat	8	8	1812	Artaxerce	Les Fausses Confidences	1395.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	9	8	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1504.64
Mon	10	8	1812	La Métomanie, ou le poète	Amphitryon	650.73
Tues	11	8	1812	Le Distrait	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	174.55
Weds	12	8	1812	Les Bourgeoises à la mode	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	829.09
Thurs	13	8	1812	L'Avare	L'Avocat Patelin	336.64
Fri	14	8	1812	Mithridate	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Gratis
Sat	15	8	1812	Relâche		
Sun	16	8	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	161.45
Mon	17	8	1812	Les Bourgeoises à la mode	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1048.91
Tues	18	8	1812	Tancrède	L'Épreuve	869.73
Weds	19	8	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Mariage secret	480.55
Thurs	20	8	1812	Le Cid	L'Afficieux	1143.18
Fri	21	8	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	652.55
Sat	22	8	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Avocat	880.18
Sun	23	8	1812	L'Avare	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	307.64
Mon	24	8	1812	Tancrède	Le Mari retrouvé	786.55
Tues	25	8	1812	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	185.27
Weds	26	8	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Gageure imprévue	882.55
Thurs	27	8	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Heureusement	1017.14
Fri	28	8	1812	Le menteur	La Résolution inutile, ou les déguisements amoureux	431.64
Sat	29	8	1812	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3980.36
Sun	30	8	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1576.91

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	31	8	1812	Le Misanthrope	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	4695.82
Tues	1	9	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Bourru bienfaisant	542.55
Weds	2	9	1812	Gaston et Bayard	Le Florentin	659.18
Thurs	3	9	1812	Les Bourgeoises à la mode	Les Plaideurs	767.82
Fri	4	9	1812	Horace	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	707.00
Sat	5	9	1812	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Legs	3524.27
Sun	6	9	1812	Gaston et Bayard	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1849.91
Mon	7	9	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2506.18
Tues	8	9	1812	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	279.61
Weds	9	9	1812	Andromaque	L'École des maris	2418.18
Thurs	10	9	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Feinte par amour	3872.77
Fri	11	9	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Florentin	120.36
Sat	12	9	1812	Horace	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1316.09
Sun	13	9	1812	Les Bourgeoises à la mode	Les Fourberies de Scapin	440.73
Mon	14	9	1812	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Fausses Confidences	2960.45
Tues	15	9	1812	Le Distrait	Le Médecin malgré lui	276.09
Weds	16	9	1812	Horace	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1385.73
Thurs	17	9	1812	Les Deux Gendres	L'École des bourgeois	2540.41
Fri	18	9	1812	Le Légataire universel	Crispin rival de son maître	288.09
Sat	19	9	1812	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1709.09
Sun	20	9	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Bourru bienfaisant	767.27
Mon	21	9	1812	Turcaret	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	352.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	22	9	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Mari retrouvé	1587.45
Weds	23	9	1812	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Jeunesse de Henry V	4372.41
Thurs	24	9	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	L'Avocat Patelin	279.36
Fri	25	9	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	198.00
Sat	26	9	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	1816.18
Sun	27	9	1812	Eugénie	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2115.55
Mon	28	9	1812	Tancrède	L'Afficieux	569.73
Tues	29	9	1812	Les Femmes savantes	Les Fourberies de Scapin	421.18
Weds	30	9	1812	Phèdre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3641.45
Thurs	1	10	1812	L'École des femmes	Crispin rival de son maître	245.18
Fri	2	10	1812	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	653.45
Sat	3	10	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Mari retrouvé	1548.55
Sun	4	10	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1229.73
Mon	5	10	1812	Le Vieux Célibataire	La Gageure imprévue	1087.50
Tues	6	10	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	240.36
Weds	7	10	1812	Andromaque	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2542.59
Thurs	8	10	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Amant bourru	3128.64
Fri	9	10	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	390.79
Sat	10	10	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1035.45
Sun	11	10	1812	La Femme jalouse	L'Avocat	3669.86
Mon	12	10	1812	Horace	L'École des maris	579.73
Tues	13	10	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	La Lecture de Clarisse	1979.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	14	10	1812	Turcaret	Les Fourberies de Scapin	703.45
Thurs	15	10	1812	La Femme jalouse	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	1523.91
Fri	16	10	1812	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Florentin	172.00
Sat	17	10	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Mariage secret	1966.23
Sun	18	10	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3820.00
Mon	19	10	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Mari retrouvé	239.36
Tues	20	10	1812	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2749.64
Weds	21	10	1812	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3760.27
Thurs	22	10	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Florentin	101.09
Fri	23	10	1812	Gaston et Bayard	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	271.50
Sat	24	10	1812	Athalie	Le Secret de ménage	3006.59
Sun	25	10	1812	Les Femmes savantes	Les Deux Frères	2355.18
Mon	26	10	1812	Phèdre	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1423.14
Tues	27	10	1812	Le Joueur	Les Folies amoureuses	430.27
Weds	28	10	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1811.36
Thurs	29	10	1812	Le Père de famille	Le Retour imprévu	707.64
Fri	30	10	1812	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	215.73
Sat	31	10	1812	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Avocat	2889.91
Sun	1	11	1812	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2711.55
Mon	2	11	1812	La Femme jalouse	Les Deux Frères	1270.09
Tues	3	11	1812	Tancrède	Le Mari retrouvé	415.00
Weds	4	11	1812	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	3368.36
Thurs	5	11	1812	L'Orphelin de la Chine	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1261.36

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	6	11	1812	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	L'École des maris	288.27
Sat	7	11	1812	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Gageure imprévue	3441.36
Sun	8	11	1812	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2831.36
Mon	9	11	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	448.91
Tues	10	11	1812	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Médecin malgré lui	290.73
Weds	11	11	1812	Le Misanthrope	La Jeunesse de Henry V	5160.86
Thurs	12	11	1812	Le Distrait	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	239.73
Fri	13	11	1812	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Folies amoureuses	165.36
Sat	14	11	1812	Les Deux Gendres	La Revanche	2461.05
Sun	15	11	1812	Zaïre	Les Bourgeoises de qualité	2403.27
Mon	16	11	1812	Iphigénie en Tauride	Crispin rival de son maître	4310.09
Tues	17	11	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Indécis	1427.45
Weds	18	11	1812	Tancrède	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	4333.37
Thurs	19	11	1812	L'Avare	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	255.45
Fri	20	11	1812	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Plaideurs	381.73
Sat	21	11	1812	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	L'Indécis	2272.14
Sun	22	11	1812	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2183.45
Mon	23	11	1812	Œdipe	L'Indécis	3306.86
Tues	24	11	1812	La Gouvernante	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	269.45
Weds	25	11	1812	Les Deux Gendres	L'École des bourgeois	1822.45
Thurs	26	11	1812	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2069.91
Fri	27	11	1812	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Entrevue	2238.91

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	28	11	1812	Britannicus	Le Somnambule	3884.27
Sun	29	11	1812	Le Vieux Célibataire	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1805.91
Mon	30	11	1812	Andromaque	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3332.96
Tues	1	12	1812	Le Légataire universel	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	138.09
Weds	2	12	1812	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	1750.50
Thurs	3	12	1812	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	308.82
Fri	4	12	1812	La Femme juge et partie	Le Médecin malgré lui	169.96
Sat	5	12	1812	Turcaret	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	Gratis
Sun	6	12	1812	Ariane	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1483.45
Mon	7	12	1812	Sémiramis	L'Indécis	3126.00
Tues	8	12	1812	Le Menteur	Les Plaideurs	396.36
Weds	9	12	1812	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	La Revanche	1256.36
Thurs	10	12	1812	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Les Deux Frères	2397.73
Fri	11	12	1812	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	325.18
Sat	12	12	1812	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	L'Entrevue	3414.82
Sun	13	12	1812	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2509.64
Mon	14	12	1812	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'École des maris	1009.64
Tues	15	12	1812	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	159.73
Weds	16	12	1812	Turcaret	Le Bourru bienfaisant	389.36
Thurs	17	12	1812	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Somnambule	1549.18

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	18	12	1812	Le Distrait	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	200.18
Sat	19	12	1812	Le Mechant	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2808.73
Sun	20	12	1812	Athalie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2698.55
Mon	21	12	1812	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2608.55
Tues	22	12	1812	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Mariage secret	1030.82
Weds	23	12	1812	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Plaideurs	4209.68
Thurs	24	12	1812	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2313.86
Fri	25	12	1812	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2277.45
Sat	26	12	1812	Œdipe	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3018.00
Sun	27	12	1812	Le Festin de Pierre	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1232.09
Mon	28	12	1812	Les Bourgeoises à la mode	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	824.91
Tues	29	12	1812	Hector	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3564.68
Weds	30	12	1812	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2964.91
Thurs	31	12	1812	L'Avare	L'Avocat Patelin	373.00
Fri	1	1	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3467.64
Sat	2	1	1813	Hector	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3877.05
Sun	3	1	1813	Turcaret	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2995.32
Mon	4	1	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1586.36
Tues	5	1	1813	Eugénie	Les Deux Frères	843.36
Weds	6	1	1813	Œdipe	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2561.91
Thurs	7	1	1813	Les Deux Gendres	La Revanche	2041.64
Fri	8	1	1813	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	168.27
Sat	9	1	1813	Hector	Les Fausses Infidélités	3637.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	10	1	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Amant bourru	2518.14
Mon	11	1	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	228.36
Tues	12	1	1813	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	909.09
Weds	13	1	1813	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Folies amoureuses	366.64
Thurs	14	1	1813	Turcaret	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	2363.36
Fri	15	1	1813	Le Cid	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1281.82
Sat	16	1	1813	Tancrède	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	3547.82
Sun	17	1	1813	Zaïre	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2700.91
Mon	18	1	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	200.09
Tues	19	1	1813	Les Femmes savantes	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	2602.95
Weds	20	1	1813	Hector	L'Avocat	2664.27
Thurs	21	1	1813	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	2319.64
Fri	22	1	1813	Manlius Capitolinus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2990.05
Sat	23	1	1813	Athalie	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	2590.68
Sun	24	1	1813	Le Vieux Célibataire	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	1509.45
Mon	25	1	1813	La Gouvernante	Le Mari retrouvé	333.55
Tues	26	1	1813	Le Menteur	Les Plaideurs	493.32
Weds	27	1	1813	Tippo-Saëb	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	4327.45
Thurs	28	1	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	2106.77
Fri	29	1	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Le Bourru bienfaisant	2982.50
Sat	30	1	1813	Tippo-Saëb	L'École des maris	2316.27
Sun	31	1	1813	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Entrevue	3251.09

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	1	2	1813	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	452.27
Tues	2	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Caroline, ou le tableau	3319.05
Weds	3	2	1813	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	2491.18
Thurs	4	2	1813	Le Méchant	Les Fausses Confidences	1678.82
Fri	5	2	1813	L'École des femmes	Heureusement	211.09
Sat	6	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	L'Épreuve	2471.82
Sun	7	2	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3276.09
Mon	8	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2628.18
Tues	9	2	1813	Le menteur	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	294.27
Weds	10	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	2548.82
Thurs	11	2	1813	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1119.55
Fri	12	2	1813	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Folies amoureuses	384.27
Sat	13	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	L'Avocat	1577.64
Sun	14	2	1813	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2508.86
Mon	15	2	1813	Relâche		
Tues	16	2	1813	Hector	Les Deux Frères	3449.18
Weds	17	2	1813	L'Avare	Le Mari retrouvé	406.27
Thurs	18	2	1813	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	552.36
Fri	19	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2797.36
Sat	20	2	1813	Le Distrait	L'Avocat Patelin	299.45
Sun	21	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	2807.18
Mon	22	2	1813	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2834.77
Tues	23	2	1813	Britannicus	Le Mariage secret	3508.41

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	24	2	1813	Le Misanthrope	L'Entrevue	3546.14
Thurs	25	2	1813	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3348.55
Fri	26	2	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Malade imaginaire	3577.86
Sat	27	2	1813	Tippo-Saëb	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3241.32
Sun	28	2	1813	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3285.00
Mon	1	3	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	941.73
Tues	2	3	1813	Le Cid	Le Malade imaginaire	4286.50
Weds	3	3	1813	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2413.55
Thurs	4	3	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	364.18
Fri	5	3	1813	Alzire, ou les Américains	Le Malade imaginaire	2408.73
Sat	6	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Les Folies amoureuses	4872.32
Sun	7	3	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Le Malade imaginaire	2994.55
Mon	8	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Le Mari retrouvé	3650.32
Tues	9	3	1813	Horace	Le Babillard	1337.45
Weds	10	3	1813	Turcaret	Le Mariage secret	862.09
Thurs	11	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Heureusement	3219.32
Fri	12	3	1813	Hamlet	L'Épreuve	3748.59
Sat	13	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Le Médecin malgré lui	2856.77
Sun	14	3	1813	Gaston et Bayard	Le Malade imaginaire	3588.61
Mon	15	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Le Legs	3474.64
Tues	16	3	1813	Le Père de famille	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	520.36
Weds	17	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Bruis et Palaprat	3578.77
Thurs	18	3	1813	Hamlet	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	3642.86

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	19	3	1813	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	212.00
Sat	20	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	La Gageure imprévue	2858.64
Sun	21	3	1813	Tippo-Saëb	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2685.00
Mon	22	3	1813	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1437.91
Tues	23	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	L'École des bourgeois	2925.95
Weds	24	3	1813	Andromaque	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3433.00
Thurs	25	3	1813	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1544.73
Fri	26	3	1813	L'Avare	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	343.09
Sat	27	3	1813	L'Intrigante, ou l'école des familles	Bruis et Palaprat	2952.14
Sun	28	3	1813	Hamlet	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3358.00
Mon	29	3	1813	Zaïre	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1658.82
Tues	30	3	1813	Le Menteur	Le Malade imaginaire	695.32
Weds	31	3	1813	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Revanche	2126.91
Thurs	1	4	1813	Britannicus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2754.55
Fri	2	4	1813	Le Distrait	Crispin rival de son maître	194.27
Sat	3	4	1813	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	220.82
Sun	4	4	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2834.18
Mon	5	4	1813	La Femme juge et partie	Heureusement	227.64
Tues	6	4	1813	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	398.46
Weds	7	4	1813	Athalie	Le Florentin	3106.14
Thurs	8	4	1813	Le Misanthrope	La Gageure imprévue	1850.64
Fri	9	4	1813	Adélaïde du Guesclin	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1677.05

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	10	4	1813	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Plaideurs	2970.82
Sun	11	4	1813	Médée	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1114.55
Mon	12	4	1813	Zaïre	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1827.91
Tues	13	4	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	139.91
Weds	14	4	1813	Tippo-Saëb	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2143.73
Thurs	15	4	1813	Relâche		
Fri	16	4	1813	Relâche		
Sat	17	4	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3845.50
Sun	18	4	1813	Sémiramis	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2375.27
Mon	19	4	1813	Ninus II	Le Florentin	4058.27
Tues	20	4	1813	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	222.00
Weds	21	4	1813	Ninus II	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	3906.55
Thurs	22	4	1813	Le Misanthrope	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1617.55
Fri	23	4	1813	Alzire, ou les Américains	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	927.55
Sat	24	4	1813	Hamlet	L'Épreuve	2875.23
Sun	25	4	1813	Les Deux Gendres	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	3203.23
Mon	26	4	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3881.82
Tues	27	4	1813	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	210.55
Weds	28	4	1813	Manlius Capitolinus	La Suite d'un bal masqué	4167.36
Thurs	29	4	1813	La Femme jalouse	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1164.55
Fri	30	4	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Avocat Patelin	247.64
Sat	1	5	1813	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	3310.05
Sun	2	5	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Amphitryon	1812.14

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	3	5	1813	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	348.45
Tues	4	5	1813	Andromaque	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3419.23
Weds	5	5	1813	Athalie	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1781.41
Thurs	6	5	1813	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Les Fausses Confidences	2275.68
Fri	7	5	1813	Œdipe	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3061.64
Sat	8	5	1813	Les Femmes savantes	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	1733.27
Sun	9	5	1813	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Bruis et Palaprat	3066.09
Mon	10	5	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	205.18
Tues	11	5	1813	Britannicus	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2136.77
Weds	12	5	1813	Le Jaloux sans amour	Avis aux mères, ou les deux fêtes	2410.45
Thurs	13	5	1813	Iphigénie en Tauride	La Gageure imprévue	1731.45
Fri	14	5	1813	Le Distrait	L'École des maris	148.55
Sat	15	5	1813	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2904.73
Sun	16	5	1813	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Mariage secret	2164.73
Mon	17	5	1813	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fausses Confidences	941.82
Tues	18	5	1813	Andromaque	Les Plaideurs	2253.18
Weds	19	5	1813	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1791.59
Thurs	20	5	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1138.91
Fri	21	5	1813	Le Distrait	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	313.00
Sat	22	5	1813	Gaston et Bayard	Les Fourberies de Scapin	Gratis
Sun	23	5	1813	Relâche		
Mon	24	5	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	2294.86

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	25	5	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Secret de ménage	2717.64
Weds	26	5	1813	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Médecin malgré lui	191.82
Thurs	27	5	1813	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	3147.45
Fri	28	5	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2796.23
Sat	29	5	1813	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	139.00
Sun	30	5	1813	Andromaque	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1450.00
Mon	31	5	1813	Le Joueur	L'École des maris	159.91
Tues	1	6	1813	L'Avare	Crispin rival de son maître	162.91
Weds	2	6	1813	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2008.91
Thurs	3	6	1813	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	193.11
Fri	4	6	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2225.59
Sat	5	6	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1511.27
Sun	6	6	1813	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fourberies de Scapin	602.18
Mon	7	6	1813	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3046.55
Tues	8	6	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Florentin	182.18
Weds	9	6	1813	Britannicus	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3336.68
Thurs	10	6	1813	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1685.77
Fri	11	6	1813	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	123.82
Sat	12	6	1813	Les Femmes savantes	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	Gratis
Sun	13	6	1813	Relâche		
Mon	14	6	1813	Tancrède	Le Mari retrouvé	644.55
Tues	15	6	1813	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Florentin	50.18
Weds	16	6	1813	L'École des femmes	Crispin médecin	97.73

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	17	6	1813	Horace	L'Épreuve	1336.41
Fri	18	6	1813	La Femme juge et partie	L'Avocat Patelin	83.45
Sat	19	6	1813	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	551.36
Sun	20	6	1813	Le Menteur	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	472.64
Mon	21	6	1813	Le Misanthrope	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1042.27
Tues	22	6	1813	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	104.64
Weds	23	6	1813	Phèdre	L'Épreuve	645.82
Thurs	24	6	1813	Athalie	Crispin médecin	1826.55
Fri	25	6	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Confidences	712.09
Sat	26	6	1813	Andromaque	Heureusement	792.09
Sun	27	6	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	483.91
Mon	28	6	1813	Le Menteur	L'Esprit de contradiction	173.73
Tues	29	6	1813	Britannicus	Les Folies amoureuses	2577.00
Weds	30	6	1813	Le Légataire universel	Le Florentin	283.18
Thurs	1	7	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'École des maris	2189.55
Fri	2	7	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	178.45
Sat	3	7	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Fausses Confidences	851.64
Sun	4	7	1813	Adélaïde du Guesclin	L'Esprit de contradiction	1141.18
Mon	5	7	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2627.27
Tues	6	7	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Heureusement	77.82
Weds	7	7	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Gageure imprévue	449.55
Thurs	8	7	1813	Zaïre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1590.00
Fri	9	7	1813	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	10	7	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2760.82
Sun	11	7	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Amant bourru	1794.45
Mon	12	7	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'École des maris	1676.41
Tues	13	7	1813	Phèdre	La Pupille	347.09
Weds	14	7	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	1664.09
Thurs	15	7	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2555.18
Fri	16	7	1813	Le menteur	Crispin médecin	180.64
Sat	17	7	1813	Le Glorieux	L'Amant bourru	1929.27
Sun	18	7	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Esprit de contradiction	1884.00
Mon	19	7	1813	Le Glorieux	La Gageure imprévue	1117.00
Tues	20	7	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	245.36
Weds	21	7	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1990.55
Thurs	22	7	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	La Pupille	2671.64
Fri	23	7	1813	Mithridate	Crispin rival de son maître	391.27
Sat	24	7	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Folies amoureuses	1015.41
Sun	25	7	1813	Le Fanatisme, ou Mahomet le prophète	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2292.73
Mon	26	7	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	866.45
Tues	27	7	1813	Phèdre	L'Amant bourru	1387.55
Weds	28	7	1813	Le Glorieux	Le Legs	760.73
Thurs	29	7	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	L'Épreuve	2004.00
Fri	30	7	1813	Le Menteur	Le Médecin malgré lui	137.00
Sat	31	7	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1162.64
Sun	1	8	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	329.09

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	2	8	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1539.09
Tues	3	8	1813	Horace	Les Plaideurs	241.45
Weds	4	8	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	898.73
Thurs	5	8	1813	Ariane	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	895.18
Fri	6	8	1813	Mithridate	L'Esprit de contradiction	280.45
Sat	7	8	1813	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1338.27
Sun	8	8	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Folies amoureuses	2732.45
Mon	9	8	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	891.55
Tues	10	8	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	200.18
Weds	11	8	1813	La Femme jalouse	Les Deux Frères	752.09
Thurs	12	8	1813	Andromaque	L'École des maris	943.45
Fri	13	8	1813	Horace	L'Esprit de contradiction	352.36
Sat	14	8	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fourberies de Scapin	Gratis
Sun	15	8	1813	Relâche		
Mon	16	8	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Plaideurs	2117.27
Tues	17	8	1813	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1156.18
Weds	18	8	1813	Bajazet	Les Folies amoureuses	514.27
Thurs	19	8	1813	Le Glorieux	Le Legs	831.27
Fri	20	8	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	1202.91
Sat	21	8	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2022.64
Sun	22	8	1813	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2506.36
Mon	23	8	1813	Eugénie	La Surprise de l'amour	1401.27
Tues	24	8	1813	Bajazet	L'Esprit de contradiction	329.27

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	25	8	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Surprise de l'amour	1099.27
Thurs	26	8	1813	Le Cid	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	1238.36
Fri	27	8	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1338.27
Sat	28	8	1813	Britannicus	L'École des maris	1225.45
Sun	29	8	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2413.55
Mon	30	8	1813	Démocrite amoureux	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	757.55
Tues	31	8	1813	Bajazet	L'Esprit de contradiction	369.27
Weds	1	9	1813	Démocrite amoureux	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	744.09
Thurs	2	9	1813	Zaïre	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1802.27
Fri	3	9	1813	L'École des femmes	Le Médecin malgré lui	239.36
Sat	4	9	1813	Le Misanthrope	La Suite d'un bal masqué	4314.09
Sun	5	9	1813	Le Cid	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	2711.64
Mon	6	9	1813	Phèdre	Les Fourberies de Scapin	901.00
Tues	7	9	1813	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Secret de ménage	2726.95
Weds	8	9	1813	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	248.45
Thurs	9	9	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Folies amoureuses	1176.82
Fri	10	9	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Les Plaideurs	297.73
Sat	11	9	1813	Turcaret	Les Fausses Confidences	2802.82
Sun	12	9	1813	Horace	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	557.45
Mon	13	9	1813	Philoctète	La Métromanie, ou le poète	1875.45
Tues	14	9	1813	L'École des femmes	Heureusement	260.45
Weds	15	9	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	1176.09

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	16	9	1813	Le Glorieux	L'École des bourgeois	3484.64
Fri	17	9	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Le Médecin malgré lui	220.36
Sat	18	9	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3369.41
Sun	19	9	1813	Didon	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	450.45
Mon	20	9	1813	Artaxerce	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2251.00
Tues	21	9	1813	L'Avare	Le Mari retrouvé	358.82
Weds	22	9	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Nièce supposée	4043.50
Thurs	23	9	1813	Didon	Les Folies amoureuses	380.90
Fri	24	9	1813	Le Glorieux	La Nièce supposée	3022.18
Sat	25	9	1813	Venceslas	L'Avocat	1237.64
Sun	26	9	1813	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Fausses Confidences	2155.77
Mon	27	9	1813	Phèdre	Les Fourberies de Scapin	681.00
Tues	28	9	1813	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Nièce supposée	2224.32
Weds	29	9	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Médecin malgré lui	5098.27
Thurs	30	9	1813	Turcaret	La Nièce supposée	1765.18
Fri	1	10	1813	Démocrite amoureux	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	269.64
Sat	2	10	1813	Sémiramis	Les Folies amoureuses	3626.59
Sun	3	10	1813	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Nièce supposée	2776.27
Mon	4	10	1813	Eugénie	Les Deux Frères	1095.82
Tues	5	10	1813	Le Joueur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	396.55
Weds	6	10	1813	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Babilard	2494.86
Thurs	7	10	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2852.36

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	8	10	1813	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Crispin rival de son maître	312.91
Sat	9	10	1813	Athalie	Heureusement	3545.18
Sun	10	10	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2731.73
Mon	11	10	1813	Démocrate amoureux	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	473.45
Tues	12	10	1813	Artaxerce	La Nièce supposée	1885.91
Weds	13	10	1813	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	270.18
Thurs	14	10	1813	Horace	Le Médecin malgré lui	3377.68
Fri	15	10	1813	La Gouvernante	Crispin rival de son maître	179.64
Sat	16	10	1813	La Coquette corrigée	Le Legs	1277.64
Sun	17	10	1813	Sémiramis	Les Fourberies de Scapin	3926.73
Mon	18	10	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Gageure imprévue	1254.18
Tues	19	10	1813	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1068.82
Weds	20	10	1813	La Coquette corrigée	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	879.55
Thurs	21	10	1813	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Épreuve	3282.18
Fri	22	10	1813	La Gouvernante	Crispin médecin	244.55
Sat	23	10	1813	La Femme jalouse	L'École des maris	1180.91
Sun	24	10	1813	Didon	Les Plaideurs	2456.05
Mon	25	10	1813	Nicomède	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	733.55
Tues	26	10	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1174.91
Weds	27	10	1813	Athalie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3287.55
Thurs	28	10	1813	Le Misanthrope	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1523.27
Fri	29	10	1813	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	1694.91
Sat	30	10	1813	Les Femmes savantes	Les Deux Frères	960.55

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	31	10	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1969.27
Mon	1	11	1813	Bajazet	L'Avocat	3061.32
Tues	2	11	1813	L'École des femmes	Les Plaideurs	344.64
Weds	3	11	1813	La Femme jalouse	Les Fausses Infidélités	808.91
Thurs	4	11	1813	Andromaque	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2519.64
Fri	5	11	1813	Démocrite amoureux	L'École des maris	230.73
Sat	6	11	1813	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	591.45
Sun	7	11	1813	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1744.09
Mon	8	11	1813	Nicomède	Les Deux Frères	646.73
Tues	9	11	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	182.55
Weds	10	11	1813	Le Glorieux	La Surprise de l'amour	910.36
Thurs	11	11	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Legs	2349.91
Fri	12	11	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Esprit de contradiction	181.64
Sat	13	11	1813	Phèdre	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	2397.95
Sun	14	11	1813	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fausses Confidences	1599.36
Mon	15	11	1813	Œdipe	L'Épreuve	3911.68
Tues	16	11	1813	La Gouvernante	Crispin rival de son maître	131.82
Weds	17	11	1813	Sémiramis	Heureusement	3232.82
Thurs	18	11	1813	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3458.23
Fri	19	11	1813	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	L'Avocat Patelin	150.55
Sat	20	11	1813	Le Menteur	Le Bourru bienfaisant	451.27
Sun	21	11	1813	Bajazet	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1621.82
Mon	22	11	1813	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de	La Nièce supposée	3034.68

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
				l'âtre		
Tues	23	11	1813	Le Légataire universel	Les Folies amoureuses	153.55
Weds	24	11	1813	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1206.82
Thurs	25	11	1813	Athalie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3293.05
Fri	26	11	1813	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2706.45
Sat	27	11	1813	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Plaideurs	3363.95
Sun	28	11	1813	Zaïre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1718.23
Mon	29	11	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Crispin rival de son maître	2302.09
Tues	30	11	1813	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1707.72
Weds	1	12	1813	L'Avare	Le Florentin	251.82
Thurs	2	12	1813	Œdipe	La Gageure imprévue	3255.41
Fri	3	12	1813	Tom Jones	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1421.09
Sat	4	12	1813	Zaïre	Crispin médecin	Gratis
Sun	5	12	1813	Relâche		
Mon	6	12	1813	Tom Jones	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	1167.64
Tues	7	12	1813	Le Glorieux	Amphitryon	944.91
Weds	8	12	1813	Les Deux Gendres	La Nièce supposée	2226.27
Thurs	9	12	1813	Ninus II	Le Médecin malgré lui	3623.32
Fri	10	12	1813	Tom Jones	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	922.73
Sat	11	12	1813	Ninus II	L'Esprit de contradiction	2838.14
Sun	12	12	1813	Turcaret	La Nièce supposée	2052.32
Mon	13	12	1813	Ninus II	L'Épreuve	2209.64
Tues	14	12	1813	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Les Folies amoureuses	280.41

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	15	12	1813	Horace	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1447.32
Thurs	16	12	1813	Le Misanthrope	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2224.55
Fri	17	12	1813	Ninus II	Les Fausses Infidélités	2457.68
Sat	18	12	1813	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2375.59
Sun	19	12	1813	Tom Jones	Les Fausses Confidences	2015.95
Mon	20	12	1813	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1300.27
Tues	21	12	1813	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Les Deux Frères	821.18
Weds	22	12	1813	Ninus II	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2029.68
Thurs	23	12	1813	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	183.55
Fri	24	12	1813	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	403.45
Sat	25	12	1813	Ninus II	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	3228.77
Sun	26	12	1813	Artaxerce	L'Avocat	1744.44
Mon	27	12	1813	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3583.18
Tues	28	12	1813	Le Cid	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	629.64
Weds	29	12	1813	Ninus II	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2053.68
Thurs	30	12	1813	L'Assemblée de famille	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2778.09
Fri	31	12	1813	Ninus II	Le Legs	989.55
Sat	1	1	1814	Tom Jones	Le Malade imaginaire	2262.55
Sun	2	1	1814	Andromaque	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	3113.18
Mon	3	1	1814	L'Assemblée de famille	L'École des bourgeois	2197.64
Tues	4	1	1814	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	408.18
Weds	5	1	1814	Fouquet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3096.73
Thurs	6	1	1814	Ninus II	Le Malade imaginaire	1943.73

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	7	1	1814	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2747.68
Sat	8	1	1814	Iphigénie en Tauride	Molière avec ses amis, ou le souper d'Auteuil	2937.45
Sun	9	1	1814	Horace	Le Malade imaginaire	2289.18
Mon	10	1	1814	Le Misanthrope	La Gageure imprévue	669.00
Tues	11	1	1814	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	L'Amant bourru	1785.00
Weds	12	1	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	1939.55
Thurs	13	1	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1337.27
Fri	14	1	1814	Zaïre	Le Mariage secret	1037.41
Sat	15	1	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Nièce supposée	2579.64
Sun	16	1	1814	Ninus II	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1931.45
Mon	17	1	1814	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	354.64
Tues	18	1	1814	Les Deux Gendres	Bruis et Palaprat	1304.00
Weds	19	1	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2927.64
Thurs	20	1	1814	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	L'École des bourgeois	1473.23
Fri	21	1	1814	Œdipe	L'Épreuve	1791.81
Sat	22	1	1814	Polyeucte martyr	Le Somnambule	1486.91
Sun	23	1	1814	Esther	La Femme jalouse	3201.91
Mon	24	1	1814	Le Cid	Le Malade imaginaire	1081.82
Tues	25	1	1814	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2703.59
Weds	26	1	1814	Andromaque	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2898.14
Thurs	27	1	1814	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1668.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	28	1	1814	Le Distrait	Crispin rival de son maître	129.45
Sat	29	1	1814	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Crispin rival de son maître	269.82
Sun	30	1	1814	Gaston et Bayard	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3972.18
Mon	31	1	1814	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Nièce supposée	2119.55
Tues	1	2	1814	L'Avare	Le Florentin	366.45
Weds	2	2	1814	Esther	Le Vieux Célibataire	2762.45
Thurs	3	2	1814	Tancrède	Les Fausses Confidences	1115.27
Fri	4	2	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	167.45
Sat	5	2	1814	Gaston et Bayard	La Nièce supposée	2055.91
Sun	6	2	1814	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1945.91
Mon	7	2	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1630.09
Tues	8	2	1814	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	251.73
Weds	9	2	1814	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1733.45
Thurs	10	2	1814	Le Siège de Calais	Crispin rival de son maître	3569.41
Fri	11	2	1814	Tom Jones à Londres	L'Amant bourru	922.91
Sat	12	2	1814	Le Siège de Calais	Le Mari retrouvé	3161.23
Sun	13	2	1814	Gaston et Bayard	Le Malade imaginaire	2169.27
Mon	14	2	1814	Philoctète	Turcaret	820.45
Tues	15	2	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	128.73
Weds	16	2	1814	Œdipe	Le Legs	1560.91
Thurs	17	2	1814	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1334.09
Fri	18	2	1814	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Les Folies amoureuses	168.73

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	19	2	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1960.09
Sun	20	2	1814	Zaïre	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2393.27
Mon	21	2	1814	Les Chateaux en Espagne	Le Malade imaginaire	1745.73
Tues	22	2	1814	Esther	Les Femmes savantes	3276.00
Weds	23	2	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Époux par supercherie	2488.27
Thurs	24	2	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Plaideurs	1941.82
Fri	25	2	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	138.73
Sat	26	2	1814	Horace	Le Malade imaginaire	2295.64
Sun	27	2	1814	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'êtré	La Nièce supposée	1928.68
Mon	28	2	1814	L'École des femmes	Le Florentin	141.55
Tues	1	3	1814	La Gouvernante	Les Fourberies de Scapin	190.00
Weds	2	3	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	193.18
Thurs	3	3	1814	Andromaque	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1744.00
Fri	4	3	1814	L'Avare	Heureusement	232.91
Sat	5	3	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'Époux par supercherie	2049.09
Sun	6	3	1814	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Malade imaginaire	641.82
Mon	7	3	1814	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	329.91
Tues	8	3	1814	Ninus II	Le Legs	1421.82
Weds	9	3	1814	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Secret de ménage	1577.10
Thurs	10	3	1814	Sémiramis	Le Mariage secret	1849.27
Fri	11	3	1814	La Femme jalouse	Le Médecin malgré lui	93.45
Sat	12	3	1814	Ninus II	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1799.09

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	13	3	1814	Tom Jones	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1463.00
Mon	14	3	1814	L'Optimiste, ou l'homme content de tout	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	320.55
Tues	15	3	1814	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	1865.00
Weds	16	3	1814	Le Légataire universel	L'École des maris	303.09
Thurs	17	3	1814	Le Bourru bienfaisant	La Rançon du Du Guesclin, ou les mœurs du XIV ^e siècle	4003.36
Fri	18	3	1814	L'École des femmes	Les Folies amoureuses	124.45
Sat	19	3	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1208.00
Sun	20	3	1814	Esther	Les Deux Gendres	2810.91
Mon	21	3	1814	Œdipe	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	1453.45
Tues	22	3	1814	La Coquette corrigée	La Revanche	570.18
Weds	23	3	1814	Ninus II	La Gageure imprévue	1270.09
Thurs	24	3	1814	Alzire, ou les Américains	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	590.36
Fri	25	3	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1564.45
Sat	26	3	1814	Le Jaloux sans amour	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1589.64
Sun	27	3	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1981.45
Mon	28	3	1814	La Gouvernante	Les Plaideurs	226.00
Tues	29	3	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	L'École des maris	345.82
Weds	30	3	1814	Relâche		
Thurs	31	3	1814	Relâche		
Fri	1	4	1814	Les Déhors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1639.64
Sat	2	4	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Fausses Infidélités	2935.27
Sun	3	4	1814	Les Fausses Confidences	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3781.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	4	4	1814	L'École des femmes	Le Florentin	1093.27
Tues	5	4	1814	Ninus II	Le Babillard	798.00
Weds	6	4	1814	Athalie	Le Legs	3511.18
Thurs	7	4	1814	Relâche		
Fri	8	4	1814	Relâche		
Sat	9	4	1814	Relâche		
Sun	10	4	1814	Athalie		
Mon	11	4	1814	Zaïre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2905.55
Tues	12	4	1814	Heureusement	Le Somnambule	1787.91
Weds	13	4	1814	Œdipe	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	5151.59
Thurs	14	4	1814	Le Florentin	La Gageure imprévue	1504.59
Fri	15	4	1814	Britannicus	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4769.64
Sat	16	4	1814	Crispin rival de son maître	L'Esprit de contradiction	2480.86
Sun	17	4	1814	Gaston et Bayard	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4242.77
Mon	18	4	1814	Le Médecin malgré lui	La Revanche	2033.45
Tues	19	4	1814	Sémiramis	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4005.64
Weds	20	4	1814	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	3201.40
Thurs	21	4	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	5325.59
Fri	22	4	1814	Les Folies amoureuses	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3352.82
Sat	23	4	1814	Gaston et Bayard	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	3589.36
Sun	24	4	1814	Phèdre	La Jeunesse de Henry V	4554.82
Mon	25	4	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur – par ordre	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2520.77
Tues	26	4	1814	Andromaque	La Jeunesse de Henry V	4053.82
					Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3680.23

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	27	4	1814	Les Fausses Confidences	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4163.73
Thurs	28	4	1814	Ulysse	Crispin rival de son maître	4286.37
Fri	29	4	1814	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	3625.55
Sat	30	4	1814	Ulysse	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	2035.05
Sun	1	5	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2318.45
Mon	2	5	1814	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	Gratis
Tues	3	5	1814	Relâche		
Weds	4	5	1814	Ulysse	L'École des maris	1944.41
Thurs	5	5	1814	Les Deux Gendres	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	3010.41
Fri	6	5	1814	Athalie	Le Somnambule	3098.23
Sat	7	5	1814	Les Femmes savantes	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4129.18
Sun	8	5	1814	La Femme jalouse	Les Deux Frères	1921.95
Mon	9	5	1814	Ulysse	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3039.00
Tues	10	5	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2243.32
Weds	11	5	1814	Hamlet	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	4145.27
Thurs	12	5	1814	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2588.36
Fri	13	5	1814	Œdipe	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	4138.91
Sat	14	5	1814	Relâche		
Sun	15	5	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Fausses Confidences	2433.50
Mon	16	5	1814	Ulysse	Le Legs	2593.73
Tues	17	5	1814	L'Avare	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	1497.55
Weds	18	5	1814	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3535.14
Thurs	19	5	1814	Turcaret	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	2030.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	20	5	1814	Ninus II	Les Plaideurs	244.85
Sat	21	5	1814	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient – par ordre	Le Legs	5928.91
Sun	22	5	1814	Le Vieux Célibataire	Le Malade imaginaire	3300.95
Mon	23	5	1814	Tom Jones	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	3473.64
Tues	24	5	1814	Ulysse	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2374.50
Weds	25	5	1814	Rodogune, princesse des Parthes	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	4291.41
Thurs	26	5	1814	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4440.50
Fri	27	5	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	1724.09
Sat	28	5	1814	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'École des bourgeois	3036.55
Sun	29	5	1814	Relâche		
Mon	30	5	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	3224.68
Tues	31	5	1814	Les États de Blois	Crispin rival de son maître	5259.55
Weds	1	6	1814	Le Misanthrope	Le Secret de ménage	3286.68
Thurs	2	6	1814	Les États de Blois	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	3589.00
Fri	3	6	1814	Phèdre	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2888.00
Sat	4	6	1814	Les États de Blois	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3232.00
Sun	5	6	1814	Turcaret	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	4161.45
Mon	6	6	1814	Le Festin de Pierre	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2006.55
Tues	7	6	1814	Les États de Blois	L'Avocat Patelin	2080.45
Weds	8	6	1814	Amphytrion	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	2941.68
Thurs	9	6	1814	Les États de Blois	La Gageure imprévue	2120.45
Fri	10	6	1814	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	L'École des maris	300.73
Sat	11	6	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	3748.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	12	6	1814	Tancrède	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1682.82
Mon	13	6	1814	Les États de Blois	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2042.72
Tues	14	6	1814	L'Abbé de l'Épée	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	827.18
Weds	15	6	1814	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	2548.91
Thurs	16	6	1814	Polyeucte martyr	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2202.73
Fri	17	6	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	238.55
Sat	18	6	1814	Les États de Blois	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	2009.55
Sun	19	6	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3552.91
Mon	20	6	1814	L'Abbé de l'Épée	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2034.64
Tues	21	6	1814	Les États de Blois	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2136.14
Weds	22	6	1814	Le Jaloux sans amour	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3211.00
Thurs	23	6	1814	Hamlet	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	4435.00
Fri	24	6	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Esprit de contradiction	390.72
Sat	25	6	1814	Athalie	Le Mariage secret	3242.91
Sun	26	6	1814	L'Homme à bonne fortune	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	3623.86
Mon	27	6	1814	Iphigénie en Tauride	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	3412.18
Tues	28	6	1814	La Coquette corrigée	La Nièce supposée	2578.41
Weds	29	6	1814	Mérope	Crispin rival de son maître	2562.36
Thurs	30	6	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2335.55
Fri	1	7	1814	Andromaque	La Revanche	3130.27
Sat	2	7	1814	Mérope	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1946.77
Sun	3	7	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2754.50
Mon	4	7	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	Le Babilard	862.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	5	7	1814	Britannicus	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2298.09
Weds	6	7	1814	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	342.55
Thurs	7	7	1814	Tom Jones	La Revanche	676.18
Fri	8	7	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1134.32
Sat	9	7	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3077.36
Sun	10	7	1814	Horace	Le Bourru bienfaisant	1606.55
Mon	11	7	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Les Plaideurs	2519.32
Tues	12	7	1814	L'Avare	Les Folies amoureuses	463.91
Weds	13	7	1814	Le Mariage secret	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	2748.91
Thurs	14	7	1814	Phèdre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2201.36
Fri	15	7	1814	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	2705.77
Sat	16	7	1814	Zaire	L'École des maris	1627.64
Sun	17	7	1814	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Fourberies de Scapin	454.27
Mon	18	7	1814	Les Fausses Confidences	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	2822.09
Tues	19	7	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Collatéral, ou l'amour et l'intérêt	272.18
Weds	20	7	1814	Esther	Les Châteaux en Espagne	1259.00
Thurs	21	7	1814	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	329.18
Fri	22	7	1814	Ariane	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	1191.18
Sat	23	7	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Florentin	248.64
Sun	24	7	1814	L'Avare	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	455.91
Mon	25	7	1814	Nanine, ou le préjugé vaincu	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	1679.27
Tues	26	7	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	L'Épreuve	822.45
Weds	27	7	1814	L'Amant bourru	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	958.27

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	28	7	1814	Alzire, ou les Américains	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	758.27
Fri	29	7	1814	Relâche		
Sat	30	7	1814	Esther	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	2194.55
Sun	31	7	1814	Turcaret	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	393.09
Mon	1	8	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Crispin médecin	1157.82
Tues	2	8	1814	Relâche		
Weds	3	8	1814	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	397.18
Thurs	4	8	1814	Horace	L'École des maris	1378.59
Fri	5	8	1814	Relâche		
Sat	6	8	1814	Le Cid	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1381.00
Sun	7	8	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	203.00
Mon	8	8	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	2397.18
Tues	9	8	1814	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	574.45
Weds	10	8	1814	Tancrède	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1896.09
Thurs	11	8	1814	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	1535.36
Fri	12	8	1814	La Femme juge et partie	Crispin rival de son maître	244.36
Sat	13	8	1814	Bajazet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1324.00
Sun	14	8	1814	Le Distrait	L'Esprit de contradiction	806.91
Mon	15	8	1814	Bajazet	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	2022.59
Tues	16	8	1814	Turcaret	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	596.00
Weds	17	8	1814	Horace	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1712.54
Thurs	18	8	1814	Eugénie	Amphitryon	909.73
Fri	19	8	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	594.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	20	8	1814	L'Avare	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	837.91
Sun	21	8	1814	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	542.82
Mon	22	8	1814	Le menteur	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	846.27
Tues	23	8	1814	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Esprit de contradiction	308.91
Weds	24	8	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2651.73
Thurs	25	8	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Gratis
Fri	26	8	1814	Relâche		
Sat	27	8	1814	Eugénie	La Gageure imprévue	1463.64
Sun	28	8	1814	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3787.09
Mon	29	8	1814	Relâche		
Tues	30	8	1814	Tancrède	Le Mariage secret	2918.95
Weds	31	8	1814	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	978.09
Thurs	1	9	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1338.18
Fri	2	9	1814	Andromaque	Le Florentin	2292.73
Sat	3	9	1814	Mérope	Le Babillard	2994.09
Sun	4	9	1814	Le Misanthrope	La Revanche	1726.36
Mon	5	9	1814	L'Orphelin de la Chine	L'Impromptu de Campagne	1942.18
Tues	6	9	1814	Le Menteur	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	935.91
Weds	7	9	1814	Eugénie	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1998.00
Thurs	8	9	1814	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Épreuve	2743.45
Fri	9	9	1814	Athalie	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3716.55
Sat	10	9	1814	Nicomède	Le Confident par hasard	1823.18
Sun	11	9	1814	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	12	9	1814	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Le Confident par hasard	1967.64
Tues	13	9	1814	Le Vieux Célibataire	Les Fausses Confidences	1246.27
Weds	14	9	1814	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	La Revanche	1488.73
Thurs	15	9	1814	Sémiramis	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3348.27
Fri	16	9	1814	Le Cid	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1205.09
Sat	17	9	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Legs	1516.27
Sun	18	9	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1676.09
Mon	19	9	1814	Alzire, ou les Américains	L'École des maris	2280.86
Tues	20	9	1814	Le Menteur	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	552.27
Weds	21	9	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Plaideurs	3774.82
Thurs	22	9	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2721.05
Fri	23	9	1814	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Esprit de contradiction	492.00
Sat	24	9	1814	Le Glorieux	L'Amant bourru	1563.82
Sun	25	9	1814	Athalie	L'Avocat	3113.14
Mon	26	9	1814	Tom Jones	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1641.73
Tues	27	9	1814	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	Le Médecin malgré lui	519.45
Weds	28	9	1814	La Femme jalouse	Le Retour imprévu	3082.59
Thurs	29	9	1814	Mérope	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1976.55
Fri	30	9	1814	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	776.09
Sat	1	10	1814	Les Femmes savantes	L'École des bourgeois	3991.18
Sun	2	10	1814	Mérope	Crispin médecin	2724.27
Mon	3	10	1814	Les Deux Gendres	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3741.41
Tues	4	10	1814	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	363.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	5	10	1814	Horace	L'Impromptu de campagne	1991.36
Thurs	6	10	1814	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	2448.45
Fri	7	10	1814	Athalie	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1969.00
Sat	8	10	1814	Le Philinte de Molière, ou la suite du Misanthrope	Les Deux Frères	2320.18
Sun	9	10	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2883.45
Mon	10	10	1814	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	L'Esprit de contradiction	530.91
Tues	11	10	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Impromptu de campagne	364.09
Weds	12	10	1814	Bajazet	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1867.45
Thurs	13	10	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Jeune Hôtesse	1568.64
Fri	14	10	1814	Horace	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	891.73
Sat	15	10	1814	Les Châteaux en Espagne	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1673.68
Sun	16	10	1814	Phèdre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	3186.55
Mon	17	10	1814	Le Légataire universel	Le Médecin malgré lui	693.82
Tues	18	10	1814	Œdipe	L'Impromptu de campagne	5181.18
Weds	19	10	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	L'Amant bourru	1840.27
Thurs	20	10	1814	Britannicus	Le Somnambule	4938.95
Fri	21	10	1814	L'Avare	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1070.73
Sat	22	10	1814	Eugénie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1159.18
Sun	23	10	1814	Le Misanthrope	Les Fausses Confidences	2449.82
Mon	24	10	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur – par ordre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	3592.86
Tues	25	10	1814	Andromaque	L'Épreuve	4591.73

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	26	10	1814	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1430.73
Thurs	27	10	1814	Phèdre	Les Folies amoureuses	1458.55
Fri	28	10	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	Le Legs	4890.64
Sat	29	10	1814	Eugénie	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1227.73
Sun	30	10	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Les Plaideurs	4279.41
Mon	31	10	1814	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	L'École des bourgeois	3246.50
Tues	1	11	1814	Relâche		
Weds	2	11	1814	Bajazet	La Jeune Hôtesse	883.82
Thurs	3	11	1814	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	484.00
Fri	4	11	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	3662.96
Sat	5	11	1814	Le Misanthrope	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	4674.50
Sun	6	11	1814	Iphigénie en Tauride	L'Avocat	3751.23
Mon	7	11	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Les Fausses Confidences	3394.05
Tues	8	11	1814	Horace	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	785.09
Weds	9	11	1814	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3977.09
Thurs	10	11	1814	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	L'Avocat Patelin	4024.36
Fri	11	11	1814	Ésope à la cour	Le Retour imprévu	2150.09
Sat	12	11	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Médecin malgré lui	3421.05
Sun	13	11	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	3350.36
Mon	14	11	1814	Sémiramis	L'École des maris	2940.68
Tues	15	11	1814	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	406.91
Weds	16	11	1814	Britannicus – par ordre	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	4644.36

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	17	11	1814	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Nièce supposée	3126.96
Fri	18	11	1814	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Mariage secret	1206.27
Sat	19	11	1814	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3549.95
Sun	20	11	1814	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	3307.32
Mon	21	11	1814	Œdipe	La Suite d'un bal masqué	3373.09
Tues	22	11	1814	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		306.55
Weds	23	11	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	3730.50
Thurs	24	11	1814	La Coquette corrigée	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	2815.55
Fri	25	11	1814	Bajazet	Les Fourberies de Scapin	662.36
Sat	26	11	1814	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	1898.91
Sun	27	11	1814	Ésope à la cour	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	2718.23
Mon	28	11	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	L'Épreuve	2765.09
Tues	29	11	1814	Les Femmes savantes	Le Secret de ménage	2478.32
Weds	30	11	1814	Mérove	Caroline, ou le tableau	1180.55
Thurs	1	12	1814	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2486.27
Fri	2	12	1814	Tancrède	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	3215.86
Sat	3	12	1814	Les Deux Gendres	Le Legs	1821.09
Sun	4	12	1814	Philoctète	La Femme jalouse	2685.95
Mon	5	12	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Turcaret	2720.55
Tues	6	12	1814	Le menteur	Caroline, ou le tableau	425.96
Weds	7	12	1814	Coriolan	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	2820.64
Thurs	8	12	1814	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Nièce supposée	2504.91

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Fri	9	12	1814	Gabrielle de Vergy	Amphitryon	2695.00
Sat	10	12	1814	Les Femmes savantes	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	3225.73
Sun	11	12	1814	Phèdre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2179.09
Mon	12	12	1814	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Le Malade imaginaire	2019.64
Tues	13	12	1814	Le Joueur	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	534.27
Weds	14	12	1814	Rhadamiste et Zénobie – par ordre	L'Épreuve	4890.41
Thurs	15	12	1814	La Métromanie, ou le poète	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1104.45
Fri	16	12	1814	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3444.18
Sat	17	12	1814	Héraclius, empereur d'Orient	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2716.00
Sun	18	12	1814	Coriolan	Le Bourru bienfaisant	3224.73
Mon	19	12	1814	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	413.73
Tues	20	12	1814	Athalie	Caroline, ou le tableau	2186.64
Weds	21	12	1814	Philoctète	Le Jaloux sans amour	2483.27
Thurs	22	12	1814	Tancrède	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1554.91
Fri	23	12	1814	Eugénie	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	919.00
Sat	24	12	1814	Polyeucte matryr	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	2705.05
Sun	25	12	1814	Relâche		
Mon	26	12	1814	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Les Fausses Confidences	2449.36
Tues	27	12	1814	Iphigénie en Aulide	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1748.27
Weds	28	12	1814	Coriolan	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2025.55
Thurs	29	12	1814	Le Festin de Pierre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1054.91
Fri	30	12	1814	Les Amants généreux	Le Mariage secret	2124.96
Sat	31	12	1814	L'Avare	Minuit	742.00

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sun	1	1	1815	Artaxerce	Le Malade imaginaire	2570.95
Mon	2	1	1815	Eugénie	L'Épreuve	849.64
Tues	3	1	1815	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	405.00
Weds	4	1	1815	Phèdre	Minuit	3456.64
Thurs	5	1	1815	Philoctète	Turcaret	1626.27
Fri	6	1	1815	Le menteur	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	821.00
Sat	7	1	1815	Andromaque	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	4023.64
Sun	8	1	1815	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	2363.00
Mon	9	1	1815	Hamlet	La Jeunesse de Henry V	6472.00
Tues	10	1	1815	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Médecin malgré lui	332.00
Weds	11	1	1815	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	314.64
Thurs	12	1	1815	Iphigénie en Aulide	Minuit	1910.73
Fri	13	1	1815	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	La Nièce supposée	3463.91
Sat	14	1	1815	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	L'École des maris	320.82
Sun	15	1	1815	Zaïre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2774.18
Mon	16	1	1815	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		3225.82
Tues	17	1	1815	Bajazet	Les Fourberies de Scapin	449.18
Weds	18	1	1815	Gaston et Bayard	Les Deux Frères	2649.73
Thurs	19	1	1815	Les Femmes savantes	La Jeunesse de Henry V	2779.55
Fri	20	1	1815	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Le Malade imaginaire	3189.36
Sat	21	1	1815	Relâche		
Sun	22	1	1815	Horace	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2601.32
Mon	23	1	1815	Esther	Le Vieux Célibataire	3403.95

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Tues	24	1	1815	Les Deux Gendres	Bruis et Palaprat	1659.55
Weds	25	1	1815	Coriolan	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1803.55
Thurs	26	1	1815	Sémiramis	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	1245.91
Fri	27	1	1815	Le Misanthrope	La Suite d'un bal masqué	2915.86
Sat	28	1	1815	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Crispin rival de son maître	395.00
Sun	29	1	1815	Philoctète	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	1618.27
Mon	30	1	1815	Les Déhors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour – par ordre	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	5384.36
Tues	31	1	1815	Athalie	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	1900.18
Weds	1	2	1815	Hamlet	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	4555.36
Thurs	2	2	1815	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		2764.82
Fri	3	2	1815	Iphigénie en Tauride	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	3160.00
Sat	4	2	1815	La Femme jalouse	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1469.95
Sun	5	2	1815	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	3354.86
Mon	6	2	1815	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		3557.68
Tues	7	2	1815	Iphigénie en Aulide	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3682.77
Weds	8	2	1815	Édouard en Écosse, ou la nuit d'un proscrit	L'Homme à bonne fortune	3090.41
Thurs	9	2	1815	Polyeucte martyr	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2879.23
Fri	10	2	1815	Le Distrait	L'Avocat Patelin	568.36
Sat	11	2	1815	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	L'Esprit de contradiction	415.09
Sun	12	2	1815	Mérope	La Revanche	2528.27
Mon	13	2	1815	Manlius Capitolinus	L'École des maris	2519.05
Tues	14	2	1815	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme		1966.73

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	15	2	1815	Esther	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	3428.45
Thurs	16	2	1815	Le Cid	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1572.73
Fri	17	2	1815	Ninus II	Les Plaideurs	2489.45
Sat	18	2	1815	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	3807.00
Sun	19	2	1815	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	2486.27
Mon	20	2	1815	Ninus II	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	2375.27
Tues	21	2	1815	Le Glorieux	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	1087.45
Weds	22	2	1815	La Coquette corrigée	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3653.36
Thurs	23	2	1815	Les Templiers	Le Médecin malgré lui	4150.00
Fri	24	2	1815	Les Deux Gendres	Auguste et Théodore, ou les deux pages	1903.55
Sat	25	2	1815	Les Templiers	Anaximandre, ou le sacrifice aux grâces	3623.18
Sun	26	2	1815	Tom Jones	Le Malade imaginaire	2288.73
Mon	27	2	1815	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Heureusement	529.18
Tues	28	2	1815	Jeanne Gray	L'Avocat Patelin	4384.23
Weds	1	3	1815	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	Le Secret de ménage	1583.77
Thurs	2	3	1815	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2410.64
Fri	3	3	1815	Les Templiers	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	4246.64
Sat	4	3	1815	La Métomanie, ou le poète	L'Amant bourru	2572.36
Sun	5	3	1815	Phèdre	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	2450.41
Mon	6	3	1815	Les Templiers	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	4005.18
Tues	7	3	1815	Le Vieux Célibataire	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	574.91
Weds	8	3	1815	Les Templiers	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2622.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	9	3	1815	Le Misanthrope	La Gageure imprévue	2875.18
Fri	10	3	1815	Ninus II	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	1497.05
Sat	11	3	1815	Méropé	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	2502.55
Sun	12	3	1815	Ariane	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	620.18
Mon	13	3	1815	Le Glorieux	L'Amant bourru	868.54
Tues	14	3	1815	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Les Folies amoureuses	177.09
Weds	15	3	1815	Horace	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1504.09
Thurs	16	3	1815	Les Femmes savantes	La Partie de chasse de Henry IV	1770.82
Fri	17	3	1815	L'Obstacle imprévu, ou l'obstacle sans obstacle	L'Esprit de contradiction	264.36
Sat	18	3	1815	La Femme jalouse	Amphitryon	906.09
Sun	19	3	1815	Méropé	Les Plaideurs	877.27
Mon	20	3	1815	L'École des femmes	L'Esprit de contradiction	225.36
Tues	21	3	1815	Relâche		
Weds	22	3	1815	L'Avare	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	670.18
Thurs	23	3	1815	Bajazet	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	554.09
Fri	24	3	1815	Relâche		
Sat	25	3	1815	Les Templiers	L'Amant bourru	3585.86
Sun	26	3	1815	Le Légataire universel	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	357.45
Mon	27	3	1815	Les Templiers	Défiance et malice, ou le prêté rendu	3111.86
Tues	28	3	1815	Le Distrait	Crispin médecin	210.20
Weds	29	3	1815	Les Templiers	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2334.95
Thurs	30	3	1815	Esther	Turcaret	1320.09
Fri	31	3	1815	Relâche		

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Sat	1	4	1815	Le Misanthrope	L'Épreuve	715.82
Sun	2	4	1815	Phèdre	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	1767.18
Mon	3	4	1815	Les Templiers	L'École des maris	2630.59
Tues	4	4	1815	La Femme juge et partie	Les Folies amoureuses	241.45
Weds	5	4	1815	L'École des femmes	Heureusement	178.09
Thurs	6	4	1815	Le Père de famille	Minuit	401.45
Fri	7	4	1815	Athalie	Caroline, ou le tableau	1105.45
Sat	8	4	1815	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	192.93
Sun	9	4	1815	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	Les Fausses Confidences	2092.54
Mon	10	4	1815	Les Templiers	Le Legs	2651.55
Tues	11	4	1815	Le Joueur	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	293.55
Weds	12	4	1815	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	L'Avocat	1828.00
Thurs	13	4	1815	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Le Florentin	125.91
Fri	14	4	1815	Horace	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1582.27
Sat	15	4	1815	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1399.91
Sun	16	4	1815	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	La Jeunesse de Henry V	3203.91
Mon	17	4	1815	La Femme jalouse	Les Deux Frères	1022.64
Tues	18	4	1815	Le Légataire universel	L'Esprit de contradiction	113.09
Weds	19	4	1815	Andromaque	Les Trois Sultanes, ou Soliman second	3076.45
Thurs	20	4	1815	La Coquette corrigée	L'École des bourgeois	1642.73
Fri	21	4	1815	Hector	Le Legs	4502.86
Sat	22	4	1815	Le Père de famille	Les Plaideurs	487.82
Sun	23	4	1815	Sémiramis	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	2081.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	24	4	1815	L'École des femmes	L'Avocat Patelin	117.64
Tues	25	4	1815	Hector	Crispin rival de son maître	2090.18
Weds	26	4	1815	Phèdre	Racine et Cavaio	3150.91
Thurs	27	4	1815	Œdipe	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1708.45
Fri	28	4	1815	Les Deux Gendres	L'Hôtel garni, ou la leçon singulière	1562.91
Sat	29	4	1815	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		1901.36
Sun	30	4	1815	Zaïre	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	2028.91
Mon	1	5	1815	Les Dehors trompeurs, ou l'homme du jour	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	1386.23
Tues	2	5	1815	Marius à Minturnes	L'Homme à sentiments, ou le Tartuffe de mœurs	2449.82
Weds	3	5	1815	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	145.09
Thurs	4	5	1815	L'Intrigue épistolaire	Le Médecin malgré lui	344.64
Fri	5	5	1815	Le Tyran domestique, ou l'intérieur d'une famille	Le Secret de ménage	1864.27
Sat	6	5	1815	Les Templiers	Les Rivaux d'eux mêmes	2151.91
Sun	7	5	1815	Marius à Minturnes	Le Misanthrope	2422.55
Mon	8	5	1815	L'Orphelin de la Chine	Catherine, ou la belle fermière	682.27
Tues	9	5	1815	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	La Jeunesse de Henry V	1326.55
Weds	10	5	1815	Andromaque	La Suite d'un bal masqué	1664.36
Thurs	11	5	1815	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	Marius à Minturnes	1150.73
Fri	12	5	1815	Le menteur	L'École des maris	199.64
Sat	13	5	1815	Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste	Le Mariage secret	683.82
Sun	14	5	1815	Turcaret	Le Conteur, ou les deux postes	411.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Mon	15	5	1815	Le Dissipateur, ou l'honnête friponne	Les Fausses Confidences	1263.91
Tues	16	5	1815	Le Père de famille	Heureusement	477.00
Weds	17	5	1815	L'Homme à bonne fortune	Le Grondeur	1893.77
Thurs	18	5	1815	Britannicus	Les Fourberies de Scapin	2842.73
Fri	19	5	1815	Tancrède	L'Épreuve	362.82
Sat	20	5	1815	Le Festin de Pierre	La Fausse Agnès, ou le poète campagnard	1014.36
Sun	21	5	1815	Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte	La Revanche	1634.00
Mon	22	5	1815	Marius à Minturnes	Tartuffe, ou l'Imposteur	2316.14
Tues	23	5	1815	Le Mariage de Figaro, ou la folle journée		2178.55
Weds	24	5	1815	Phèdre	Le Médecin malgré lui	522.36
Thurs	25	5	1815	Rhadamiste et Zénobie	Les Héritiers, ou le naufrage	396.82
Fri	26	5	1815	Coriolan	Le Grondeur	2081.27
Sat	27	5	1815	Marius à Minturnes	Le Légataire universel	1562.00
Sun	28	5	1815	Le Joueur	Les Plaideurs	285.95
Mon	29	5	1815	Les Femmes savantes	La Nièce supposée	1876.09
Tues	30	5	1815	Le Cid	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	1273.55
Weds	31	5	1815	Marius à Minturnes	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	Gratis
Thurs	1	6	1815	Relâche		
Fri	2	6	1815	Les Templiers	L'Épreuve	1770.00
Sat	3	6	1815	Britannicus	L'Avocat	2343.36
Sun	4	6	1815	Relâche		
Mon	5	6	1815	La Coquette corrigée	Le Cercle, ou la soirée à la mode	1799.82
Tues	6	6	1815	Iphigénie en Tauride	Amphitryon	2098.45

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Weds	7	6	1815	Adélaïde du Guesclin	Le Médecin malgré lui	375.55
Thurs	8	6	1815	La Gouvernante	Madame de Sévigné	1821.36
Fri	9	6	1815	Le Légataire universel	Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile	1172.00
Sat	10	6	1815	Manlius Capitolinus	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	2693.82
Sun	11	6	1815	Coriolan	Les Deux Frères	1241.00
Mon	12	6	1815	Les Femmes savantes	Madame de Sévigné	1367.64
Tues	13	6	1815	Le Joueur	Le Grondeur	980.00
Weds	14	6	1815	L'Avare	L'Épreuve	170.36
Thurs	15	6	1815	Marius à Minturnes	L'Étourdi, ou les contretemps	1626.64
Fri	16	6	1815	Nicomède	Le Bourru bienfaisant	900.73
Sat	17	6	1815	Mélanide	Le Jeu de l'amour et du hasard	691.09
Sun	18	6	1815	Iphigénie en Aulide	La Comédie sans titre, ou le Mercure galant	1419.09
Mon	19	6	1815	Le Philosophe marié, ou le mari honteux de l'être	Les Projets de mariage, ou les deux officiers	949.45
Tues	20	6	1815	L'Intrigue épistolaire	L'Esprit de contradiction	107.00
Weds	21	6	1815	Le Philosophe sans le savoir	George Dandin, ou le mari confondu	213.27
Thurs	22	6	1815	L'École des femmes	Le Florentin	65.64
Fri	23	6	1815	Relâche		
Sat	24	6	1815	Les Ménechmes, ou les jumeaux	Les Plaideurs	132.73
Sun	25	6	1815	Turcaret	Les Étourdis, ou le mort supposé	381.36
Mon	26	6	1815	Les Deux Gendres	Les Fausses Confidences	682.27
Tues	27	6	1815	Le Tambour nocturne, ou le mari devin	Crispin rival de son maître	94.77
Weds	28	6	1815	Phèdre	Les Folies amoureuses	165.64

WEEK DAY	D	M	Y	FIRST PLAY	SECOND PLAY	TAKINGS
Thurs	29	6	1815	Relâche		
Fri	30	6	1815	Relâche		
Sat	1	7	1815	Relâche		
Sun	2	7	1815	Relâche		
Mon	3	7	1815	Relâche		
Tues	4	7	1815	Relâche		
Weds	5	7	1815	Relâche		
Thurs	6	7	1815	Relâche		
Fri	7	7	1815	Relâche		
Sat	8	7	1815	Relâche		
Sun	9	7	1815	Le Vieux Célibataire		
				Le Barbier de Séville, ou la précaution inutile		1456.91

Appendix B – Calendar of Performance Figures

Table 1. Average takings by weekday¹²⁹⁶

Day	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Mon	1447.56	1693.61	1371.98	1836.62	1606.66	1535.33	1690.03	1575.22	1272.09	1744.65	1763.33	2191.31	1936.27	1606.80	1603.07	1997.57	2125.93	1698.63
Tues	1400.49	1828.51	1802.39	1842.30	1657.85	1222.87	1456.63	1128.49	989.16	1682.89	1234.33	1700.57	932.29	1105.71	1142.45	1578.09	1222.13	1410.87
Weds	1157.54	1585.93	1638.87	1518.46	1901.20	1652.57	1650.23	1723.76	1607.60	2310.37	1938.61	2229.58	1793.94	2107.60	1879.57	2407.39	1802.07	1838.54
Thurs	1439.36	1754.08	1801.19	1804.42	1786.29	1730.90	1542.29	1631.49	1765.72	1799.50	1671.07	1438.99	1963.14	1538.64	2024.98	2269.78	1666.13	1753.58
Fri	1136.41	1627.01	1925.07	1470.82	1234.00	990.01	1411.88	1189.52	1044.19	1582.66	1509.02	1611.98	1000.27	950.88	1119.42	1663.84	1891.99	1365.03
Sat	1409.73	1872.09	1713.85	1824.12	1799.11	1855.71	1699.12	1830.87	1449.66	2203.48	1884.58	2401.56	2203.48	1996.53	2246.29	2389.71	1649.69	1926.16
Sun	1092.74	2275.61	2350.81	1956.13	2203.75	1974.04	1987.04	1715.19	1861.19	2431.19	2267.96	2478.86	2240.47	2226.76	2174.64	2415.10	1819.91	2115.62
Grand Total	1297.82	1805.37	1802.05	1750.340	1750.25	1571.52	1641.21	1545.07	1436.32	1980.54	1758.71	2007.05	1719.11	1651.20	1732.21	2107.44	1740.70	1733.07

¹²⁹⁶ All calculations are to two decimal places. The prices of a seat at the Comédie-Française remained the same over the entire period:

Premières: 6 fr 60 c; Loges de la 1^{re} Galerie: 5 fr 50 c; Première Galerie: 4 fr 40 c; Troisième Galerie: 1 fr 80 c; Parterre assis: 2 fr 20 c. The amount of tax levied from performances did alter over time, hence the departure from .00 or .05 takings, Paris, BMCF, R 239–R 247.

Figure 1. Average takings by weekday, 1799–1815

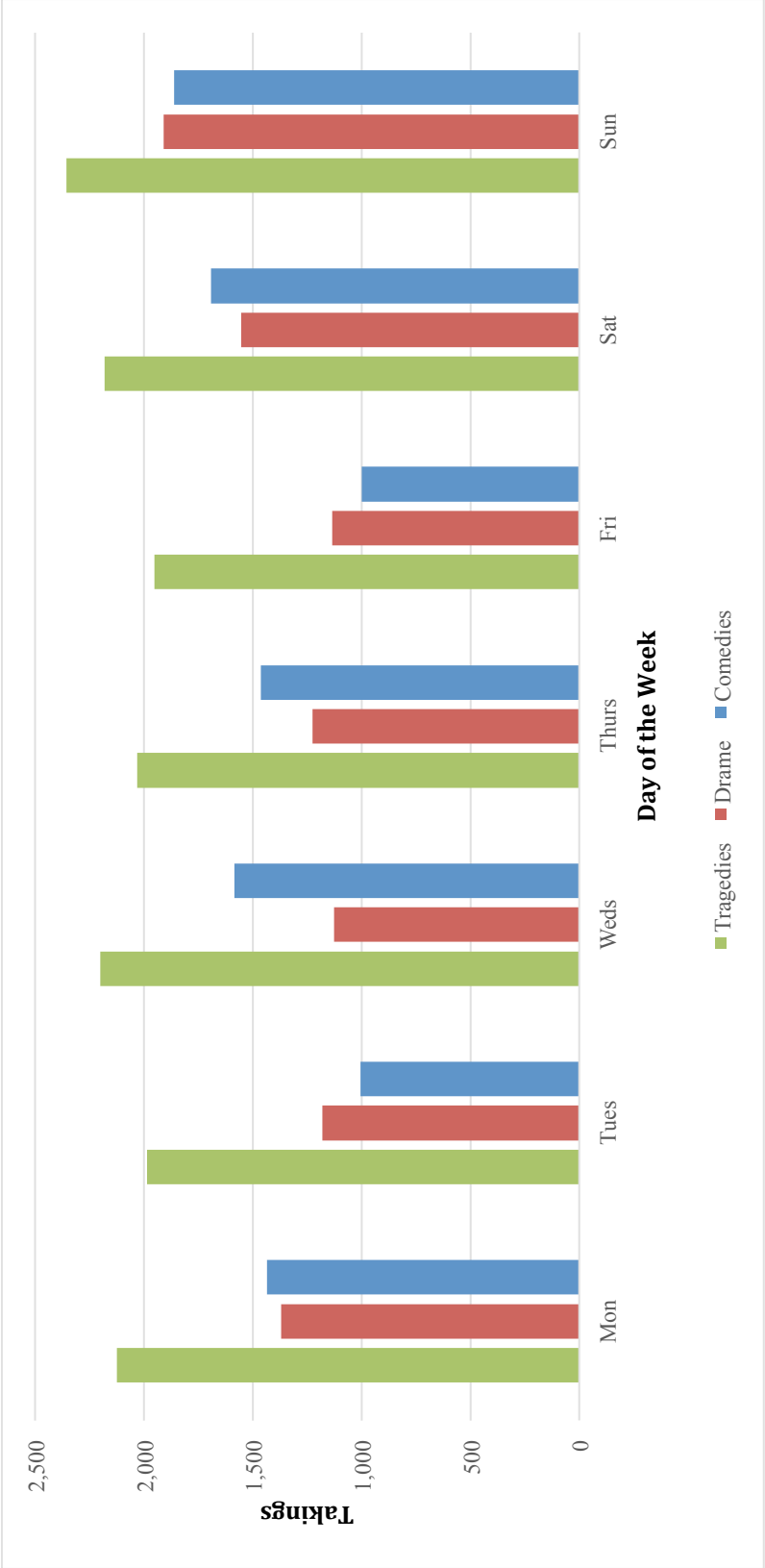


Table 2. Average takings per month

Year	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	Average
1799					2780.60	995.71	969.07	727.28	1367.83	1926.13	1170.263	1811.45	1297.82
1800	2523.09	2064.04	1915.98	1617.52	1405.60	1769.68	1261.30	1350.94	2004.86	1673.80	2457.43	1636.07	1805.37
1801	1610.66	2271.20	1795.47	1507.34	1718.59	1496.56	1855.96	1423.80	1676.01	1605.43	2367.51	2321.55	1802.05
1802	1719.77	1862.93	2323.38	1857.72	1276.44	1600.91	1416.00	1501.59	1506.23	1731.27	1835.92	2303.51	1750.40
1803	2113.20	2432.03	2141.90	2102.70	1866.73	1452.17	800.70	1247.45	1705.10	1613.80	1756.98	1682.57	1750.25
1804	1689.35	1821.62	1828.60	1727.03	1423.76	834.95	1418.85	1147.97	693.48	1833.07	2065.93	2033.91	1571.52
1805	1977.06	2324.48	2185.84	1805.51	2111.47	1554.84	906.76	1370.14	1246.77	1415.56	1270.26	1406.50	1641.21
1806	1646.74	2051.10	1967.33	1528.07	1177.43	1312.41	1261.87	1283.23	1581.61	1647.60	1588.99	1439.36	1545.08
1807	1476.32	1706.51	1481.35	2241.43	1211.99	1146.59	674.98	797.07	1434.21	1586.50	1622.89	1784.81	1436.32
1808	1971.89	2228.42	2633.70	2060.43	1596.56	1605.17	1322.13	1724.22	1903.27	2069.47	2296.23	2251.32	1980.54
1809	2205.88	2700.15	1740.08	2241.10	1562.73	1171.09	1379.36	1355.16	1423.77	1405.75	1991.70	1861.63	1758.71
1810	1855.82	2230.41	2784.47	2096.36	2071.22	1609.75	1639.57	2026.17	1859.46	1945.32	1878.26	2043.33	2007.05
1811	1876.82	2284.32	1968.90	1773.15	1326.72	1876.93	1099.23	1291.68	1236.54	1474.13	2012.27	2477.59	1719.10
1812	2314.57	2646.13	2024.87	1972.01	1312.31	1148.34	711.26	1035.79	1476.17	1499.32	2021.72	1683.67	1651.20
1813	2122.04	2170.95	2419.12	1934.42	1787.77	962.73	1331.32	1100.60	1752.60	1716.24	1667.13	1774.49	1732.21
1814	1924.49	1577.65	1165.91	3223.36	3035.84	2514.10	1464.46	1287.18	1946.67	2405.42	2609.32	2170.75	2107.44
1815	2230.87	2653.27	1667.85	1529.94	1295.49	1010.52	1456.91						1740.70
Average	1953.72	2190.13	2018.10	1950.42	1629.94	1419.22	1223.15	1282.75	1567.03	1714.82	1912.79	1920.42	1733.07

Table 3. Average takings tragedy (first play)

Day	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Monday	1104.79	1731.63	2117.05	1937.58	2229.97	2163.75	2084.69	1955.95	1481.80	1899.18	2926.58	3185.19	2608.34	2270.41	2074.20	2065.18	3016.79	2123.82
Tuesday	1181.93	2139.05	2237.49	2215.17	2193.94	1771.29	1977.95	1965.45	1217.79	2143.83	1826.85	3114.55	1100.80	1465.52	1967.31	2492.09	2291.05	1986.16
Wednesday	1126.37	1640.40	1915.89	1601.34	2621.04	2062.80	1795.10	2055.67	1630.47	2513.12	2735.95	2947.44	2325.38	2326.11	2592.64	2593.09	2209.25	2199.64
Thursday	708.87	2049.69	2096.74	1977.47	2135.43	1939.10	1830.08	1818.84	1656.10	2380.29	1946.85	2392.72	2371.78	1945.03	2173.01	2483.63	1819.47	2031.58
Friday	1150.37	2294.42	2541.78	1952.97	2074.17	1477.25	1803.80	1681.96	1488.24	2087.47	2484.95	2336.17	1764.84	1437.32	1945.46	2281.06	2240.66	1951.31
Saturday	1227.88	2228.13	2025.11	2041.27	1941.45	2367.40	2033.66	2093.14	1572.51	2120.43	2433.98	2985.50	2427.10	1820.60	2544.03	2618.24	2457.01	2182.18
Sunday	899.24	2854.76	2366.18	1998.92	2488.62	2168.93	2105.35	1954.68	2030.95	2734.40	2609.53	2981.19	2539.23	2942.77	2335.54	2768.42	1945.09	2355.32
Grand Total	1072.98	2116.76	2195.43	1981.82	2244.99	2016.03	1954.47	1932.60	1634.52	2313.40	2398.18	2856.90	2293.66	2,081.14	2255.83	2499.08	2241.54	2130.17

Table 4. Average takings comedy (first play)

Day	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Monday	1641.70	1747.33	1032.71	1867.96	1008.17	1001.51	1349.54	1073.34	1105.77	1693.14	1264.79	2033.19	1482.64	1154.87	1141.85	1859.00	1617.11	1433.46
Tuesday	1580.48	1695.41	1475.44	1158.69	945.83	706.58	765.44	530.67	804.49	1179.30	786.25	1118.34	876.84	973.14	781.37	999.22	734.24	1005.07
Wednesday	1264.48	1612.10	1448.06	1486.85	1471.43	1408.13	1573.25	1377.35	1572.67	2187.19	1380.47	1734.51	1362.95	1940.08	1314.04	2207.20	980.28	1584.64
Thursday	1837.39	1713.46	1621.30	1353.48	1329.42	1520.24	1279.80	1230.03	1000.61	1418.98	1454.38	913.98	1210.09	1316.37	1893.40	2127.44	1613.82	1463.77
Friday	1275.72	1337.58	1451.34	1070.18	755.49	657.18	984.07	584.01	600.14	1174.93	1094.98	1384.37	727.45	829.27	741.81	1193.97	1473.59	1000.15
Saturday	1723.29	1821.44	1457.54	1410.64	1726.72	1388.26	1424.25	1437.47	1277.72	2255.38	1356.30	1804.43	1742.27	2414.10	2014.71	2191.40	1118.05	1691.90
Sunday	1323.80	2011.02	2276.45	1909.71	1616.97	1618.65	1953.76	1311.83	1068.97	2009.17	2040.25	2012.07	2000.17	1829.12	1929.04	1955.03	1537.02	1861.77
Grand Total	1534.49	1705.20	1515.90	1498.76	1221.43	1153.20	1342.21	1042.93	1045.59	1736.00	1340.86	1563.09	1267.94	1388.67	1334.42	1743.76	1273.29	1412.31

Table 5. Average takings drame (first play)

Day	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Monday	1210.90	1346.78	1265.52	349.95	1463.93	961	676.45						1431.55	777.09	1248.55	2663.39	849.64	1370.76
Tuesday			341.18		1184.80	1449.48	1682.25			2117.75	1482		1241.3		681.86		477.00	1181.01
Wednesday	944.27	1165.19	1167.65	1265.14	940.79	688.60	609.20	729.75					804.05			1998.00	3090.41	1126.98
Thursday	1175.21	812.45	1254.95	1928.84	1845.65	814.95	384.70					2454.55	1449.28	707.64		909.73	401.45	1225.67
Friday	712.84	1200.48	531.75	1407.28	1499.22	1008.88	597.85	609.10		1776.55			1842.23			919.00		1134.25
Saturday	898.59	1483.48	1945.58	3796.25	1234.16	4243.05	816.85		1448.80			2299.27		527.54		1731.98	487.82	1554.65
Sunday	846.38	2220.55	2852.73	2267.35	2053.99		1003.52			2803.65		3132.70	2646.18	1668.43		3350.36	2363.00	1908.55
Grand Total	947.35	1384.77	1486.71	1626.79	1402.47	1335.57	946.01	669.43	1448.80	2212.84	1482	2497.01	1615.63	1169.59	965.20	2063.21	1278.22	1388.50

Table 6. Genre per weekday (first play)

Day	comédie	drame	tragédie	Relâche	Grand Total
Monday	470	30	318	22	840
Tuesday	446	16	327	51	840
Wednesday	421	32	357	30	840
Thursday	382	27	379	53	841
Friday	454	24	295	68	841
Saturday	380	35	401	25	841
Sunday	365	32	413	31	841
Grand Total	2918	196	2490	280	5884

Table 7. Genre per year (first play)

Genre	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Comédie	114	216	187	155	148	161	160	148	146	193	210	219	190	216	197	175	83	2918
Drame	34	30	18	16	24	12	10	2	1	4	1	5	11	6	4	12	6	196
Tragédie	67	112	151	178	176	157	175	195	192	140	139	114	153	139	156	162	84	2490
Relâche	1	7	9	16	17	36	20	20	26	29	15	27	11	5	8	16	17	280
Grand Total	216	365	365	365	365	366	365	365	365	366	365	365	365	366	365	365	190	5884

Figure 2. Visualisation of genre per year (first play)

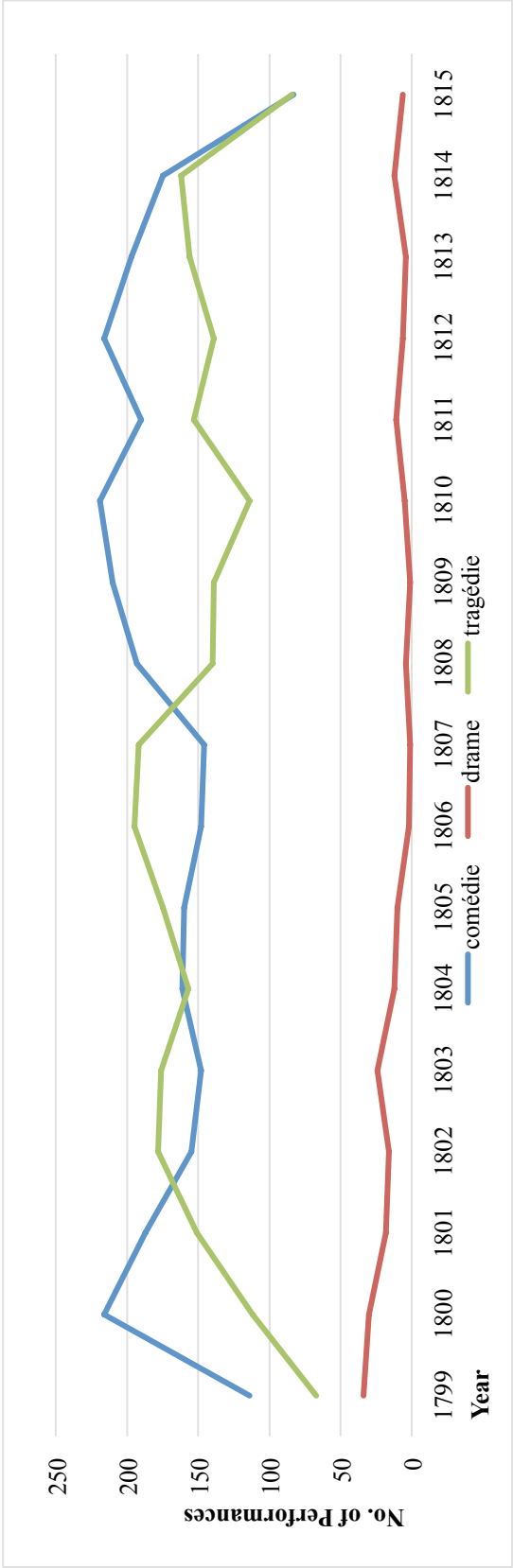


Table 8. Top ten authors (first play)

Author	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Racine, Jean*	4	26	23	42	58	51	50	54	53	41	40	19	42	34	48	46	21	652
Molière	15	26	46	37	38	21	29	44	33	39	33	45	37	47	52	39	20	601
Corneille, Pierre*	7	7	16	32	30	36	56	36	47	35	27	28	34	31	35	27	10	494
Voltaire*	13	29	51	53	43	37	23	18	29	17	14	22	34	38	24	34	12	491
Regnard, Jean-François	2	13	15	4	8	10	17	23	15	26	31	33	27	25	24	19	15	307
Destouches, Philippe																		
Néricault	5	11	13	16	17	17	7	5	13	11	23	14	11	18	33	19	11	244
Collin d'Harleville, Jean-François	9	37	23	9	5	12	6	3	7	7	22	21	10	12	8	8	2	201
Fabre d'Eglantine, Philippe-François-Nazaire Fabre																		
Beaumarchais, Pierre-Augustin Caron de	39	23	22	14	7	7	2	7	8	4	4	11	9	10	9	8	5	189
Belloy, Pierre Laurent	7	13	5	16	4		9	3	2	4	2	20	10	12	15	16	5	143
Buirette	3	5	7	10	4	4		11	10	3	6	2	4	7	8	14	1	99

* These figures include the playwrights' tragedies and comedies.

Table 9. Average takings of top ten authors (first play)

Author	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
Racine*	3078.15	59965.60	61136.31	119464.30	141380.60	103334.20	87887.60	96841.70	74027.65	104359.80	80726.05	51513.20	102386.25	79574.96	96839.08	122436.46	44637.66	1429589.57
Voltaire*	11245.600	76777.05	124797.46	96407.77	85830.15	58980.70	27266.35	27857.45	41768.40	37192.25	29464.15	56191.55	64253.95	67417.8	53504.21	74882.63	19654.09	953491.56
Comelle, Pierre*	6734.30	9050.00	35355.29	71572.90	60294.80	72123.89	98227.10	56922.70	84115.50	69640.16	53129.9	69193.95	61005	45504.83	57072.77	57659.78	14018.38	921621.25
Molière	10144.30	24208.70	71270.60	38970.70	38899.01	19143.15	56735.35	46878.85	24254.80	54870.20	39629.10	62910.65	38865.3	91393.38	68653.72	72061.80	34079.5	792969.11
Collin d'Harleville	11284.40	79069.85	49543.91	20689.20	6391.55	20837.65	6413.50	4294.75	8940.25	13349.80	30850.25	32371.30	11716.10	11497.27	6220.10	10261.73	2031.82	325763.43
Destouches	7186.40	14777.20	25559.61	16359.50	23695.25	13346.25	7245.65	6128.75	14575.30	21713.25	23729.6	16581.00	8321.80	19960.98	45403.92	27223.64	13601.85	305409.95
Beaumarchais	5361.35	26964.70	8936.51	35719.50	9205.65		17754.55	7356.80	5479.50	8851.35	3345.85	52227.35	16343.20	21310.37	31100.92	28653.28	10566.01	289176.89
Fabre d'Eglantine	82612.35	27456.80	25927.08	10236.75	5266.80	5351.65	603.80	5318.55	3747.65	3135.30	6176.38	7194.55	3365.9	6039.67	2666.74	4278.99	1428.73	200807.69
Raynouard,						103576.09	12084.20				12509.60	6365.30			22469.86	36884.36	193889.41	193889.41
La Fosse							46187.15	25651.80	23014.50	10306.25	19199.2	16711.15	10923.27	13492.18	22853.64	5212.87	193552.01	193552.01
Bouilly	29319.7	74114.45	10007.60	24709.60	5765.65	6149.00	3545.65	3951.10					19630.00	3159.09		2861.82		183213.66

* These figures include the playwrights' tragedies and comedies.

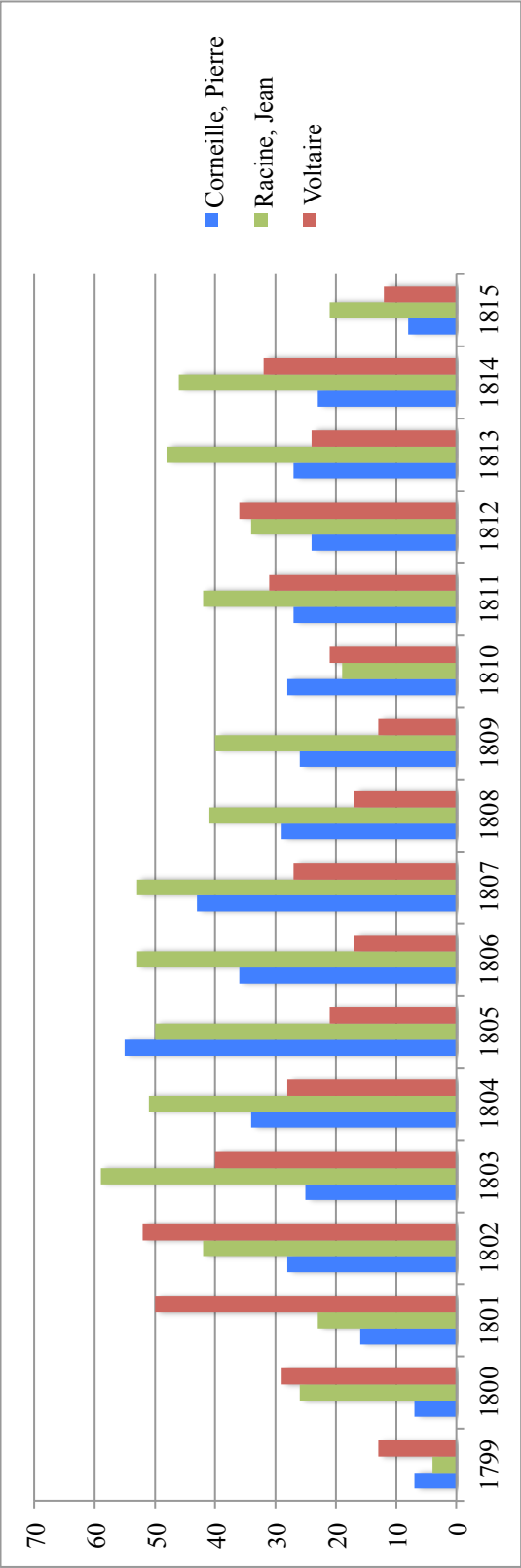
Table 10. Century of first play

Row Labels	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815	Grand Total
17 th Century	27	73	98	118	162	143	162	181	179	147	134	114	147	163	153	134	62	2197
Comédie	16	39	59	43	63	47	51	69	60	63	64	61	65	95	71	57	30	953
Tragédie	11	34	39	75	99	96	111	112	119	84	70	53	82	68	82	77	32	1244
18 th Century	188	246	243	224	171	172	124	109	151	120	162	163	178	167	159	179	82	2838
Comédie	98	151	120	109	79	107	86	73	86	82	123	128	114	99	112	109	48	1724
Drame	34	29	17	14	15	11	8	2		4	1	5	11	6	4	6	4	171
Tragédie	56	66	106	101	77	54	30	34	65	34	38	30	53	62	43	64	30	943
19 th Century		37	15	7	15	15	59	55	9	70	54	61	29	31	45	36	29	567
Comédie		24	8	3	6	7	23	6		48	23	30	11	22	14	9	5	239
Drame		1	1	2	9	1	2		1							6	2	25
Tragédie		12	6	2		7	34	49	8	22	31	31	18	9	31	21	22	303
Unknown		2																2
Comédie		2																2
Relâche	1	7	9	16	17	36	20	20	26	29	15	27	11	5	8	16	17	280
Relâche	1	7	9	16	17	36	20	20	26	29	15	27	11	5	8	16	17	280
Grand Total	216	365	365	365	365	366	365	365	365	366	365	365	365	365	365	365	190	5884

Table 11. Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire's tragedies per year

	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1815
Corneille, Pierre	7	7	16	28	25	34	55	36	43	29	26	28	27	24	27	23	8
Racine, Jean	4	26	23	42	59	51	50	53	53	41	40	19	42	34	48	46	21
Voltaire	13	29	50	52	40	28	21	17	27	17	13	21	31	36	24	32	12

Figure 3. Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire's tragedies per year



Appendix C

Table 1. Index of Tragedies in ‘Corrections, coupures et variantes’, Paris, BMCF MS Rés 048, pp. 327–29

Tragedy	Author	Date first performed
<i>Abufar</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1795
<i>Adélaïde du Guesclin</i>	Voltaire	1734
<i>Alzire</i>	Voltaire	1736
<i>Andromaque</i>	Racine, Jean, Jean	1667
<i>Ariane</i>	Corneille, Thomas	1672
<i>Athalie</i>	Racine, Jean	1691
<i>Athrée et Thyeste</i>	Crébillon, Claude Prosper Jolyot de	1707
<i>Bajazet</i>	Racine, Jean	1672
<i>Blanche et Guiscard</i>	Saurin, Bernard-Joseph	1764
<i>Britannicus</i>	Racine, Jean	1669
<i>Brutus</i>	Voltaire	1730
<i>Le Cid</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1636
<i>Cinna</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1639
<i>Le Comte d’Essex</i>	Corneille, Thomas	1678
<i>Coriolan</i>	La Harpe, Jean-François de	1784
<i>Didon</i>	Pompignan, Jean-Jacques Lefranc de	1734
<i>Electre</i>	Crébillon, Claude Prosper Jolyot de	1708
<i>Gabrielle de Vergy</i>	Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de	1777
<i>Gaston et Bayard</i>	Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de	1771
<i>Hamlet</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1769
<i>Héraclius</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1646
<i>Horace</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1640
<i>Iphigénie en Aulide</i>	Racine, Jean	1674
<i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i>	Guimond de la Touche	1757
<i>[329]Mahomet</i>	Voltaire	1736
<i>Manlius Capitolinus</i>	La Fosse, Antoine de	1698
<i>Médée</i>	Longepierre, Hilaire-Bernard de	1694
<i>Mérope</i>	Voltaire	1743
<i>Mort de Pompée</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1643
<i>Mort de César</i>	Voltaire	1735
<i>Mort d’Hector</i>	Luce de Lancival, Jean-Charles-Julien	1809
<i>Nicomède</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1651
<i>Œdipe</i>	Voltaire	1718
<i>Œdipe chez Admète</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1778

<i>L'Orphelin de la chine</i>	Voltaire	1755
<i>Othello</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1792
<i>Phèdre</i>	Racine, Jean	1677
<i>Pierre le cruel</i>	Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de	1772
<i>Polyeucte</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1634
<i>Rhadamiste et Zénobie</i>	Crébillon, Claude Prosper Jolyot de	1711
<i>Rodogune</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1646
<i>Le Roi Léar</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1783
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Ducis, Jean-François	1772
<i>Sémiramis</i>	Voltaire	1748
<i>Sertorius</i>	Corneille, Pierre	1663
<i>Le Siège de Calais</i>	Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de	1765
<i>Tancrède</i>	Voltaire	1760
<i>Venceslas</i>	Rotrou, Jean	1647
<i>Veuve du Malabar</i>	Lemierre, Antoine-Marin	1780
<i>Zaïre</i>	Voltaire	1732
<i>Zelmire</i>	Belloy, Pierre-Laurent Buirette de	1762

Appendix D

Table 1. Népomucène-Louis Lemerrier's twenty-six conditions for tragedy, *Cours analytique de littérature générale, tel qu'il a été professé à l'Athénée de Paris*, 4 vols (Paris: Nepveu, 1817), I, 177–79

Number	Condition as quoted from Lemerrier, pp. 177-179	First cited seventeenth or eighteenth-century example per condition
1	La fable ou le fait : deux espèces ; simple, et composé	Corneille, <i>Horace</i> , p. 194
2	La mesure de l'action	<i>Philoctète, Esther, la Mort de César</i> , p. 207
3	La triple unité, qui ne se trouve exactement que dans l'action simple	<i>Philoctète, Cinna, Polyeucte, Athalie</i> p. 211
4	Le vraisemblable : deux espèces ; naturel ou ordinaire, et extraordinaire	Corneille, p. 226
5	Le nécessaire : deux espèces , et qui sont les mêmes que celles du vraisemblable	Corneille, p. 226
6	La terreur	Voltaire, <i>Commentaires sur Corneille</i> , p. 237
7	La pitié	Crébillon, <i>Électre</i> , p. 267
8	Le mélange de la pitié et de la terreur	Corneille, <i>Rodogune</i> , p. 282
9	L'admiration	Corneille, <i>Polyeucte</i> , p. 291
10	Les péripéties : trois espèces ; de reconnaissance, d'événements, et de changements de volonté dans les passions	Boileau, <i>Art Poétique</i> , p. 313
11	La fatalité du destin	Racine, <i>Iphigénie</i> and <i>Athalie</i> , p. 331
12	La fatalité des passions	Corneille, <i>Polyeucte</i> , p. 344
13	Le genre des passions : deux espèces ; principales, et secondaires, qui servent d'instruments aux premiers	Racine, <i>Athalie</i> , p. 358
14	Les caractères : quatre espèces ; grands, vulgaires dans les rôles subalternes, pareils à eux-mêmes	Corneille, Racine and Voltaire, p. 376
15	Les mœurs	Voltaire, p. 397

16	L'intérêt : quatre espèces ; de passions, de politique, d'événements, et de caractères	Rotrou, <i>Venceslas</i> Corneille, <i>le Cod</i> , <i>Héraclius</i> , <i>Rodogune</i> , Voltaire, <i>Mahomet</i> , <i>Sémiramis</i> , <i>Alzire</i> , <i>Zaïre</i> , <i>Tancrède</i> and <i>Rhadamiste</i> , p. 418
17	L'exposition : trois espèces ; simple des faits, compliquée de faits, exposant des caractères et non des faits	Boileau, <i>Art Poétique</i> , pp. 423–24
18	Le nœud ou l'intrigue	Corneille, <i>Le Cid</i> , p. 436
19	L'ordre de actes	Racine, <i>Phèdre</i> , <i>Britannicus</i> and <i>Iphigénie</i> , p. 446
20	L'ordre des scènes capitales	Racine, <i>Phèdre</i> , p. 448
21	Le dénouement : trois espèces ; heureux, malheureux, mixte	Racine, <i>Iphigénie</i> and Voltaire, <i>Adélaïde Du</i> <i>Guesclin</i> , p. 454
22	Le style : deux espèces ; orné dans l'exposition et dans les choses locales, simple et passionné dans l'action	Corneille, p. 458
23	Le dialogue : deux espèces ; soutenu, et coupé	Corneille, p. 485
24	Les tableaux scéniques ou aspects des personnages	Racine, <i>Iphigénie</i> , p. 491
25	La symétrie : deux espèces ; de caractères pareils ou contrastants, et de situations ou tableaux	Racine, <i>Iphigénie</i> , p. 493
26	Complément ou réunion de toutes ses parties, dont je donnerai l'explication	Racine, <i>Athalie</i> , p. 497

Appendix E – Short Napoleonic Tragedy Summaries¹²⁹⁷

***Montmorenci*, Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, 1800**

Montmorency joined forces with the King's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, and led a rebellion in Toulouse because of his horror at Richelieu's control over Louis XIII and the oppression of his Queen, Anne d'Autriche. Montmorency was captured but should he be killed or not? Given Montmorency's popularity as a military hero, it is politically expedient not to execute him. The Queen, Montmorency's sister, and his wife conspire with the *maréchal de France*, Schomberg, to allow Montmorency to flee, despite Montmorency's wish to die. The Queen and Montmorency are in love, but Richelieu also loves the former, and it is this passion which drives Richelieu to plot and eventually have Montmorency killed, by showing Louis a bracelet found on Montmorency with the Queen's portrait in it. The Queen explains that this was to reward Montmorency's victories. They go to stop the execution, but it is too late.

***Thésée*, Frédéric Mazoyer, 1800**

Médée has spent years building up her power, over the king of Athens and her husband, Égée, but his authority shall be passed to his son if Thésée returns. Égée believes his son to be dead, and as such power should eventually be passed to Pallante. Médée and Pallante conspire to prevent Thésée's acquisition of power. Having consulted the Furies, Médée develops a plan whereby Égée will unknowingly kill his own son, by convincing him that someone is trying to overthrow him. There is popular agitation in the city, led by Pallante, and anger against Médée. Thésée realises there is a plot against him. As a faithful soldier he goes to the celebration and swears allegiance to Égée. Before the Gods he must drink from the sacred cup. Its contents have been poisoned to kill Thésée, but Égée can no longer face murdering his son. Médée is chased by the people before she dies.

¹²⁹⁷ The summaries given here are based upon the first printed edition where possible, rather than later editions.

***Phœdor et Waldamir*,¹²⁹⁸ Jean-François Ducis, 1801**

The prompt book for this tragedy does not survive and it was unpublished. However, from reviews it is possible to ascertain that the tragedy was set in Siberia. Here live a former minister's daughter, Alzerline/Ezerline/Arzeline, and twin brothers, Phœdor and Waldamir. Phœdor is passionate and bellicose, whereas Waldamir is calmer and content as a shepherd. Both brothers love Alzerline, but she only loves Waldamir. Waldamir and Alzerline flee to a monastery. However, Phœdor has followed them, there is a confrontation and Alzerline escapes outside to the snow. The monks find her dead, but as the brothers mourn she reawakens and mutters words of love to Waldamir. Phœdor has learned of his rival and attempts to kill him, but realising the error of his ways the *Journal de Paris* states he kills himself, whilst the *Journal des débats* maintains that he consents to Waldamir's marriage.

***Alhamar*, [François Joseph Depuntis?], 1802**

This tragedy was not printed but the prompt book remains. Alhamar, a Moorish prince, was fighting against the Spanish, led by Don Diègue, on behalf of Isabelle and Ferdinand of Spain. A Spanish envoy comes to propose peace to Don Diège who offers his daughter and the object of Alhamar's over-consuming desire, Elvire, in marriage. However, she is in love with Alhamar's friend, Ramire. Elvire arrives in the castle having fled her father but Don Diègue finds her. He does not approve of her relationship with Ramire and names Elvire Alhamar's 'épouse'. Elvire hates Alhamar however, and she and Ramire conspire to get out of the situation. However, at the end of act V Alhamar changes his mind, accepts the peace, unites Elvire and Ramire, and commits suicide.

¹²⁹⁸ The names in this tragedy vary between critics. The *Journal des débats* names the characters Ezerline, Phœdor, and Wladamir (26 April 1801), whilst the *Journal de Paris* calls the daughter Alzerline (*Journal de Paris*, 6 floréal an IX (26 April 1801), pp. 1302–03) and the *Journal des débats* rebaptises her Arzeline on 28 April 1801.

Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur, Antoine-Vincent Arnault, 1802

The tragedy starts in the countryside, with the King, Don Pèdre, and his companion, Don Alphonse, disguised in travelling clothes. Don Pèdre loves a beautiful peasant girl, Félicie. Her proud father, Juan, did not want a reward for the care she gave Don Pèdre when he fell ill and the audience watches the agricultural country life they lead with her brother, Diègue. Don Pèdre, disguised, interrogates Juan which exposes the latter's social critique of the court and nobility. Without revealing the travellers' identities, the King invites Juan and Félicie to the palace. There they meet Léon, Félicie's lover, who had been in the army and believed dead. The King then arrives and in him they recognise the traveller. Don Pèdre makes Juan a judge and offers him a home in the palace. Juan will only allow someone his equal to marry his daughter and gives Félicie to Léon to wed the following day, even though she is in love with another. Diègue tells Don Pèdre of this plan. Don Pèdre is overcome by anger and goes to meet Félicie. They are in love but Léon will not give her up and so the King murders his own subject onstage. The final act is the trial presided over by Juan. Diègue is presented as guilty and will not defend himself in front of his father, leading to his sentence. Finally the King admits his guilt.

Isule et Orovèse, Népomucène-Louis Lemercier, 1802

The druid feel is created from the outset by the stone altar onstage, in the middle of the woods in the 'pays Chartrain'. Clodoer, the 'prince gaulois' meets Isule, the 'princesse de Germanie'. The former has been accused of heresy and has hidden his identity for over three years, though his love for Isule has not diminished. The tragedy is set on the day a new king will be named. Orovèse, a druid who lives a life of seclusion, arrives from his solitude, wanting to be left alone, but the Senate has summoned him because they need to know who to sacrifice for a criminal love affair which is angering the Gods. Orovèse reveals to Clavis, the head of the druids, that it is he who loves Isule and he wants to kill Clodoer; Orovèse's passions rule him to such an extent that Clavis tells him to return to his solitude. Isule will be married and crowned today to whomever wins

the fighting. Gaule has been saved by an unknown soldier (Clodoer in disguise) who then demands his rank and fiancée back from the Senate. When Orovèse sees Clodoer he names Isule as the sacrificial victim: she must die. Orovèse talks to Isule of his love for her and begs her to flee, which she does, but she is arrested by the soldiers and the people want Orovèse to sacrifice her himself. Isule finally declares her love for Orovèse, he kills himself, and Isule grabs the knife, ending her life too.

Polyxène, Étienne Aignan, 1804

This tragedy features the imprisonment and sacrifice of Priam and Hécube's daughter, Polyxène. The King of Mycènes has announced that Polyxène will be killed, which leads to the difficult separation of mother and daughter, simultaneously evoking episodes of the Trojan War. Agamemnon argues that Polyxène is in his care, whilst Ulysse maintains that she belongs to Pyrrhus. Agamemnon is keen to avoid this fate since his daughter, Iphigénie, had nearly been sacrificed. A soldier arrives announcing that he has been sent by Agamemnon to lead Polyxène to safety and so she leaves her mother. However, Agamemnon then enters, denying any knowledge of a soldier: it had been a ploy by Ulysse to take Polyxène to Pyrrhus. However, it is too late to save her: Polyxène has already been killed.

Pierre-le-Grand, Marie-Henri-François-Élisabeth de Carrion-Nisas, 1804

When the Tsar, Pierre, prepares to move power from Moscow to St Petersburg he is denounced as a foreigner, not a true Russian. Pierre's son, Alexis, inspired by the mistreatment of his mother and the need to protect Russia, mounts a revolt with the bishop Gleboff and the Strélits and Boyards. Pierre, rumoured to be dead, turns out to be alive and desires peace. Pierre is prepared to forgive Alexis if he joins the Tsar's men and fights the rebels, but Alexis reveals himself to be their leader: Alexis does not see the need for Russia to adapt, it must stay faithful to its traditions. The rebels prepare to assassinate Pierre as he officially shares his power with Catherine in a public ceremony. The guards announce they have caught one of the rebels and unveil him before the ceremony: Alexis. Supported

by Catherine and the minister Lefort, Pierre realises the necessity of Alexis's execution and signs the death warrant.

Cyrus, Marie-Joseph Chénier, 1804

For the first time in 100 years, the king Astyage has allowed the worship of the Sun God and the tragedy takes place on the day of his festival. Astyage's daughter, Mandane, is sad: her husband, Cambyse, is dead and her son, Cyrus, was sentenced to death before he was born, although Mitridate, a shepherd, managed to rescue him and take him to safety. Mandane has been told that Cyrus is still alive and she believes that the young and heroic warrior, Élenor, might know him. However, Astyage orders Élenor to kill Cyrus should he find him. Nevertheless, Mandane and Élenor remain close, and he tells her of his upbringing under a man named Arbacès. An old man arrives and demands to speak to Mandane: it is Mitridate, who tells her Cyrus was killed by Élenor, Mandane sentences Élenor to a terrible death, but then Mitridate (Arbacès) and Élenor (Cyrus) recognise each other and Mandane is reunited with her son. However, the king has ordered Cyrus to be arrested and he is carried off to be killed. Luckily, he is saved by the people and Astyage, recognising his own tyranny and Cyrus's greatness, crowns Cyrus as Emperor.

Les Templiers, François-Just-Marie Raynouard, 1805

The Templiers are a religious order with much popular support. Certain courtiers, such as the Chancellor and Marigni, believe that the Templiers are using religion to overthrow the king, Philippe-le-Bel, and thus the courtiers' power. A council meeting is called to decide the Templiers' fate. All the Templiers are to be arrested, but Marigni's son is weighed down by the secret that he too is a Templier. Consequently, he, the Queen, and the Connétable do their best to support the Templiers. The leader of the Templiers, the Grand-Maître, demonstrates no fear of death. This leads Marigni fils to reveal himself as a Templier and to vow to die with them. The Queen and the Grand-Maître attempt to show the King he is blinded by hatred but he will not listen. Finally, the King

will be merciful if the Grand-Maître begs; the latter cannot and the Templiers are sent to the scaffold. The King realises his error but it is too late.

Astyanax, [Halma], 1805

This tragedy, focusing on Hector's widow, Andromaque, and their son, Astyanax, was part printed. The Greeks have decided upon Astyanax's death and Ulysse is charged with finding him. In the first act Andromaque believes the Greeks have her son but he is returned to her in the second act by an old man. Andromaque attempts to find a safe hiding place for Astyanax, but with the Greeks approaching and nowhere to hide, she puts Astyanax into the tomb of his father, Hector. The Gods seem to have changed their mind but Ulysse re-reads their message, reassuring his men that Astyanax must die. The old man tells Andromaque not to return to the tomb but she cannot help herself. She and Astyanax are found by Ulysse and the boy is carried off to his death.

Antiochus Épiphanes, Le Chevalier, 1806

Antiochus is driven by passion. His beloved, Athéaïs, married Arzace, and their daughter, Zobéide, has been brought up as the daughter of Eudoxe, the governess, for Zobéide's safety. Eudoxe and Zobéide are prisoners and Antiochus's son, Seleucus loves Zobéide. Seleucus recognises Pharnace, general of the Parthes, as Arzace. Seleucus tries to get his own father to agree to peace and admits his love. Arzace (Pharnace) has his identity revealed and Athénaïs is distraught; Antiochus plans to increase Athénaïs's distress through Zobéide. However, Arzace is still alive and tells Zobéide he is her father. He then leaves and Zobéide unknowingly meets her mother, Anthéaïs. They learn of their biological bond shortly before Antiochus forces them to separate. In his rage, Antiochus even has his son arrested. As his people rise up against him, Antiochus still takes pleasure in making Arzace believe Athénaïs is dead. However, Arzace returns triumphant, the tyrant king is killed.

La Mort de Henri IV, Gabriel Legouvé, 1806

Henri has decided to leave Paris to go and fight in Belgium which will lead to greater peace. The Queen, Marie de Médicis, is annoyed that she has not yet been crowned; to reassure her Henri has placed the Duc d'Épernon at her side. When the Queen learns that Henri is allegedly going to Brussels to see his lover, the Princesse de Condé, rather than secure peace she becomes enraged, exacerbated further when d'Épernon tells her Henri plans to restrict her powers and those of her children, and shows her a letter where Henri promises marriage and crown to his lover. D'Épernon is working with the Spanish ambassador, pushing Marie to allow Henri's assassination. Finally, out of her mind she does so; she comes back to repent but it is too late.

Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, Pierre Baour-Lormian, 1806

Joseph, known as Omasis, is the first minister of the Pharaoh and is believed dead by his biological family. After interpreting a divine message, the former slave took the place of the royal prince and disgraced minister, Rhamès. Omasis is to marry Rhamès's sister, Almaïs. Benjamin and Siméon, Joseph's biological brothers (unbeknownst to them), are prisoners and tell of their family's suffering, especially that of their father. Omasis has ordered the family and Jacob to come to the palace. Rhamès plots against Omasis with the help of Siméon, Joseph's brother responsible for his exile and supposed death, who is jealous of how much Joseph still means to his father. Jacob arrives at the palace and is happy to be reunited with Benjamin who tells him a lot about Omasis. Jacob remarks how much Omasis sounds like Joseph. Rhamès's revolt comes to a head but he is defeated and killed. Omasis can thus return to his family, and Siméon, the traitor is brought by the guards. Siméon finally admits that Joseph was not killed by a lion but Siméon sold him into slavery. Omasis reveals himself as Joseph and forgives Siméon. The family is reunited.

Octavie, Jean-Marie Souriguières de Saint-Marc, 1806

The Roman emperor Néron wishes to divorce his wife, the virtuous Octavie, because he is in love with Poppée, who, Sénèque warns, is only after power. The Romans have revolted against this decision since they love Octavie. Poppée is not content with divorce; she wants Octavie's death. She therefore conspires with Néron's adviser Tigellin, who informs his master that Octavie has had an affair with Eucérus, and there are two witnesses. Octavie must face trial and the price of adultery is execution. Sénèque decries these lies and shows the 'witnesses' to have been bribed. They are sentenced to death and Octavie seems saved. However, Poppée has been murdered by the masses and Tigellin accuses Sénèque of leading them with Pison. Both men are condemned to death. Néron believes Octavie ordered Poppée's death: he is the real judge and without a court he forces her to drink from a poisoned cup.

Pyrrhus, ou les Æacides, Louis-Grégoire Lehoc, 1807

The king of Épire, Alcétas, is under attack by Phanès, an unknown soldier (Æacide in disguise). Æacide used to be a tyrannous ruler but he was replaced by Alcétas. However, since he only has a daughter, the throne will return to Pyrrhus, Æacide's son. Amestris, the queen, tells her daughter, Iphise, that she must marry Pyrrhus. However, Iphise is in love with Agénor, who believes himself to be an orphan. Amestris explains to Agénor how she protected him in his youth and reveals to him that he is actually Pyrrhus. This should have resolved the marriage conundrum but Pyrrhus's character changes immediately: he must avenge his usurped family. Phanès is victorious and comes to the palace. When he meets Pyrrhus, Phanès tells Pyrrhus that his father is alive and convinces him to take revenge for his father. However, the people rise up and Æacide (Phanès) is killed and Alcétas commits suicide, leaving Pyrrhus king.

Artaxerce, Étienne-Joseph-Bernard Delrieu, 1808

The captain of the guards, Artaban, conspires to murder the tyrannous king of Persia, Xercès. He wants to replace him with his own son and successful general,

Arbace, whom some members of the army have already declared king. Artaban murders Xercès, and Arbace flees with the bloody sword to save his father. However, the rebels have failed to kill Artaxerce, Xercès's son and Arbace's friend, who as the new king charges Artaban of judging the culprit. Arbace is then caught with the sword. Mandane argues that the possession of the murder weapon does not prove Arbace's guilt. Arbace refuses to name the assassin (his father) and accepts his execution. Artaban stands by his ruling, but continues to conspire by poisoning the cup the monarch must drink from. Arbace is saved and pledges his and his soldiers' loyalty to Artaxerce at the latter's coronation, by drinking from said cup. Artaban cannot hide his guilt any longer: he confesses, takes the poison, and dies.

Hector, Jean-Charles-Julien Luce de Lancival, 1809

Hector returns triumphant from battle but his wife, Andromaque, has the feeling that disaster is coming and urges him to stay put. A peace treaty is proposed, which would mean Pâris's love, Hélène, will return to the Greeks, which Pâris refuses to allow: he will do anything to keep her. When Hector goes to make peace, a Greek tries to attack him and fighting ensues. Hector believes he will be victorious because the Oracle said that the side which breaks the peace will lose their hero. Hector reads this as the death of Achille, who although he never appears onstage, is a constant threat. Achille challenges Hector to a direct contest, which Hector accepts. Pâris admits that the person who attacked him during the peace brokering was a Trojan in a Greek uniform; this was Pâris's plan to keep Hélène. Hector takes leave of his family, promising he will live on through his son, and dies in the fight against Achille.

Vitellie, A. de Selve, 1809

Vespasian has led a revolt against Vitellius, the Emperor of Rome. His son, Domitien, is in love with Vitellius's daughter, Vitellie, and they are to be married. However, after Vespasian's revolt Domitien has been banished and Vitellie is now destined to wed Licinius, the son of Pison, in a political union. Licinus learns of Vitellie's true love for Domitien and wants to kill him.

However, he sees Vitellie's love and ends up actually helping Domitien get back into the palace, leading to Licinius's own arrest. Civil disorder erupts in the city and whilst Domitien attempts to control the situation, Vitellie refuses to flee because as tyrannical as he may be, she cannot leave her father. Consequently, when Vitellius is killed by a mob, she takes her own life, leaving Domitien with nothing.

Les États de Blois, François-Just-Marie Raynouard, 1810/1814

In 1588, Catherine de Médicis is still the power ruling France behind its weak king and her son, Henri III. With both King and Queen Mother nearing death, the plan at the meeting of the Estates is to unite the Royal family with the Bourbon family, allowing Henri to become king later, and bring peace to France. The Duc de Guise and his supporters in the Ligue are consequently plotting, and they are to await the Duc's signal. Guise has all the soldiers and the people on his side, threatening those against him. Discussions of the plots reveal how fanatical members of the Ligue are. Catherine realises this danger and sends Guise to fight on the borders of France. However, first there is the matter of peace. Henri and Guise realise that they are both threatened by different plots and civil war is a real possibility. Catherine had failed to get Crillon to assassinate Guise, the Ligue are conspiring to revolt. Catherine changes the guard at the Counsel in case Guise had something planned (which his men had). Guise is arrested and despite his resistance he is killed.

Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis, Étienne Aignan, 1810

Brunehaut, the widow of Sigbert, king of Austrasia, awaits the arrival of her grandsons Thierry II, king of Orléans, and Théodebert, king of Austrasia. Brunehaut supposedly wants peace, but really she craves war and punishment for Thierry because he had banished her. Audover, Théodebert's daughter, wants peace, and agrees to help Thierry become king, and Brunehaut promises to help Thierry by eliminating Théodebert. Thierry strives to rule by justice rather than tyranny. Clotaire, Thierry's uncle and king of Neustria, arrives and proposes that he and Thierry join forces against Brunehaut. Thierry cannot surrender his

grandmother; Clotaire therefore declares war against him. For fear of losing her power, Brunehaut arranges Théodebert's instant murder. Audoverre is now queen. Thierry swears to avenge his brother's death and summons Brunehaut and tells her to flee. Brunehaut goes to join forces with Clotaire, and they arrive in the palace together. Clotaire has Brunehaut murdered to save France.

***Mahomet II*, Pierre Baour-Lormian, 1811**

Mahomet prefers Eronime to Zulima, the 'Sultane-Reine' of Byzantium. To punish Mahomet, Zulima plots to turn his soldiers against him. However, Mahomet suspects Eronime of loving another, and he promises to kill his rival (which turns out to be his advisor Soliman). Mahomet offers his power to Eronime but to no avail, and he resolves to return to his war-waging campaigns, taking Eronime with him. Zulima knows Soliman loves Eronime and tells him to flee. However, Zulima is actually plotting against Soliman too: when Soliman meets Eronime with the intention of fleeing, they are caught red-handed by Mahomet. The army revolts, taking Zulima's cause; only Zulima's death can calm their fury and Mahomet executes her showing her head to the masses. Mahomet cannot bring himself to kill Eronime and Soliman though, asking them to flee. However, when Mahomet says he will kill Soliman, Eronime takes poison. Her death reunites Mahomet and Soliman as friends.

***Annibal*, [Normandie], 1811**

There is no prompt book or published edition of this play, but the *Journal de l'Empire* briefly records the tragedy's plot.¹²⁹⁹ Prusias II is absent and so his son, Nicomède, is left to deal with the fate of Annibal, the famous Carthaginian general. Nicomède must decide whether Annibal should be given up to the Romans. Nicomède is generous, but his father returns and although Prusias shows some guilt he is politically merciless. He has Nicomède arrested and the latter's attempts to start an army rebellion fail. Annibal is destined for the Romans but it transpires that he had already taken poison.

¹²⁹⁹ *Journal de l'Empire*, 2 January 1812.

Tippo-Saïb, Étienne de Jouy, 1813

Tippo-Saëb is at war against the British who threaten his lands. The French envoy, Raymond, is in favour with Tippo-Saëb, replacing the Indian minister, Narséa. This provokes the latter to revolt against his monarch. The British envoy Weymour, in cahoots with Narséa, encourages Raymond to desert Tippo-Saëb in return for his own safety, which Raymond refuses to do. The British propose peace if Tippo-Saëb breaks off his alliance with France. Raymond is willing to accept this suggestion if Tippo desires a treaty. Tippo is infuriated by such an idea and Narséa then accuses Raymond of treachery. As the British army advances, Raymond agrees to fight for Tippo-Saëb to show his loyalty. In the preparations for the battle, Tippo-Saëb's children flee and nearly fall into British hands, but Raymond had foreseen this and saved them. However, Narséa had let the British into the palace, Tippo-Saëb is wounded and dies surrounded by his children.

Ninus II, Charles Brifaut, 1813

Ninus loves his sister-in-law Elzire, which drove him to murder his brother, a death blamed on Elzire. The satrap Zorbas has saved her to make her queen and reunite her with her son, Zorame. Zorame believes himself to be an orphan, and Ninus acts as his paternal protector. Ninus leaves Zorbas in charge whilst he disappears to fight. Zorbas uses this time to liberate Elzire, and Zorame unknowingly meets her without realising their connection. Zorame tells Ninus of his encounter and Elzire is arrested. Ninus is prepared to reunite mother and son, if she does not speak of Ninus's crimes. Rhamnisse stirs up a revolt, the masses want Elzire to be tried. To save her, Ninus proposes marriage to Elzire, to hide her identity, but she chooses trial over his proposition. There is then a battle where Rhamnisse dies. After Elzire's trial, Ninus finally declares Elzire's innocence, killing himself and reuniting mother and son.

Le Retour d'Ulysse, Pierre-Antoine Lebrun's Ulysse, 1814 [First Restoration]

Ulysse, absent for twenty years, is rumoured dead. His wife, Penelope, is forced to marry a suitor, Antinoüs, who wants her son, Télémaque, and Ulysse dead. Ulysse returns and having not been recognised, he asks for asylum to test his subject, Eumée's, loyalty. Under his guise as a foreigner, Ulysse tells Télémaque that Ulysse is alive and promises to help him secure the throne. As Penelope comes to meet the foreigner, he is arrested on Antinoüs's orders. The foreigner tells Antinoüs of the oracle that Penelope will only marry the man who can bend Ulysse's bow. Antinoüs orders the princes to assemble to watch the contest, announcing that Ulysse is dead. Ulysse reveals his identity to Penelope and Télémaque, but must leave them. They fear for his fate: Antinoüs now knows the foreigner to be Ulysse, but Ulysse wins the contest, the rebellious princes are defeated, and the family is reunited.

Jeanne Gray, Charles Brifaut, 1815 [First Restoration]

This tragedy was not printed, but reviews, the manuscript, and the prompt book remain. The tragedy is set in the Tower of London, Jeanne has been made queen by her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, following Edward VI's last wishes. Marie has escaped and she proposes peace to Jeanne, potentially because she loves Jeanne's husband, Gilfort. Jeanne is prepared to hand over her crown but Northumberland refuses, evoking the wishes of Edward. Marie gives Northumberland the chance to cut ties with Jeanne and join her side, offering him great power at her future court. The nobles seemingly support Jeanne but the people rise up in favour of Marie, half of the army has deserted, and Northumberland is killed. Jeanne and Guilfort are arrested; Marie cannot decide what to do, and then an officer comes in telling her the executions have already taken place.

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3 AC 17	Archives comptables – habillement a. factures de costumes 1799–1839
3 AC 19	Archives comptables – librairie, reliure, frais de bureau, frais d’écriture et de procédure, fournitures de bureau, 1799–1844
3 AC 2	Archives comptables – appointements du personnel
3 AC 23	Archives comptables – avances sur les droits d’auteurs

3 AC 6	Archives comptables – orchestre
3 AG Boîte 1	Archives générales XIX ^e siècle 1799–1813
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3-AA-1799-1807 (1-16)	Ordres émanant des autorités de tutelle 1799–1807
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Ms 25036 (1) and (2)	Lemauzier, Annales du Théâtre français depuis la Réunion générale au Théâtre de la République, Rue de la Loi, le 11 prairial, An sept ; jusqu’au 1 ^{er} Vendémiaire, an XIV (1799–1805), manuscript
Ms 25079 (4)	<i>Polyxène</i> , manuscript
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Ms 25080 (7)	<i>Tipou-Saëb</i> , manuscript
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Rés Corn NIC	Corneille, Pierre, <i>Nicomède</i> (Paris: Fages, 1806) ‘Corrections de la Comédie-Française’
Talma CF Ar TAL 1-7	Dossier Talma

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Shelf mark	Title
FRANCAIS-15078	Corneille au dix-neuvième siècle, ou Œuvres de Pierre Corneille, remises à la scène par F. BRUNOT en 1804
Ms14032-14033	Copies de rôles joués par Talma, exécutées pour lui, avec annotations de sa main et de celle des auteurs
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	remises à la scène par F. BRUNOT en 1804
NAF-2935	Jeanne d'Arc à Rouen, manuscript
NAF-3030	Recueil de rapports de la Censure dramatique, classées suivant l'ordre alphabétique des pièces examinées
NAF-3031	Recueil de rapports de la Censure dramatique, classées suivant l'ordre alphabétique des pièces examinées
NAF-3032	Recueil de rapports de la Censure dramatique, classées suivant l'ordre alphabétique des pièces examinées

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Printed Sources

Shelf mark	Title
GD-14563	<i>Argument de La Mort de Henri IV</i> ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.])
GD- 22351	<i>Argument des Templiers</i> ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.])
YF- 8308	<i>Bibliothèque dramatique ou Répertoire universel du Théâtre français, quatrième série, avec des remarques, des notices, et l'examen de chaque pièce par MM. Ch. Nodier, P. Lepeintre, L. Thiessé, et A. Lesourd</i> , 23 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1824–25), IV: <i>Auteurs contemporains M. Raynouard, M. Baour-Lormian</i> (1824)
YF-8587	<i>Chefs-d'œuvre de Ducis, Chénier, Legouvé, Luce de Lancival, Lemercier</i> (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1845)
GD-11409	<i>Costumes et mouvemens des personnages dans Hector, tragédie</i> (Paris: Perlet, imprimerie de Fain, mars 1809)
8-RF-17420(1)	<i>Extraits de Cyrus</i> ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], 1804)
YF-5406	<i>Suite du répertoire du théâtre français, avec un choix de plusieurs autres théâtres, arrangées et mises en ordre par M Lepeintre</i> , 80 vols (Paris: Veuve Dabo, 1823), III (1823)
SMITH LESOUÉF R-4285	<i>Pièces de l'ancien répertoire dont la représentation est défendue sur tous les théâtres de France par la censure dramatique, précédés de la feuille du Journal de la Malle poste à l'appui</i>

16-EGC-2900; 8-RF-16248; GD-16244; THN-4651; THN-4651; 8-YTH-14427; 8-YTH-14428	Aignan, Étienne, <i>Polyxène, tragédie en trois vers</i> (Paris: Chez les marchands de nouveautés, 1804)
8-RF-16250; GD-6656; 8-YTH-2358	Aignan, Étienne, <i>Brunehaut, ou les successeurs de Clovis</i> (Paris: Vente, 1811)
GD-9246; THN-2943; SMITH LESOUEF R-4285 (7)	Arnault, Antoine-Vincent, <i>Don Pèdre, ou le roi et le laboureur, tragédie en cinq actes, en vers</i> ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.])
8-RF-21692; GD- 15228; 8-RF-21688; 8-RF-21689; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7175; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7176	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Vente, 1807)
8- YTH- 13002	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> [different edition – not marked as second edition]
8-RF-21691	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> , 2nd edn (Paris: Vente, 1807)
8-RF-21693; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7176	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> , 3rd edn (Paris: Vente, 1810)
8-RF-216894	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Omasis, ou Joseph en Égypte, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, Nouvelle</i>

	<i>édition, seule avouée par l'auteur</i> (Paris: Vente, 1817)
THN-2780; 8- YTH- 10629; 8 YTH 10630; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7172; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7173; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7173; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7174; GD- 13195; 8- RF- 21697	Baour-Lormian, Pierre-Marie-François, <i>Mahomet II, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Latour, 1811)
4-RF-22852 'Pour le Souffleur'; GD-14871; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7505; 8-YTH-12685	Brifault, Charles, <i>Ninus II, tragédie en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1814)
8-YTH-12684; 4-RF-22853	Brifault, Charles, <i>Ninus II, tragédie en cinq actes</i> , 2nd edn (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1815)
8-RF-17213	Carrion-Nisas, Marie-Henri-Élisabeth de, <i>Montmorenci, tragédie en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Mareschal, 1801)
8-RF-17214; 8- YTH- 12244; 8- YTH- 22669; 8- YTH- 22670	Carrion-Nisas, Marie-Henri-Élisabeth de, <i>Montmorenci, tragédie en cinq actes</i> (Paris: de l'imprimerie Duval, 1803)
8-RF-17215; GD- 21718; THN- 10435; 8- YTH- 14237; 8- YTH- 22685;	Carrion-Nisas, Marie-Henri-Élisabeth de, <i>Pierre-le-Grand, tragédie en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Baudouin, 1804)

YF- 8519	
SMITH LESOUEF R-4285 (8)	Chénier, Marie-Joseph, <i>Cyrus, tragédie</i> ([n.p.]: [n. pub.], [n.d.]
8-RF-24418 (annotated by Talma); Z ROTHSCHILD- 7969; GD-5582; GD- 22791; 8-YTH-1244; 8-YTH-1245; 8-YTH-1246; GD-5583	Delrieu, Étienne-Joseph-Bernard, <i>Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes par M. Delrieu</i> (Paris: chez Giguet et Michaud, 1808)
8-RF-24419	Delrieu, Étienne-Joseph-Bernard, <i>Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes par M. Delrieu</i> (Paris: chez Corboux, 1808)
GD-1449	Delrieu, Étienne-Joseph-Bernard, <i>Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes par M. Delrieu</i> (Rudolstadt: À la librairie de la cour, 1809)
4-RF-24421; THN-9211; Z ROTHSCHILD- 7970; 8-YTH-1247	Delrieu, Étienne-Joseph-Bernard, <i>Artaxerce, tragédie en cinq actes. Nouvelle édition, revue, corrigée, et seule conforme à la représentation</i> (Paris: Barba, 1827)
8- RF- 28813; GD- 22419; 8- YTH- 43118	Jouy, Étienne, <i>Tippô-Saëb, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers, par E. de Jouy</i> (Paris: Chez Barba; Chez Pillet, 1813)
8-RF-29784; 8-RF-29785; GD-5386; THN-4060; 8-YTH-1007; 8-YTH-1008;	Le Chevalier, A., <i>Antiochus Épiphane, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Hubert, 1806)

8 YTH 1006	
8-RF-18589; 8-YTH-12325; GD-21334; ROTSCHILD SUPPLEMENT- 2968; 8-THN-34903 (4)	Legouv�, Gabriel, <i>La Mort de Henri Quatre, Roi de France, trag�die en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1806)
8-RF-18590; GD-21335	Legouv�, Gabriel, <i>La Mort de Henri Quatre, Roi de France, trag�die en cinq actes et en vers</i> , 2nd edn (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1806)
GD-16747; 8-YTH-14983	Lehoc, Louis-Gr�goire, <i>Pyhrrhus ou les �acides, trag�die en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Lecouvreur, 1807)
8-RF-29877; GD- 12153; NUMM-84973; YTH 2271; 8 YTH 9202; 8 YTH 9203; 8 YTH 9204; 8 YTH 9205	Lemercier, N�pomuc�ne-Louis, <i>Isule et Orov�se, trag�die en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Barba, 1803)
8-RF-30607; 8-RF-30608; Z ROTHSCHILD- 10843; 8-RF-30609; GD-11408; GD-49955 (10); GD-49955 (11); 8-YTH-8309	Luce de Lancival, Jean-Charles-Julien, <i>Hector, trag�die en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs Fragmens imit�s de l'Iliade, et d'une sc�ne du r�le d'H�l�ne que l'auteur a supprim�</i> (Paris: chez Jh. Chaumont, 1809)
8-RF-30610; 8-YTH-8311	Luce de Lancival, Jean-Charles-Julien <i>Hector, trag�die en cinq actes suivie de plusieurs Fragmens imit�s de l'Iliade, et d'une sc�ne du r�le d'H�l�ne que l'auteur a supprim�; Par</i>

	<i>J. CH. J. Luce de Lancival. Nouvelle édition, conforme à la représentation</i> (Paris: chez Barba, 1818)
8-RF-30611; 8-RF-30612	Luce de Lancival, Jean-Charles-Julien, <i>Hector, tragédie</i> (Paris: Sanson, 1826)
8-RF-18896; 8-RF-18897; GD-18356; THN-6013; ROTHSCHILD-9322; 8-Z LE SENNE-12073; YTH-17261	Mazoyer, Frédéric, <i>Thésée, tragédie en cinq actes</i> (Paris: Huet; Charon, 1801)
LB20- 10	<i>Procès et condamnation des Templiers, d'après les pièces originales et les manuscrits du temps; servant d'introduction à la tragédie des Templiers par M Raynouard</i> (Paris: Gervais et Maison, 1805)
8-RF-33009; GD- 22352; 8- BL- 16264 (3); 8- YTH- 17142; 8- YTH- 17143; 8- YTH- 17144; Z DE VINCK-3025; Z ROTHSCHILD-9792	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les Templiers, tragédie</i> (Paris: Guiget et Michaud, 1805)
8-RF-33014; FM Baylot IMPR 80; Z ROTHSCHILD-9793; GD- 22353;	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les Templiers, tragédie</i> , 2nd edn (Paris: Guiget et Michaud, 1806)

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8-RF-33015	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les Templiers, tragédie par M. Raynouard, suivie de l'extrait de la tragédie espagnole des templiers par Perez de Montalban, avec le portrait du Grand Maître</i> (Paris: Mame Frères; Batilliot Jeune; Delaunay, 1815)
GD-22354; 8-RF-33016	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les Templiers</i> (Paris: Barba, 1823)
8- RF- 33017; THN- 14267	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les Templiers, tragédie en cinq actes avec notice historique sur la mort des Templiers. Nouvelle édition publiée</i> (Paris: Les libraires, 1873)
8-RF-33028; GD-9942; ROTHSCHILD- 9791; YF-6428	Raynouard, François-Juste-Marie, <i>Les États de Blois, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Mame Frères, 1814)
8-RF-35080; 8-RF-35081; THN-4498	Selve, A. de, <i>Vitellie, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Nepveu, 1810)
8-RF-35487; 8-RF-35488; GD-15123; Z ROTHSCHILD- 10131	Souriguières de Saint-Marc, Jean-Marie, <i>Octavie, tragédie en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Vente, 1806)

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T019 1–11	Grands livres 1801–16
T019 18–80	Agendas journaliers de recettes et dépenses, 1806–12
T019 96–102	États des pièces jouées par le Théâtre de la Monnaie avec application du droit dû aux auteurs 1806–12
T019 115/A–115/F	Arrêtés et lettres 1809–11
T019 116/A	Engagements d’artistes 1810–11

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PQ 2204.G4	L'Idiot, le Visionnaire [Chambet, Charles Joseph], <i>Bonaparte à Lyon, ou mon rêve de la nuit du 9 au 10 mars dernier, en cinq actes : scènes burlesques, prélude d'une grande tragédie</i> (Paris: Chambet, 1815)
PQ 1813.L3	La Fosse, Antoine de, <i>Manlius Capitolinus, tragédie, en cinq actes et en vers</i> (Paris: Fages, 1809)
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